

# Sokal

Tartakov, Varenzh, Stoyanov & Vicinity

סוקאל און אומגעגנט

טרטקוב, ורנז', טסוינאב וחסביבה



# The Sokal Memorial Book

## Tartakou, Harenzh, Stoyanou & Vicinity



### **The Interior of the Synagogue**

*Abraham Khomet, Editor*

*Members of the Editorial Staff:*

*Dr. David Kindler, Dr. Moshe Kubler, Joseph Fyvel*

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***Jacob Solomon Berger***

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# ***DEDICATION***



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## Translator's Foreword

The preparation of the *Sokal Memorial Book* was fraught with a variety of risks from my perspective. As the “sweet sixteenth” of my translation initiative we anticipated a smooth translation process for development an English translation from the (largely)Yiddish and (some) Hebrew text. This was a perfect example of “Man thinks (or plans), and the Almighty (laughs).”

I had a delightful opportunity to visit Israel, where my lady friend had just been presented with a great-granddaughter. We deplaned in Jerusalem, and certainly had a wonderful time in celebration the young lady's arrival into her family. But nothing comes without a price: just as we landed in Jerusalem, I became aware of the passing of my dear classmate Samuel Blumert, שמעון בלמרט who apparently died not too long after our plane landed. I am at an age, where I have come to expect these sad life events, but was did not become aware of this until after he was buried. Nevertheless, we were able to pay a *shiva* call on the family of his siblings, to formally express our sincerest condolences.

It was serendipity that Sam and I were classmates throughout high school, and then ended up studying engineering at our mutual *alma mater*, The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, he in Civil Engineering and I in Chemical Engineering. I had the unique privilege of recounting a variety of my memories to members on his family which helped to round out their view of his life from late childhood on.

At the end of the week we were staying, we returned home just under the wire, as the COVID pandemic burst upon the scene. The pandemic threw a monkey wrench into any rational attempt at scheduling. The result stretched out fitfully. There were periods when work could be accomplished at a normal rate, by various impacts of the Pandemic brought work to a halt. It was obvious that this endeavor was going to take much longer than previous ones,, and it certainly lived up to that expectation.

But we finally got it done! Not unlike other important centers, smaller satellite community came into being over the course of time. In this case, it was the *shtetlach* of Tartakov, Varendzh and Stoyanov. Memoirs for these *shtetlach* are included here as well. Since they were not of a size to have a separate book done. The story is not new to those of you familiar with the fate of Eastern European Jewry, but it presents an alternate point of view which enriches our understanding.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the support of my editor, Karen Rosenfeld Roekard of Berkeley, CA who continues to give of her time and energy notwithstanding setbacks in health. The Staff of the Yizkor Book section of JewishGen deserves an equal recognition, especially Lance Ackerfeld, for their tireless encouragement to the toiling we undertake behind the scenes

*Jack Solomon Berger*  
*Winter, 2023*





**“The Exile continues from Forgetfulness  
But it is in Remembering it that Salvation will come”**

**– The Baal Shem Tov**

## Editorial Committee Foreword

### A Heap of Stones to Bear Witness and a Headstone of Memory

*It is these that I remember, and I will pour out my soul for them...*

*The heart drips blood, and there is bitter weeping, when one recognizes that we are in the process of erecting a memorial headstone to the Sacred Congregation of Sokal and its vicinity, a city justifiably called a Mother in Israel <sup>דִּיהִי</sup>, that was wiped out from the face of the earth and no longer exists.*

*With a sacred trembling, let us bow our heads, and let us unite with those noble souls that were comprised of thousands of personalities, blood of our blood, flesh of our flesh, that were uprooted, vanished and are no longer here – and all that remains is the memory of them...*

*Let us Remember those precious and beautiful souls that lived and worked with dedication and boundless loyalty for the sake of The Lord, their people, and the members of their families...*

*Let us Recollect the memory of the houses of worship, the houses of study, the tents of Torah, the institutions of The Faith, culture, the benevolence and charity, the economic institutions and education, that enriched life and were wrecked on top of their Rabbis, Dayanim, Elected Community Heads, Teachers and Activists...*

*Let us mourn over both the old and new cemeteries, the resting place of all who were holy, pure and precious for generations upon generations, whose graves were desecrated, and bones scattered to the four winds, their headstones uprooted to be used as pavement for roads... the source of pouring our one's soul, utterance of prayer and solace have been sealed...*

*Let us weep bitterly over the mass of our brethren, parents, brothers, sisters, relatives, who were exterminated in Sanctification of the Name that were not given a proper Jewish burial, and no headstone has been set up for them...*

*Let us unite with the memory of the young people, dedicated and ardent, that served Zion with loyalty and love, but did not live to see the culmination of their desires and vision to make aliyah to The Land and to see its establishment [as a Jewish State]...*

*Let us not forget the infants and children, precious above all, who did not live to enjoy the caress of their beloved mother, let us recollect our children who were not brought to the wedding canopy, all those who did not participate to bring a Jewish family into the world, whose thread of life was*

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<sup>1</sup> The threat that it is God who will exact vengeance for spilled blood.

*cut in the middle, all those who were killed, cremated, and choked to death in the perverse bloody aktionen in the ghetto and outside of it, at the hands of the German and Ukranian Scourge...*

*I weep for all of these, my eyes, my eyes shed tears, because the location of my soul is far from me, my sons have become desolated, because the enemy has triumphed (Lamentations 1:15)<sup>2</sup>*

*Let these pages serve as an eternal monument for the coming generations, so long as any of us draws a breath, we will not forget them forever.*

*O, earth do not cover their blood, Lord who dwells up high, the jealous God of vengeance, exact revenge for their spilled blood and bring down those nations in anger, from beneath the heavens of God...*

**יִתְגַּדַּל וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא...**

**The Editorial Committee**

---

<sup>2</sup>

"The Lord has rejected all the warriors in my midst; he has summoned an army against me to crush my young men. In his winepress the Lord has trampled Virgin Daughter Judah.



# לתולדות היהודים בסוקל

## The History of the Jews in Sokal



פאנאראמע פון סיקאל

מראה כללי של סוקל

Page 010:

*A Panoramic View of Sokal*

צו דער געשיכטע פון יידן אין סיקאל

# The Sokal<sup>3</sup> Community

By Mordechai Fogelman

The Rabbi & *Bet Din* Senior of Kiryat Motzkin

## Its Rabbis and Sages

One of the important communities in Little Poland (Red Russia)<sup>4</sup> was the city of Sokal, where the luminaries of that generation occupied the rabbinical chair. Outstanding Torah scholars, who published books of profound content, as well as Torah Sages who decided on legal matters in a manner that drew deeply from the *Halakha*. Luminaries, students of the *Baal Shem Tov* ז"ל<sup>5</sup>, resided here during the time that *Hasidism* spread throughout the region, as well as students of those students.

This is not the place to write the history of the Rabbis of Sokal, its *Dayanim* and Sages. Here we present only a short sketch about a few of the Rabbis their colleagues and other personalities who had a connection to Sokal.



הרב ר' מרדכי פוגלמן

Page 013: Rabbi R'  
Mordechai Fogelman

## Our Teacher, David HaLevi, Author of 'Tur Zahav,' Resident of Sokal

Our Teacher David HaLevi<sup>6</sup>, the author of '*Tur Zahav*,' a book that deals with the four sections of the '*Shulkhan Arukh*,' convey the following in the section on '*Orakh Chaim*,' pp. 143 and 162' ... the way I directed to Sokal, and on the Sabbath I found a fault in one letter that rendered the scroll unfit for ritual use, and there was no other Torah scroll available; I directed the *minyan* reading from this Torah scroll finish reading with this Torah scroll, since the fault was not visible to the eye, and it was getting late; appears that even though there were strict observers that cited that the RM<sup>7</sup>A

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<sup>3</sup> In all the writings in this book, the spelling and pronunciation of the name of the city, we will write 'Sokal' or in Yiddish 'Sikol,' in accordance with the accepted usage of the local residents of the city.

<sup>4</sup> The writer is referring to a swath of Poland after its dismemberment by Russia, Prussia and Austria in three partitions (1772, 1793, 1795). Little Poland is shown to the south of West Galicia, and so-called 'Red Russia' is shown as Red Ruthenia.

<sup>5</sup> This is the first appearance of a Hebrew acronym, which in this case stands for '*zakhur laTov*' which means 'remembered for the good that was done.' There are many more of these, and I will attempt to footnote the first appearance of such an acronym for those not familiar with their use.

<sup>6</sup> David Ha-Levi Segal ©. 1586–20 February 1667), also known as the *Turei Zahav* (abbreviated T"Z (ז"ט)) after the title of his significant halakhic commentary on the *Shulkhan Arukh*, was one of the greatest Polish rabbinical authorities.

offered his concurrence, and I saw this in the responsa of the MaHaRa”M of Lublin and others...; The T”Z (Tur Zahav) does not tell us when he spent this Sabbath in Sokal. It is possible that it occurred during the time he occupied the Rabbinical chair in Potelycz beside Rawa [Ruska] in the years 5378-5390 [1618-1630]. It appears that this was between régimes, otherwise, he would not have been the *One who Rules by the Law* in the city of another Rabbi. However, there is an obligation to explain this particular ruling by the T”Z, inferring it from the fact that he did not pray in the official Sokal synagogue, which was his regular place of worship, as the of the sitting Rabbi of the city, but rather at a different synagogue, apparently a small one, that was also found in Sokal. Support for this can be found in what he said: ...‘ There was no other Torah scroll there’... which makes no sense unless the official Sokal Synagogue only had one Torah scroll and this was the Torah scroll that was discovered to be unfit for ritual use during the reading of the Torah on the Sabbath. One’s astonishment will grow even more if it is said that the Master T”Z prayed on this same Sabbath in the smaller synagogue in Sokal. There was only one Torah scroll there, and it had been found unfit for ritual use during the reading of the Torah on the Sabbath. Seeing as the hour was late, the Master T”Z instructed them to finish which the *minyán* of those who were there.<sup>7</sup>

## **The Gaon-Teacher Aryeh Yehuda Leib, Rabbi and Bet-Din Senior<sup>8</sup> of Sokal**

The *Gaon-Teacher Aryeh Yehuda Leib, Rabbi and Bet-Din Senior* of Sokal was the son of the wondrous *Hasidic Rebbe* as our Teacher and Rabbi Shmuel Gershon a man of Jerusalem, who was the son of the Rabbi *Gaon Hasid* like or Teacher R’ Leib ר”ל, the *Bet Din Senior* of Khantshin, and the Rabbi and teacher of the holy congregation of Cracow, who was the son of the renowned *Gaon* Joel, *Bet-Din Senior*, Rabbi and teacher of the holy congregation of Cracow, author of the book ‘*Bayit Khadash al Arba’a HaTurim*.’<sup>9</sup> The *Gaon* and teacher Aryeh Yehuda Leib, the *Bet-Din Senior* of Sokal, was the author of the book ‘*Leviat Khen*’ Wolf (It was published in Żólkiew in the year 5492 [1732] and Vynnitsia in the year 5502 [1742], and about the Torah which his son Benjamin published in Żólkiew in the year 5509 [1749], which his son Benjamin Ze’ev Wolf composed the book in his elder years as Rabbi and *Bet-Din Senior* of Szyново and afterward as the Rabbi and teacher in Żólkiew. His father the *Gaon* and teacher Aryeh Yehuda Leib, the *Bet-Din Senior* of Sokal passed away on 23 Adar 5489 in Żólkiew.

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<sup>7</sup> A rather esoteric set of literature references is given to provide support for this.

<sup>8</sup> The Presiding Rabbinical Court Judge

<sup>9</sup> A New House on the Four Pedestals.

## The Gaon-teacher R' Aryeh Leib, son of the Gaon 'Pnei Yehoshua,' Rabbi and ABD"K<sup>10</sup> of Sokal

The *Gaon*-teacher Aryeh Leib, second son of the '*Pnei Yehoshua*' was born in 5475 [1715] and raised in the home of his father. In his later years, he was the ABD"K of Sviriv<sup>11</sup> which is close to Lvov. In the year 5499[1739] he already occupied the rabbinical seat there. In the year 5505 [1745] he was appointed as the Rabbi and teacher in the city of Frankfurt-am-Main and remained there until the year 5509. Afterwards, he returned to Poland, and was received as the ABD"K, Rabbi and teacher in Sokal. He was know to be among the greatest of that generation, and the Sages of Brody included him in their deliberations and discussions of difficult questions in the *Halakha*.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> day of Adar 5515 [1755], on market day in the city of Brody, he joined with the prominent Torah scholars and *Gaonim*, who had gathered to excommunicate Jacob Frank<sup>12</sup> and his coterie.

In the year 5516 he prepared divorce papers with the consent of the prominent scholars of that generation, on behalf of the Rabbi *Gaon* Yehoshua Hesh'l HaLevi, a man of *Horowitz*<sup>13</sup>, and with it, he divorced his wife via a messenger against her will. This divorced precipitated a great storm among the champions of the *Halakha*.<sup>14</sup>

In the year 5521 [1761] the Rabbi Aryeh Leib was accepted as the ABD"K of Hannover and served as the Rabbi for twenty-eight years. He died there on the 8<sup>th</sup> of Adar 5550 [1790]. In the year 5540[1790], his book '*Pnei Aryeh*,' regarding the [Talmud Tractate] *Baba Kama* was published at the end of the book '*Pnei Yehoshua*' separately. Apart from this, he left behind him many folios in *Halakha*, *Agadah*, *Responso*, disputes and lectures that he gave on a daily basis, and a book on the *Shulkhan Arukh*, *Orakh Chaim* and others.

A small part of his writings could be found in the hands of the Rabbi *Gaon* '*The Chain of Pedigree*,' which related the genealogy and descent of the Rabbis of Poland and Ashkenaz, R' Zvi HaLevi of 'Of the Man from Horowice', ז"ל, the author of the book '*Kitvei HaGeonim*.'

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<sup>10</sup> The acronym for the Hebrew '*Av Bet-Din Kodesh*,' which is the title for the individual acting as the leader and chair of the 'Holy Court.'

<sup>11</sup> Possibly Svirzh

<sup>12</sup> Jacob Joseph Frank was born Jakob Lejbowicz; 1726 – December 10, 1791) was an 18th-century Polish-Jewish] religious leader who claimed to be the reincarnation of the self-proclaimed messiah Sabbatai Zvi (1626–1676) and also of the biblical patriarch Jacob. The Jewish authorities in Poland excommunicated Frank and his followers due to his heretical doctrines.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly 'Gorowiec'

<sup>14</sup> Once again, the writer gives a series of esoteric references to rabbinic writings to support the decision.



## The Bet-Din of Sokal in the Years of The Gaon-Teacher Aryeh Leib's Rabbinate

On the Wednesday of 19 Tammuz 5514 [1753], the author of 'Pnei Yehoshua,' at the time residing in Worms, signed over the authority of leadership to his sons, R' Aryeh Leib, the ABD"K of the holy congregation of Sokal, and after him, R' Nathan the ABD"K of Dobromyl, both glowing embers of the rabbinate of the Lvov region. It appears that this control was seconded and accepted by the *Bet-Din* of the holy congregation of Sokal. And here are the words of the *Bet-Din* of the holy congregation of Sokal: 'The matters in the writings of the esteemed Rabbi mentioned above are seconded, and the body of the writings from the holy congregation of Worms are to be fulfilled word for word. For the reader, we, the *Bet-Din* have signed here in the holy congregation of Sokal.'

Signed by ר' Yaakov ב"ר א"ר Our Teacher Rabbi Yokhanan Baruch of Lvov.

And also signed by The ר' Yitzhak ב"ר א"ר as the Teacher and Rabbi Uri ר' Leha Heilperin of Kamarny (or of Zamość).

And other signatures...

I copied this ordination from the book, 'Writings of the *Gaonim*' mentioned above, on page 36. We have no way to assess this copy of the writing of the *Bet-Din* of the holy congregation of Sokal today. We do not possess any form of verification today to establish the veracity of those *Dayanim* that signed this copy, alleged to have been created by their hand in the *Bet-Din* of the holy congregation of Sokal. We may be permitted to assume that this copy of the ordination was produced in the year 5514, immediately after the authority had reached Sokal from Worms.

## Rebbe Baruch son of Zvi Hirsch Heilperin of Sokal, Author of the Book 'Mitzvot HaShem.'

*Translator's note: This first paragraph is a reproduction of the summary on the frontispiece of the book, in which the various contributing authorities are listed in order to certify the correctness and completeness of the 'List of the 613 Mitzvot' of the Torah. This paragraph cites such luminaries as the RAMBA" M, RAMBA" N, all the way through some minimal emendations of ancient rabbis, and provides references to the Shas<sup>16</sup> and Poskim<sup>17</sup>. It also certifies the replication of writings by a coterie of eminent sages without any additions or deletions.*

*For details, the reader is referred to the original text.*

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<sup>15</sup> Inserting the letter 'Tzaddik' to stand for a Righteous Observant (usually a) Man.

<sup>16</sup> This is an acronym for "The Six Orders" into which the Talmud is divided.

<sup>17</sup> The plural of *Posek* in Hebrew, signifying an individual qualified to formally rule on matters of Jewish law.

The book, '*Mitzvot HaShem*' is one of the classic books devoted to the enumeration of the mitzvot, the explanation and interpretation of them. It is divided up for study over a period of thirty days, one part per day. It also provides an opportunity for learners, and also Torah sages, to review all of the 613 mitzvot in the course of thirty days, in the order and method of counting by the original ordering.

The book, '*Mitzvot HaShem*' was first published in Lvov in the year 5552 [1792]. It was again printed there in the years 5557[1797] and 5566[1806]. After this, it was also printed in Vilna and also several other locations with the added commentary and explanations by Torah luminaries.

Details of the personality of the author, *Rebbe* Baruch Heilperin of Sokal are not known to us. We know nothing of his life or his tenure there. In his instructional foreword to the book, the author signs off as follows: 'The saint Baruch just as our Teacher and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch, may his candle burn brightly, Heilperin of Sokal...' On the frontispiece of the book '*Mitzvot HaShem*' in one of its last printings, we read: All of this has been collected and assembled by the Rabbi who was a great Torah scholar, a *Tzaddik*, modest and self-effacing full of the scholarship of our Teacher Baruch the son of our Teacher Zvi Hirsch of the holy congregation of Sokal, called R' Boruch *Bencher*<sup>18</sup>...

We do not have in hand the material by which we can clarify the source and meaning of the nickname '*Bencher*', by which *Rebbe* Boruch is referred to here. It appears that this was only a nickname for the name of the author, because the family name was Heilperin, it is a family name known among the Jews of Europe whose origin is from the name Heilbronn, the name of a city in Wittenberg in Germany. Several outstanding Torah scholars in Eastern Europe had the name 'Heilperin,' such as *Rebbe* Yekhiel son of Shlomo Heilperin, the Rabbi of Minsk, and author of the well-known book, 'The Book of the Generations', and 'Evaluation of Nicknames'.... and others.

## Hasidism in Sokal

### **The Gaon-Teacher Issachar Ber, the ABD"K, and the Gaon-Teacher R' Shlomo, the Maggid of that Location**

During the days of the flowering of *Hasidism*, after the passing of the *Maggid* the eminent R' Dov Ber of Mezritch, that great disciple and the one who continued the direction of Our Rabbi *Israel Baal Shem Tov*, Sokal was one of the cities in Little Poland and Wolhyn in which *Hasidism* found many enthusiasts, and those who spread its lore and way of life. One of these was R' Shlomo Lutzker, one of the great students and loyal to the house of the *Maggid* R' Dov Ber of Mezritch.

Previously, R' Shlomo was the *Maggid* of integrity in Lutzk, Kuric, and in the end he was appointed the *Maggid* of the Sokal community and he passed away there in 5573 [1813].

He has previously published the book, 'Collected Sayings' from R' Dov Ber of Mezritch, and in his memory the frontispiece states the following: A book that relates his sayings to Jacob (a play on using first and last letters as an acronym for Dov) and this is a collection of his sayings, etc

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<sup>18</sup> This appears to be the use of 'bench' – to bless – in Yiddish, to characterize the individual. A connection may exist to the Hebrew name 'Boruch' which means 'Blessed.'

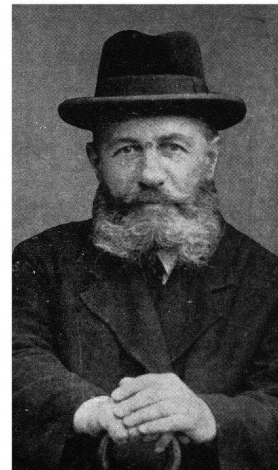
*Translator's note: Once again, various credit is assigned, to R' Shlomo son of R' Abraham of Lutzk. It indicates publication in Karic 5541, and contains a supplement of new items collected at the end: Karic 5544; Żólkiew 5552... and others.*

While still alive, the *Maggid* of integrity of Sokal, R' Shlomo, prepared his book 'The Sayings of Shlomo,' for publication regarding the Torah, and he received the endorsement of the renowned Rabbi *Tzaddik* The Rabbi *Gaon* R' Yaakov Yitzhak the *Hozeh* of Lublin. But the book was not printed until the year 5608, in Żólkiew as a result of the effort of his son, the Rabbi *Gaon* R' Dov ABD'K of the holy congregation of Olesk. He called the book by the name: 'The Sayings of Shlomo,' because of the acronym of the : *Talmid Rabenu Dov Ber*.<sup>19</sup> The book was published a second time in Jerusalem in the year 5717 [1957]. During the tenure of R' Shlomo, the *Maggid* of integrity that sat in Sokal, The Rabbinate of Sokal was occupied by the *Rabbi Gaon* R' Issachar Dov. According to the concurrence given by the Rabbi *Tzaddik* R' Yaakov Yitzhak, the *Hozeh* of Lublin, the book, 'Collected Sayings of Shlomo,' the Rabbi of Sokal had much affection for *Hasidism*, and the *Maggid* Dov Ber of Mezritch, and also to his student R' Shlomo, the righteous *Maggid* of Sokal.

Among his students was The Rabbi *Tzaddik* R' Sholom Rokeach זצ"ל, the ABD'K of Belz. He became orphaned from his father while a boy, and his uncle, his mother's brother, the Rabbi *Gaon* Issachar Ber, ABD'K of Sokal, took him into his home, raised him and educated him, and have him his daughter, the Ms. Malka as a wife, and drew close to the ways of *Hasidism* by R' Shlomo, the righteous *Maggid* of the holy congregation of Sokal.

## Sokal Up To The Second World War

Apart from the local synagogue, the following were in Sokal.



ר' מנחם נחום פוגלמן ז"ל

Page 018: R' Menachem  
Nahum Fogelman ז"ל

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<sup>19</sup> The acronym signifies the year 5606, and implied the words, 'The pupil of our **Rabbi Dov Ber**.

The Great *Bet HaMedrash*, in which the followers of the ADMo”R<sup>20</sup> of Belz prayed, and in which Torah sages and young men sat, whose Torah study reflected their faith.

The synagogue of the merchants and craftsmen.  
The *kloyz* of the *Hasidim* of Husiatyn and Czortkow.

There were many men of action among the *Hasidim* of Husiatyn and Czortkow, who possessed action-oriented qualities as well as actual deeds done, who treaded with modesty, were profound in their thinking, and also Torah sages that studied the *Shas* and *Poskim*, books of tradition and *Hasidism*. My father, of the Husiatyn community of Sokal stood my father, Our Teacher, the Rabbi and Sage R’ Menachem Nahum Fogelman, . He was born in Kylinic, son of the Rabbi and Sage R’ Abraham David Fogelman ש”י, a great Torah and *Hasidic* scholar, a true diamond from Kylinic. After marrying my mother and teacher Ziss’l Juta, ש”י, who was the seventh generation descended from the *Gaon* Rabbi Leib, ABD”K of Sokal and author of the book ‘*Livyat Kheyn*,’ himself a great-grandson of Our Rabbi R’ Joel Sirkis, ABD”K and the Rabbi and teacher in Cracow, and the author of ‘*Bayit Khadash*,’ consisting of four volumes, he studied Torah and served our uncle the *Gaon*, a pillar of setting direction in our generation, the Rabbi Sholom Mordechai *HaKohen* Schwadron ש”י, ABD”K in Rozen<sup>21</sup>, author of the responsa from the MaharSha”M in six parts, [he] possessed a knowledge of Torah the rendering of peaceful juridical decisions, and other books. He was expertly knowledgeable also in secular studies, and lived in Sokal from the year 5682 [1921] on. He was one of the heads of the community, held in high regard by Jewish people from all walks of in the city, life and he inculcated Torah for the many. All the years that I occupied the Rabbinical seat in Kotwic starting in the year 5688 [1928] visited him every year at the end of the summer. Even in the summer of 5699 [1939] I visited with him for about two weeks before the outbreak of The Second World War, that brought with it the Nazi Holocaust, and the murder of one-third of the Jewish population. I stayed there for about two days in Sokal and returned by bus by way of Żółkiew, and from there on to home by train.

My father ש”י, remained in Sokal. During the time of the Soviet conquest he was one of the leaders of the congregation, and the community in the city. Up until the Nazi conquest, I received copious advice from him frequently. The ADMo”R R’ Aharon Rokeach, ש”י, the ABD”K of Belz who spent a limited amount of time in Sokal during the Soviet occupation, after he made a miraculous *aliyah* to *The Land*, in the year 5704 [1944], conveyed to me a number of details regarding the many faceted activities of my father ש”י which he undertook for the benefit of the Sokal community during the Soviet occupation. He passed away there in 5702 [1942] during the Nazi occupation. Before the exact date of his passing was conveyed to me, but until that time, I had set his Yahrzeit to be 15 Av. Dr. David Kindler, a physician in Ramat-Gan who was a good friend, conveyed to me many facts about my father ש”י, and who himself passed through all the gates of Hell and Nazi slaughter until he was able to make *aliyah* to *The Land*.

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<sup>20</sup> An honorific accorded a Rabbi by designating him as ‘Our Lord, Our Teacher and Our Rabbi.’

<sup>21</sup> Possibly Rozvazh

## How to Write and Pronounce the Name of the City of Sokal



סיקאלער חדר-ינגלעך

ילדי סוקל ג'הודים

Page 020: Heder Pupils in Sokal

In the previous chapters we made use of the name of the city: 'S O K H A L,' with the accent on the second syllable (e.g. so'KAL). This is the manner in which it was used to appear in writing for hundreds of years, in printed in responsa, concurrences, and in notes and loan documents. However, in divorce document, the name of the city appears differently. The GA'Z Margalioth in the writing of *Gittin*, a collection of the names of cities and rivers, set the rule that in a *Get* one writes ...SKAL to be found on the Bug River, on the way to the Rata River...' (Rata is the tributary for wordy that empties into the Bug

beside Kristianopol)and so in the foreign tongue.. In which the name of the second river is a 'Resh' with an 'Aleph' with no vowel, 'Tet-Aleph' with a vowel, and a 'kaf' and 'aleph' with no vowel . In order to shed light on these matters, we record the deliberations of *Gittin* in their totality: ... and here in the complete divorce document that I copied from, there is a different alteration, where it is written sAkAl, with an 'aleph' after the 'samekh,' containing a vowel and the Rata River is written with an 'aleph' at the end. And it is written lightly there: I copied [it] from the 'baccalad' where Sokal is written as the name of the city: samekh with an aleph having the vowel *kamatz 'koof'* and an 'aleph' with no vowel given, it is therefore learned that in the Greek [e.g. gentile] tongue... that the name of the river ends with a 'resh' and an 'aleph' with no vowel. And here is what is written in *Orakh Chaim* Marks 145, 160,12. On one occasion I was on my way to the Sacred Congregation of Sokol, etc. And even thought there is no evidence in print in every place, even according to Polish pronunciation, it is read with a 'Kamatz, and every place there is a Jewish name, the samekh does not take a 'Kamatz, and even though it is the custom to write an 'h' after the *aleph*, there is no conclusion to be inferred for a divorce document, since the 'h' sound is silent, and the same is true of other notes of this kind, it is only to support the 'Kamatz' under the 'koof,' it is there it broaden the sound of the *aleph* slightly. It is therefore preferable not to write the 'h' at all in order not to infer that the 'h' lends something in its origin and sound to begin with. But the name of the Rata River which is written with a *yud*, but is written here with an *aleph*, the emphasis on the t'et' is not one of a 'khirik' but it is preferable to write it with an aleph, as is the custom for all letters who do not receive the vowel *khirik*...

In writing the name of the city in a *Get*, we follow the Jewish pronunciation, because like today, we have to conform principally to the spelling: 'SAKAL,' 'SOKAL' in accordance with the new Hebrew spelling, just as they pronounce the name in Polish and Russian, because many Jews pronounce the name of the city today in this way. However, in the end, this change in pronunciation

of the name of the city does not hold rule in the writing of a *Get*. The name is always written in keeping with the pronunciation of past generations, even though that is not common practice now.

As to the ruling: ‘ On the Bug River, called Buha...’ it is necessary to illuminate that in the city of Brisk a *Get* is written as follows: ‘On the Rasti in this area, on the Buha River, which is called the Bug...’ to this the MAHARSA”L says in the ‘Sea of Shlomo’ pertaining to *Gittin*, sign 32... I am amazed that the name of the river is written as Buha, even though it is called the Bug, for no reason at all. As is known, in Russian every ‘Gimel’ is pronounced ‘h’, and everything in Russia called by ‘h’ is called Gimel in Poland, and because of this the same river in Poland is called the Bug, but the Buha in Russia. And these are not two different names, that is to say that even though they are recognized as two names, this being an appropriate place to indicate how it is written as explained above, regarding the names of the man. In the end, there are two names, but practically, they are treated as one and the same.

In accordance with this, we can understand the words of the ‘Sea of Shlomo’ there, in the issue of writing a *Get* in Prague:... ‘Prague is read in Mzigardi’ and therefore is not written as if it is read ‘Praha.’ the Czech name of Prague, because the names Prague and Praha are considered to be one name only, like Bug and Buha. And the question is asked why does ‘not one write Praha, the way Buha is written in Russia, despite the fact that it is called Bug in Poland...’

To date we have no credible resolution to this law in practice. Today, it is almost never the case of documents written according to the Laws of Moses and Israel in Europe, and especially in Poland, where Polish Jewry has broadened its foundation for a thousand years. As to these words, there is only an historical interest. They are a memorial to the *Destruction*.

אייזיק קאנסטאנטין

## The Jewish Community in Sokal<sup>22</sup> – A Center of Torah & Yiddishkeit

By Isaac Konstantin

To the memory of M a l k a ז"ל, my dear first wife and  
to my dear children: Abraham, Yehudit and Relah –  
all tortured by the Hitlerist murderers.



אייזיק קאנסטאנטין ז"ל

Page 021: Isaac Konstantin ז"ל

<sup>22</sup>

The writer has opted for the spelling ‘Sikol’, but in view of the standardized preference for the spelling ‘Sokal’, we will resort to the latter.

## **Sokal My Birthplace**

I was born and raised in the city of Sokal. My parents and grandparents on both sides also come from there. I am a native of Sokal going back many generations, and a number of special memories remain in my memory from the time of my youth, these being facts about one-time Jewish life in Sokal. Let my memories serve as a supplement to those sources that can serve as enlightenment and a reflection of the Jewish way of life in that old birthplace I called home.

## **A Bit of Residue and Facts about the Oldest History of Sokal**

According to the writers of Polish history, the city of Sokal is more than 500 years old. In 1924, the city celebrated its 500<sup>th</sup> jubilee since its establishment. However, the Jewish history of Sokal does not go back more than about 350 years.

The city which was laid out along the banks of the Bug River, especially on the eastern side of the river – must have gone through many wars and destruction during its first 200 years of its existence, which is testified to by the many human bones that have been unearthed along the entire stretch of the city.

During the time of the Tatar invasions, which happened every season, the city beside the Bug have to have served as an important support-point for the retreating Polish armies. You can see this in the fortress walls of the city, whose traces we can still remember from our childhood. There were two sets of creeks which in time became filled in. It is worth mentioning that between these two creeks a sort of island stretched out, like a side street, where I grew up, it being called *'Na Kempica.'* That is where our house was located.

The St. Bernard's cloister on the western side of the Bug also served as a defense point, which had been built in the shape of a medieval fortress. According to Jewish memories in Sokal this cloister held up the soldiers of Chmielnicki <sup>23</sup> during the years of *Ta''Kh* and *Ta''T* (1648/1649), in which it was necessary to retreat from the city of Sokal.

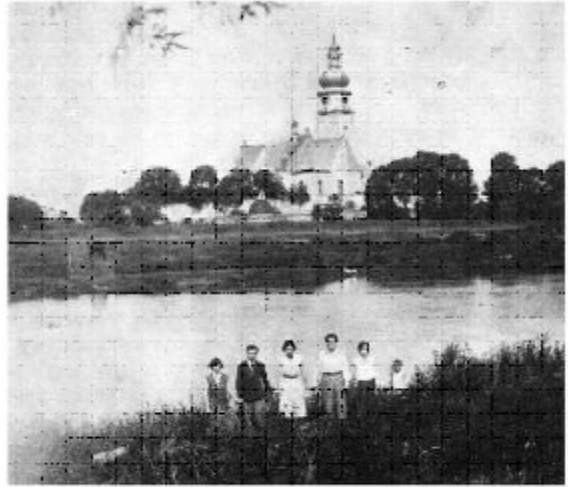
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<sup>23</sup>

An imprecation used by Jews as a modifier of a foresworn enemy. Its meaning in English is 'May his name be erased,' and is used both before and after the name of the enemy is put down in writing. It is also used in speech.

## The Oldest Headstones in the Sokal Cemetery - An Important Source of the History of the Jews of that Area

In the years prior to the decrees of *Ta"Kh* and *Ta"T*, despite the fact that a generation was living at the time suffused with Torah, and great *Gaonim* – one did not engage in the work of writing a Jewish history. It is sufficient to recollect the fact that the only thing remaining from the terrifying destruction of [the period of] Chmielnitcki ש"כ' of the decrees of *Ta"Kh* and *Ta"T* that had historical value was the thin, small book 'Yevayn Metzullah' written by R' Nathan Neta Hannover – a refugee of that time.



דער בשינדישער קלויסטער אין זיסקא  
מספר של בנידינים מסוקא

Page 023: The Cloister of St. Bernard

The later generation of Jewish historians, who began to make an impact at the beginning of the period of The Enlightenment, therefore ran into great difficulties to collect Jewish memories, and found it necessary to rely heavily on what was written on Jewish headstones in the Jewish cemeteries.

Regrettably, we cannot make use of these sources to collect memories of our city, because the Hitlerist murderers also undertook the destruction of our cemeteries. The last trace of Jewish generations... we therefore must content ourselves with only the inscriptions on the headstones that remain in our memories.

There was a very special headstone in the Sokal cemetery, which I remember yet from my childhood, and it was only with great difficulty that it was possible to read the faded old lettering. Later on, when the headstone was refurbished, it was definitely established that it came from the year 5399 (1639), this being nine years before the decree of *Ta"Kh*. In accordance with a medieval tale told by the Sokal Jews, this was the first headstone with which the cemetery was formally opened. It was a contemporary headstone of a young couple that probably died in an outbreak of disease, may God spare us, which was not an unusual occurrence in that time. This couple was interred on a Friday, the parsha of Noah in the year 5399 (1639).<sup>24</sup> On one half of the headstone was the name of the husband, and on the second half, the [name of the] wife. The quotation on the headstone began with the sentence from the parsha of the week, from P' Noah, 7,9: '...pairs of every kind came, into the ark.'

<sup>24</sup>

Author's footnote: See the article of A. Birbaum about 'The Historical Graves in the Old Sokal Cemetery.'





## **The Sokal Settlement Depended on the Jewish Community in Belz**

The Jewish settlement in Sokal, whose first residents came from Belz, was for a long time a branch of the Belz community. As it happens, Belz was a larger city, it was the seat of the Belz *Voievode* with a venerable Jewish community, one of the ‘nine communities’ that gave direction to Jewish life in Poland.

During the first period of its development, the Jewish settlement in Sokal was small and poor, this being in the first years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In order to get a sense of the poverty of this poverty, it is sufficient to acquaint one’s self with a reply from the ‘*Turei Zahav*,’ (the Rabbi of Lvov in the year 1654). In a question relating to a Torah scroll for Jewish Sokal – which was posed to him when he had stopped there during a trip in that city. In the referenced reply, the Rabbi stressed that since in Sokal all that could be found was one Torah scroll, regarding which a validity question had been posed to him – he was compelled to rule the Torah fit for ritual use.

## **The Social-Community Importance of the Sokal Jewish Settlement**

Regardless of how small and poor the Jewish settlement in Sokal was during the first stage of its development, its residents excelled in their special sensitivity to matters of social importance, providing support for Torah and the fear of God, which separated them from their brethren in adjacent towns. Most of the Jews in these other neighboring locations contented themselves with simple craftsmanship. As an example, the Jews of Kristianopol – a shtetl not far from Sokal – there was practically no social structure. The Rabbi, the homeowner and bathhouse keeper – all were thought of as honest, equal brethren. In general no distinction was made between *balebatim* and craftsmen.

By contrast, in Sokal, there was quite a distance between one who was one of the *balebatim*, and one who was a craftsman.

In general, in those times the number of craftsmen in Sokal was rather small. There were barely a few tailors and carpenters and Jewish shoemakers had yet to appear on the scene. During my childhood years there was one Jewish shoemaker actively employed: He was called Leibusz *Schuster* even though all he did was replace soles and heels, because if one wanted a new pair of shoes, one had to give the order to a gentile shoemaker.

It was first in later years, when the Jewish settlement had grown, more Jewish craftsmen arrived from the surrounding towns, and among them were shoemakers like Hirsch Schuster from Kristianopol, Chaim Hirsch and Moshe Yitzhak from Tartakov, two decent orthodox Jews, which was appropriate for the Sokal community.

## The Lineage of Sokal Jewry

Sokal Jewry drew its origins from Belz, the city from which the first of the Jews came into Sokal. Among these first settlers from Belz were R' Leib ז"ל, the firstborn and eldest son of the Rabbi in Belz, the great *Gaon* R' Joel Sirkis (1561-1640) or as he was called, the Ba'Kh ז"ל, following the acronym of his famous book, '*Bayit Khadash*.' Later on he left Belz, and was the Rabbi in a variety of cities in Poland, including Lublin, Brest-Litovsk and Cracow. His son, R' Leib ז"ל was a great *Gaon* and *Tzaddik* in his own right and wrote an introduction to his father's book. '*Bayit Khadash*.' He took up residence in Sokal and raised several children there. In time, this Rabbinical family grew b branching out, and along with this, the influence of this dynastic family of *Tzadikim* became stronger in the still small Jewish settlement in Sokal.

## The Sokal Community Obtains Its Independence from Belz

Thanks to this *Gaonic* family, Torah and the Fear of God became deeply rooted in the Sokal community. The Torah community – derived from 'you will multiply your wisdom through the envy for more Torah,' – became renowned both far and wide. At the same time – with the departure of the Ba'Kh ז"ל began to exhibit spiritual decline, the well-connected families of Sokal began to undertake initiatives to sunder their ties with the Belz community and achieve full independence.

It is understood that the leaders of the Belz community used all sorts of means to frustrate these attempts to achieve independence by the Sokal community. No conclusion could be reached in the religious courts of Chalk or Lvov. An interesting episode was told in connection with these religious court proceedings. The Rabbi of Sokal R' Sholom Rokeach ז"ל where the religious court was convened to deal with this dispute between the two communities, and who was well acquainted with their spiritual status, released a decision in which he ordered to count the number of *Shas* sets in Sokal, and how many prayer books in Belz. The Rabbi ruled that if in Sokal there were more *Shas* sets that there were *Siddurim* in Belz, under that circumstance the Sokal community will earn the

right to separate from Belz and become an independent, self-standing community. Indeed it was shown that Sokal had more *Shas* volumes than Belz had *Siddurim*, and with that, Sokal was given complete independence.



אחרי הקדשת בית העלמין החדש בסוקל בשנת 1933  
אחרי דעם בייצום בית עלמין אין סוקאל נאך דער דערעפערנג אין יאר תרצ"ג (1933)

Page 27: After the Opening of the New Cemetery in Sokal in 1933.

## Sokal - A Center of Prominent Torah Scholars

The Sokal community immediately became so popular in the Torah [study] world, that it was not only from the local area, but The prominent among the Jewish people were drawn from

really faraway places, [including] prominent Jewish scholars and Torah sages who took up residence in this God-fearing city of Torah. Even the renowned *Tzaddik* R' Leib Sarah's took up residence in Sokal for a long time.

Also, the legendary daughter of the Sha"Kh (Kohen Shabtai son of Meir)<sup>27</sup> about whom it was told that while still a child during the year of the TA"Kh decrees she was taken to have been lost; However, she was saved by people of the Polish élite and was raised in their ambience. She retained rather intimate connection with the Sokal Jewish community and even donated a Torah scroll there. There was a precious antique *Siddur* on the prayer stand that she had donated. Regrettably, it was burned during the great fire in Sokal in the year 1901.

The city obtained an outstanding reputation and grew in numbers, from its practice and pride, and the children and grandchildren of the BA"Kh ז"ל and his families, which produced many renowned *Gaonim* and Rabbis, who spread themselves all over Poland.

Also, the author of this writing has the honor of tracing his origins to the grandchildren of the BA"Kh. In accordance with a genealogy chart, I am the thirteenth generation from the BA"Kh ז"ל.

It is from this family of Scholars and *Tzaddikim* that such *Gaonim* as R' Shimshon Meiseles, author of the '*Tosafot Shabbat*,' were traced, who was the Rabbi of Poritzk. Apart from him, it is worth mentioning the renowned *Gaon & Tzaddik* R' Mann ז"ל, and in addition the prominent R' Eykhal and his three sons, renown *Gaonim*: R' Yaakov the Rabbi of Krylov whom the elderly *Rebbe* of Belz R' Sholom ז"ל bore witness to the fact that he was possessed by the Holy Spirit, and it was for this reason there were eight generations descended from the BA"Kh k" to occupy the Rabbinical seat in Krylov, all considered to bear the Holy Spirit within them

The two brothers were Rabbis in Wiszkow and R' Yitzhak David Kimpulung, in Bukovina, from which he later made *aliyah* to *The Land of Israel*.

The Sokal Rabbi, R' Issachar Ber ז"ל also was a scion of this *Gaonic* family, the father-in-law and uncle of the elder first Belz *Rebbe* R' Sholom Rokeach ז"ל, who from his childhood years, being an orphan, was raised in Sokal by his uncle, in the ambience of an *Hasidic* family. R' Issachar Ber ז"ל was initially a merchant, and later on became the Rabbi of our city.

## **The Thousand Nights of the Young Gaon – Sholom Rokeach ז"ל**

The *Gaonic* level and greatness of R' Sholom Rokeach ז"ל was already recognized when he was still a young lad. In connection with this, there was a story that circulated among Sokal Jewry about the one thousand consecutive nights, during which time the young *Gaon* Sholom Rokeach ז"ל stayed

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<sup>27</sup>

[Editor's footnote]: He was the Rabbi and *Posek* (1621-1663) and among other writings, he put together books of *selichot* and *kinot* about the decrees of TA"Kh and TA"Y with an introduction under the title '*Megillat Ayefa*' which contains a description of the things that happened in Ta"Kh.

on the watch in the old Sokal *Bet HaMedrash*, and he did not sleep. According to the way this story was retold from Sokal memories, the young Sholom, along with an added group of young people, his friends, Torah sages, about 10 young men, undertook to stand watch, and not sleep in the *Bet HaMedrash* for a thousand consecutive nights without sleep, studying the Torah. In accordance with what was received from reliable sources – whoever could master the consecutive thousand nights, would be privileged to see ‘the revealed [prophet] Elijah.’ This meant that on the thousandth night, the prophet Elijah would come to meet him, and study Torah with him.

With the passage of time, young men from this group, one after another, began to fall ways, and could not last until the end. The only one that remained was the young Sholom, who with great dedication held out to the last night, during which time he had to withstand very difficult trials. On the very last night, a frightening storm-wind broke out along with a heavy rain... A terrifying fear took hold of the young Sholom. With the last of his strength he bolstered himself and did not stop his studying, in order that he not doze off on this last night... the last chance...

At about midnight, the storm frighteningly intensified and knocked the windows out of the *Bet HaMedrash*. The rain began to penetrate through the broken windows... the candles were extinguished.. The frightened and tired Sholom stubbornly went on studying by heart... but sleep strongly pulled on him... he tiredly exhausted himself not, God Forbid, to even grab a nap, and expose him to lose his entire effort from the entire thousand difficult nights of being on the watch.

Out of great confusion – and difficult struggling with thoughts – that it might be that it was not ordained for him to attain this holy goal, he fell into a sacred mood, and began to weep intensely along with an ardent prayer, that the entire energy and exhaustion during the thousand nights that he did not, Go forbid, mean to undertake for his own aggrandizement, but rather in honor of The Creator and the honor of the Torah.

In the meantime, the storm began to slowly abate. Elijah the Prophet revealed himself to the young Sholom and comforted him, indicating that this was the last trial and began to study the *Halakha* of the synagogue [with him].

From that time on, R’ Sholom Rokeach שליט”א rose higher and higher in Torah, in fear of God, and the Holy Spirit – until he became the world famous *Gaon* and *Tzaddik*, the first *Rebbe* of Belz שליט”א.

## **The Sokal Settlement and the Belz Dynasty**

The importance of the Jewish settlement in Sokal, whose first source was the significantly pedigree-connected family – which now found a new root in the family of the *Tzaddikim* of Belz, of which R’ Sholom Rokeach שליט”א was the first founder. Rabbi Sholom שליט”א also received endorsement from the *Maggid* of Kozhnitz R’ Israel’cheh ר”ז and the *Hozeh* of Lublin. His reputation grew and while still during the life of his father-in-law R’ Issachar Ber שליט”א, he was taken up as the Rabbi in Belz.

Because he became the *Rebbe*, *Hasidim* came traveling to him even from faraway places. At no time did he sunder his ties with Sokal, with the city, which was intensely beloved by him, because of its greatness in Torah and *Hasidism*. He would visit his important father-in-law frequently, who was also his uncle and the one who raised him, R' Issachar Ber ש"י and it was in this manner that our city was continuously under his direct oversight. After the passing of R' Issachar Ber, ש"י, it was entirely natural that the Jews of Sokal decided to take as his replacement, the popular and beloved son-in-law of their deceased Rabbi – the *Tzaddik* R' Sholom Rokeach ש"י who was already renown, who then took on the Rabbinical seat of Sokal. However, not wanting to leave Belz, where he was the Rabbi, and which in the meantime had become as a great *Hasidic* center, he retained the rabbinate in both cities, leaving his son-in-law R' Zundl ש"י in Sokal as a *Dayan* and AvBD"K.

R' Sholom Rokeach passed away in the year 5616 (1855) and his youngest son, *Rebbe* Yehoshua took over the rabbinical seat of Belz. And seeing that he was yet young, having been born in the year 5485 (1825) and was not yet so famous as his *Gaonic* father ש"י, the influence of the *Tzaddik* of Belz began to wane in Sokal, and the *Hasidim* there began to gravitate to other Rabbinic authorities. Many followers undertook to attend the children of Ruzhyn: The *Tzaddikim* of Sadigur, Husiatyn, and Czortkow. There were also followers of the Rabbis of Ziditchov and Strilets'ke in Sokal. This was not an unusual situation, since R' Zundl ש"י, the uncle of the young Rabbi Yehoshua, being much older than him, took the position that he needs to take over the rabbinate of Sokal.

The *Hasidim* of Belz in Sokal were still strong, and because of that R' Zundl allied himself with the *Hasidim* of the Ruzhyner's children. He promised that he would make one of them a *Shokhet* in the city, namely R' Hersh'ehleh Yitzhak Zalman Joel's, or as he was later called Herscheleh *Shokhet*. However, he did not last long [in this position], and R' Zundl made his peace with the *Hasidim* of Belz, and a compromise was worked out: Young Herscheleh became the *Shokhet*, and R' Zundl remained as the Rabbi of Sokal, but only for his own lifetime. The legacy of the Sokal Rabbinate was secured for the Belz *Rebbe* Yehoshua and those who will follow him.

Immediately after this, when R' Zundl made peace with Belz. He disenfranchised the young *shokhet*. The Ruzhyn *Hasidim* felt they had been fooled by R' Zundl and a sharp dispute arose between R' Zundl and Belz *Hasidim* on one side, and the Ruzhyner on the other side. You can understand, as the rabbi of the city, R' Zundl prevailed, having the power to remove the *shokhet*, and his decision held. Since that very time, a deep bitterness remained with the *Hasidim* of Ruzhyn towards Belz, and as it would be, later towards the *Rebbe* of Sokal. This hostility was held only by the older generation of *Hasidim*, who were personally engaged in the dispute. The younger *Hasidim* began to make peace with the *Rebbe* a little at a time, and because of this, the older more prominent *Hasidim* exerted a great deal of energy to soothe the mood, and to instill peace in the Sokal community.

After the passing of R' Zundl ש"י – R' Yehoshua ש"י placed his oldest son R' Shmuel ש"י on the rabbinical seat of Sokal. He was a great and decent Jewish man, sitting and learning day and night. The pedigree of his well-known father bolstered his importance, and strengthened his influence in the city. But he, on his own, exhibited a strong character, and with a firm hand, he addressed to issues brought to the Sokal rabbinate for about thirty years. Thanks to his inherited decency,

simplicity, and dedication to Judaism, thanks to his exceptional acuity in his tireless study of Torah, he managed to earn the trust of the general populace, his courtesy and listening to everything without exception, of the Jewish populace in Sokal. Even the so-called Jewish intelligentsia, the so called 'Germans' respected and admired him. He stood guar over the observance of Judaism and piety of the city. At the end of his days 5668-5669 (1908-1909) R' Shmuel זצ"ל founded a Yeshiva in Sokal and by doing so, strengthened the power of the local Jewry.



הרב ר' שלום רוקח בעת תפילות לכבוד קידוש בית העלמין החדש בשנת 1933  
 ברבות לכבוד דער באגרייאונג פונעם בית עלמין אין סיקאל אין יאר תרצ"ג (1933)  
 מיטן רב ר' שלום רוקח זצ"ל בראש

Page 32: *Rabbi R' Sholom Rokeach During Prayers In Honor of the New Cemetery in 1933.*

The Yeshiva was for the local boys only, and despite the fact that it existed for two to three years, it contributed a great deal to the growth and influence of the Sokal *Bet HaMedrash*, which was the old center for Torah and Judaism. It was already at a point, that the local *Bet HaMedrash* was on the verge of a great decline. About 120 young boys learned there, in ages beginning at 13 years, and thereby the level of their knowledge of Torah was quite shallow. I grew up at that time, and I was a student at that Yeshiva and I can bear witness, in the entire populace of boys there were maybe three-to-four boys who knew the correct way of studying, as it was understood at the time. With the founding of the Yeshiva the method of learning improved and became better, because good teachers were brought in. The teachers were under the strict supervision of the Rabbi and the most prominent of the *balebatim* of the city. And seeing that the study of Torah, at that time, was taken up for its own sake, the traditional force of Torah again gained strength in Sokal: the number of students began to grow, and the city once again produced Rabbis from its *Bet HaMedrash*... These were directors of learning and just ordinary Torah Sages. Up until the last times, the Sokal *Bet HaMedrash* remained a center of Torah, from which emerged such Torah greats as the Waszawer Rabbi Sztokhammer זצ"ל, who fell in Sanctification of the Name during the Hitlerist occupation and to distinguish the living from the dead, in Zurich (Switzerland) R' Yaakov Breisz שליט"א and many other scholarly personalities.

This renewed Torah force in Sokal can be principally attributed to R' Shmuel Rokeach ש"י. He directed the rabbinate in Sokal for about 30 years and passed away on the second day of *Sukkot* 5672 [1912]. Also the *Rebbetzin* Sarah'leh ר"י<sup>28</sup> was a unique person when it came to *Tzedakah* and modesty, for all good deeds. She, on her own had a formidable pedigree. She was the daughter of R' Mendl'eh Viznitzer ש"י and her mother was the daughter of R' Israel'tzi Ruzhyner ש"י, from whom she inherited an aristocratic character. She lived quietly and withdrawn – but with an open generous hand for those in need. Her valuable jewelry was always put up as security for *Tzedakah* objectives, to which she generously donated. She passed away exactly a year after her great husband R' Shmuel ש"י – the first day of *Sukkot* 5673 [1913].

The only son of R' Shmuel Rokeach ש"י, R' Sholom Rokeach ש"י<sup>29</sup>, became the Rabbi of Sokal after him. He, too, exerted himself to fulfil the work of his great predecessor, and understood how to lead the Jews of Sokal in the way and spirit of Torah and tradition. Rabbi R' Sholom Rokeach ש"י took advantage in the year 1939 to travel to America with his son R' Boruch before the outbreak of the last [i.e. previous] World War and after the war, to make *aliyah* to Israel. He passed away on 3 Tevet 5722.

## The Great Torah Scholars in Sokal

The gallery of the great torah scholars from the older generation, before the First World War, was led by the above mentioned Rabbi R' Shmuel Rokeach ש"י – the oldest son of R' Yehoshua ש"י and the uncle of the late *Rebbe* of Sokal, R' Sholom Rokeach ש"י.

We have previously described his strong character, and great impact on furthering courteous behavior, amongst the Jewish populace of Sokal. It is, however, worth sharing several facts regarding his strong commitment to observing the traditions of Judaism in the city.

It was communicated to R' Shmuel on a Friday night, that a certain wagon-driver had been very late in returning from work after candles had been lit. The Rabbi immediately ran off to the little synagogue, where this wagon driver always prayed. The latter had already showed up and was in the synagogue praying. Upon seeing him the Rabbi, in front of the congregation gave him two hard slaps... the wagon drive burst into tears and promised the Rabbi, that he would never again violate the Sabbath.

The second occurrence took place after the Russo-Japanese War in the year 1905, when many refugees arrived in Sokal from Russia. Among them, a Russian Jew came wandering in ,opened a business in the marketplace near the *Rada-powiatowa*, with Singer's new machines, and perhaps for

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<sup>28</sup> An acronym for the Hebrew phrase, 'Alav HaShalom,' Meaning may the person referenced rest in peace. As you may infer, this was used only for the deceased.

<sup>29</sup> An acronym for a full phrase asking that the person being referenced should live out a good, long life. Generally applied to the Jewish ordained clergy.



the first time in Sokal there took place an incident where a business remained open on the Sabbath. As soon as R' Shmuel became aware of this flagrant Sabbath violation, he immediately went on the first Sabbath, with a coterie of Jews, straight from prayers, away to the machine-business, and with a suitable loud voice accused the owner of behaving like a gentile, since he permitted the Sabbath in Sokal to be violated so brazenly. The Rabbi's intervention did not help. Several days later, a son of the owner of the machine-shop fell sick and immediately died.

## Sages & Hasidic Persona in Sokal

We previously addressed some of the lineage aspects of the Jews that lived in Sokal. The essential thing is that these were honest, decent and pious Jewish folk, full of great, Torah scholars, sages with a deeply-entrenched way of life. There were also simple Jews that lived in Sokal, *balebatim* (house holders) with a deep feeling for Torah and Judaism, *Tzedakah* (charity), and generosity, *Hasidim* and business people, and those who performed good deeds. I wish to pause here and recollect a few of these Jews of Sokal and their significance.

Such a decent Jewish man was R' Meir Berisz Reiman מ"ע. This was a rare man from the era before ours, unique to his times in all respects. First of all, he was a physically formidable person, from his shoulders on up, tall and wide, a truly strong man. In the city, his name was taken as a synonym for physical strength and height. If one wanted to characterize an individual as being tall it was usual to express this as: 'as tall as Meir Berisz.' His children resembled him in this respect – it was simply a family of giants. Meir Berisz was a leather merchant and very sophisticated among the *balebatim*. And just like his physical attributes, he has a sharply honed spirit. He was a gentle and honest Jew, but very stubborn, which nobody reckoned with him. As a member of the Sokal Community Leadership he seriously address all municipal issues. The younger generation looked at him as if he were a medieval wonder. The Rabbi of Sokal also had to deal with him. This writer nearly came to trading blows with him. I would, no doubt, have fared badly. I was saved literally by a miracle. I was at that time still a young boy of 14-15 years of age, and there were 12 such boys who studied in the first class in the Yeshiva of R' Moshe Niemirower מ"ו.

We were already capable of learning a *Gemara* lesson with *Tosafot* under the oversight of the Headmaster of the Yeshiva. I was among the best of the students, but I also wanted to master the Polish language, which you understand must, was against my father's מ"ע will, who held that it would be enough for me to be able to be able to write an address in Polish and for this reason, he forbade me to study Polish. However, I made a stand (with the help of ) a lad of my age, a certain Yidd'l Spodek, whose parents did permit him to learn Polish, and we both agreed: he should teach me Polish grammar in his house, and I will study 'Yoreh Deyah,' You understand that this agreement had to be kept totally secret, so that my father מ"ע would not learn of it. The study of 'Yoreh Deyah' therefore took place upstairs in the synagogue where the women prayed. However, after a while, this 'dangerous disappointing activity' was taken to the curatorium of the Yeshiva. On one day, suddenly an entire group of most of the *balebatim* came into our class with R' Meir Berisz at their head. He carried on wildly and with anger saying: 'where is *the shaygetz (non-Jew)?*' – the one who exchanges a feast for sand! – who exchanges the 'Yoreh Deyah' for Polish? To my good fortune, I was not at

the Yeshiva and the Headmaster of the Yeshiva worked hard to calm him down until I returned, by which time R' Meir Berisz had left with his group and in this manner I was rescued from his hands.



During the time when *Rebbe* R' Shmuel Rokeach ש"ס occupied the rabbinical seat, R' Nathan Tzingman v'g belonged to the important *balebatim* of the older generation, a Jew who was a scholar, who sat and studied day and night, and also raised his children to be great scholars, one of whom – R' Nahum Tzingman, lives and serves as a Rabbi and *Shokhet* in South America.

R' Chaim Yaakov Reiman v'g also occupied an honored place among the prominent *balebatim* in Jewish Sokal. A gentle Jewish man, he was the *Gabbai* in the Sokal *Bet HaMedrash* for many years, and was a community activist who excelled in the substantive acts of 'those who engage in the needs of the many in faith.'

R' Bezalel Schmutzer v'g was a special member of the *Hasidic balebatim*. Being rich, and a man without children, he was drawn into work for the community. Despite being engaged in his many-branched businesses, he found the time to study a page of *Gemara*. After the passing of the prior head of the community, R' Isaac Byk v'g, also childless, who was a great philanthropist one who gave *Tzedakah* in substantial amounts, R' Bezalel Schmutzer undertook the leadership of the community, following a directive from the Rabbi. Being himself an accomplished and trained merchant, he led the Sokal community for several decades in the manner of the *balebatim*, kept himself accessible to people and maintained his modesty. In his older years, he founded an institute for *Tzedakah*, a sort of home for the elderly, in the house of R' Mendl Trefel, which he bought with his own money for this purpose. His final years before he died were tragic and sorrowful. In the year 1939 – when the Soviet troops occupied Sokal, the communist forces in power confiscated his entire net worth and inundated him with troubles. He was already a Jewish man of about 70 years old, weak and sick, and so in July 1940 – as a former '*Burzhoi*,' he received an exit order to leave the city, along with the other *balebatim* of means, such as the storekeepers Yitzhak Lorenz Moshe Honig, and many other prominent Sokal Jews, who were not allowed to live in this border city. R' Bezalel Schmutzer v'g lacked the strength to leave the city because of his age and illness, and so they constantly deferred his departure card. Finally, the date was set for August 3, 1940, at which time he finally had to leave the city. On that day, R' Bezalel Schmutzer died, and was privileged to be buried with his ancestors.

Out of order

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As early as the end of the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Galician government readied itself to limit and even eliminate the competition from Jewish communities, the progressive Jewish activists of that time in Galicia from the '*Shomer Yisrael*' organization called for a gathering of Jewish communities in Lemberg, which took on the role of being a model of status for the communities of Galicia, and it was decided to establish a Rabbinical Seminary in Galicia. Along with this decision during this gathering, a heated battle took place between the forward-thinking

representatives of the communities and the emissaries of the orthodox. In the end, the *Tzaddik* of Belz, the *Rebbe* Yehoshua Rokeach ר"י, along with other orthodox rabbis, called for a boycott of all the decisions taken at the Lemberg conference. At the same time, they created a separate religious organization, '*Makhzikei Das,*' which set itself the objective to contest the progressive tendencies that began to penetrate the Jewish communities.

These orthodox circles called for a conference in Lemberg in 1882, in which 220 rabbis participated and 800 delegates from Jewish communities in Galicia and Bukovina and as it was decided at the time. The status of the Jewish communities was to follow the orthodox tradition.

This contest between the orthodox and progressive camps in Galicia took on sharp forms – this was especially the case when Jewish-Nationalist leaders began to appear in the Galician political arena, who took up the fight for the realization of Dr. Herzl's solution to the dilemma the Jewish communities.

As we have previously shown, a grasp of the Jewish-Nationalist politics as alien to the Sokal Jewish leadership, and still by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was calm that reigned on the Jewish street of Sokal, until the appearance of the first Zionist pioneers and even then, Sokal was not plagued by any fighting. Several respected rich orthodox families held sway in Sokal, carrying out their duties and community affairs with commitment, within the narrow limitations of what was then the area of Jewish activity.

These rich people often represented the Jewish populace in the Sokal Town Council, using very simple efforts to obtain relaxation of limits for the Jewish side.

In the battle between the Poles and Ruthenians, they always took a solid position on the Polish side, who supported the single just ruler in Eastern-Galicia.

#### Out of Order Ends

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R' Meir Pfeffer ר"מ, a committed *Hasid* of Czortkow was popular and beloved in the city.... ,as the owner of a large clothing store business, with many Christian customers of the Polish intelligentsia, with also had his house (and business ) in the center of town, naturally became a central point in the city. He was held to be a wise man with a strong knowledge base and because of this he was elected several times to the Sokal municipal council. His door was door to everyone, and whenever anybody needed something, a favor or they, would come to R' Meir Pfeffer ר"מ. To the extent he was able and along with his very dear wife Lipa Pfeffer ר"מ, he always exerted himself to especially help others, especially the many city's poor. On the Sabbath, it was in R' Meir's house that the *Hasidim* of Husiatyn would gather. On Friday evening, during the winter nights, people would stay at R' Meir's table until the late hours, discussing *Hasidism*.

Our friend R' Chaim Ber Pfeffer wishing, a long life to him <sup>30</sup>, was a very important and tireless activist from our *landsmanshaft* in New York, and his brother R' Moshe Pfeffer were the grandsons of R' Meir Pfeffer ר"ע, the children of his son who died young.

Just like R' Meir Pfeffer – R' Israel Bard ר"ע belonged to the circle of distinguished activists in Sokal. Being a prosperous merchant while still young, he was one of the most visible of the *balebatim* in the Kloyz and of all his good deeds, was popular with the entire Sokal populace. Because of this he was often the Chair of the Sokal community. R' Israel Bard ר"ע had three talented sons: Abraham'tzi, David and Yeshia. Abraham'tzi Bard ר"ע was a refined *Hasidic* young man, who owned a lumber business, that he ran himself. Yet along with this, always had time to study the *Gemara* with him. The younger two brothers, David and Yeshia, had already become more modern young folk. They ran bigger businesses, brick making factories, that made them from brick and cement materials. While doing this they remained observant Jews. The three Bard brothers were close to the three Kreminer brothers Chaim, Joseph Falik, and Moshe Aharon ז"ל, and were the factual leaders and directors of the Husiatyn *Kloyz*.

The son-in-law of R' Israel Bard v"g, our friend and the distinguished leader of the Sokal Jews in Israel, R' Isaac Birnbaum in Haifa, (thanks to God), in those last years before the outbreak of The Second World War– made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, and by doing so, saved himself and his family.



ר' ישראל בארד ז"ל

Page 037: R' Israel Bard ז"ל

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<sup>30</sup> As a good luck talisman, Eastern European Jews adopted the practice of inserting praiseworthy phrases into their everyday speech, about the good people in their lives who still walked the earth. By doing so, they hoped to ward off 'The Evil Eye.'



The three generations of R' Itzik Falik belong to the important *Hasidim* of the *Husiatyn* Kloyz, his son-in-law R' Shlomo'leh Kreminer ז"ל and his children, and the previously mentioned Kreminer brothers: Chaim, Joseph Falik and Moshe Aharon ז"ל. R' Itzik Falik's ז"ל was a Jewish merchant, and managed a nice wood storage, and because of it became a substantial activist, one who gave *Tzedakah*, and was himself a warm *Hasid*. Among his many good deeds, it is told that he would go into the city for every *Sholom-Zachor* – making no distinction for whom, whether for the rich or the impoverished. He did not miss a single opportunity and under all circumstances, and any kind of weather, he never failed to come and wish *Mazel Tov* and make the family of the newborn male child happy. And so it was told, that one time such a *Sholom Zachor* took place at a grave site of a Jew who lived on the cemetery on the Soviet street, far enough from the city. It happened to be a winter's day with snow and stormy winds, but R' Itzik Falik's ז"ל did not miss even this occasion to appear at the *Sholom Zachor*. Naturally, he was the only guest.

R' Shlomo'leh Kreminer ז"ל – the son-in-law of R' Itzik Falik's and his wife Chan'chi – that's what they called her in the city, inherited from R' Itzik Falik's ז"ל his house, the lumber storage facility and continued performing his good deeds. Chan'cheh, a skilled merchant who helped a great deal in running the business, was, at the same time, a *Righteous Woman*, and a true *Woman of Valor*, she never let a pauper out of her house, or someone who was hungry. Her husband Shlomo'leh, a very refined Jewish man, could be counted on, and was self-effacing – he sat in the Kloyz learning, and was engaged in Torah and *Hasidism*. He showed his refinement and good heart during the First World War, when many Jewish refugees arrived from Gorlitz (Galicia?). The Jews of Sokal organized help for the refugees, and R' Shlomo'leh was very active in this undertaking. Many refugees actually lived in his house. There was, God forbid, a terrible typhus epidemic in Sokal at that time, and R' Shlomo'leh fell as a victim of this plague.

R' Shlomo'leh's children, together with their mother, Chan'cheh ז"ל continued to run the business with great success, and again continued the tradition of their elders – the tradition of refinement and *Tzedakah*.

The oldest brother Chaim ז"ל was practically a cruel of his father. Refined, observant, and just plain by a man of integrity. He was occupied with the business for the whole day. At night, he sat and learned Torah.

The second, Joseph Falik's ז"ל took after his mother more, and his grandfather ז"ל. A talented and fully trained merchant – he was the guiding spirit of the business. He consummated all transactions with the nobility and other merchants. Joseph Falik's ז"ל remained in their residence in Sokal together with his mother and wife Pearl'eh ז"ל also a good soul; she continued to tug on the golden chain of taking in guests and *Tzedakah*. Joseph Falik's house was often used by the poor and the needy.

The third brother Moshe Aharon ם"ע was a synthesis of his two older brothers. He took his continuity from Chaim and his spirit of willingness to shoulder responsibility from Joseph ם"ע, and he also looked after the acquisition of all bought materials from the forests and sawmills. It was in this fashion that the three Kreminer brothers managed the business of their parents; with wealth and respect; with a Jewish nachas, seen in the city as a spokesperson in the well-connected Kloyz of Husiatyn.

Only the youngest of the Kreminer brothers – to separate the living from the dead – R' Itzik, saw (something coming) while still young, immediately emigrated to Canada immediately after the First World War. He lives today in Montreal. He belongs to the most famous industrialists in wealth and a great philanthropist and activist, a very honorable position in the Jewish community over there. He especially remembers his landsleit from Sokal and like a pure blossom of his refined family – he is a jewel among those from Sokal who survived.

## Synagogues and Study Houses in Sokal

The great *Bet Hamedrash* in Sokal was a very substantial center of Torah for many long years. It was built by Rabbi R' Shmuel ם"ע and it was because of his strong character and great authority in the city that it was created that Sokal got a *bona fide Bet HaMedrash*. At the outset there was old diminutive *Bet HaMedrash*, which had been built by R' Hirsch Tizminitzer ם"ע, who was the father-in-law of the '*Mitzvot HaShem*<sup>31</sup>,' all the previous exponents of Torah had studied. By now it was already too small for the new generation of Sokal Jews, and it was for this reason that R' Shmuel ם"ע began to think of building a new, large *Bet HaMedrash* on the same location occupied by the previously mentioned old, diminutive wooden *Bet HaMedrash*. The *balebatim* of Sokal were strongly displeased, not willing to part with their dear, old study house. However, the Rabbi did not take this into account, and allowed the new large *Great Bet HaMedrash* to be built next to the old one, and then when the new building stood completely built, was the *old Bet HaMedrash* taken down. It was in this manner that Sokal acquired this soon-to-be *famous Bet HaMedrash*, from which emanated famous Rabbis, directors of tradition, and unique Torah Sages during the entire period up to the tragic destruction [i.e. the Holocaust].

It was in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that a new synagogue was built in Sokal, in the same style as the synagogue in Żółkiew, that is, in the form of a fortress.

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<sup>31</sup> In olden days, it was a frequent practice to identify a distinguished scholar by the title of his most prominent book. That is what is being done here. The true name of the book's author is xxxxxxx. As a sign of respect, the name of his most recent book is used.

Apart from this synagogue and *Bet HaMedrash*, there were more synagogues and houses of study in Sokal, where the Jews of Sokal not only prayed, but also engaged in and diligently studied Torah. There was a small synagogue in the corridor of the city synagogue near the entrance to the right, which was called the '*Schul-Schilkhl*.' Even though it was probably built together with the synagogue, it had its own personal pedigree. Many Sokal scholars, from the famous *Maggid R' Shlomo Lutzker* ז"ר to the Rabbi of Krylov, all learned steadily in this little synagogue.



ביהמדרשת הגדולה של סוקאל (בית הכנסת הקטן מימין)  
די גרויסע שול מיטן „שול-שילכיל“

Page 040: The Great Synagogue Along Side the 'Shulekhl'

There was also a '*Schilkhl*' in the corridor of the *Bet HaMedrash* right by the entrance. It was called the *Zhydachiv Shtibl*. Near the *Bet HaMedrash* was the Tailor's Synagogue. On the Sabbath working men prayed there, and during the weekdays the ordinary *balebatim* of the city worshiped there. Not more than two *minyanim* of Jews prayed there in the morning, until about ten thirty before noon. Prayer quorums were available in the Tailor's Synagogue from early morning to twelve noon.

Not far from the *Bet HaMedrash* – a bit to the side, was the Strilets'ke *Kloyz*. This was already a larger synagogue, where a greater number of Jews prayed and where a great deal of study took place. Also in the 'Babiniec' – a suburb of Sokal – on the way to the train – the Jews there had their own synagogue.

The Jewish intelligentsia had a separate house of worship. In addition, for many years already, certain progressive Jews of the city founded a separate synagogue. The *Hasidim* of Sokal added a name to it, calling it the '*Potchaiver Schilkhl*,' wanting to express their negative attitude to this house of worship, because Pochaiv was a diminutive neighboring place, where many Christian churches were located. During the First World War this small *Schilkhl* was burned down, and in its place a new synagogue was erected, which was called the 'Honey Schul.'

The *Kloyz* where the *Hasidim* of the children of the Rabbi of Ruzhin prayed especially excelled, and also the Sadigura, Czortkow and Husiatyn *Hasidim*. It was called the '*Husiatyner Kloyz*,' which, after the *Bet HaMedrash* was the second largest holy place in Sokal. Only *Hasidim* prayed there, among them a significant number of Torah Sages.

## The Cruel Expulsion from Hrubieszow-Chelm & the Sokal Jews

Immediately after the outbreak of The Second World War – when the German troops took over the entire area on the west side of the Bug (river), masses of Jewish refugees began to stream over the Bug to Sokal, which had remained in Russian hands. At that time the Kreminers opened their houses and took in even more families without asking for so much as a groschen of money. Also this writer, who had gone off to Sokal in 1913 and came back as a refugee from the other side of the Bug, from Kristianopol which was under German control, I too got a room from R' Moshe Aharon in his house and he refused to take rent money. It was in this fashion that many refugee families lived in their houses for about a full year, until the summer of 1940, when the Kreminzers had to take up a 'wandering staff' and leave the border city of Sokal together with many other *balebatim* who were considered bourgeois elements taken a far away.

It was Joseph Falik v'g who stood out exceptionally during this *aktion* who treated the refugee Jews who remained alive with kindness after the cruel expulsion of the Jews from Hrubieszow-Chelm by the Germans. This took place right at the outbreak of the war, in the winter of 1939/40. The Germans took over both cities: Hrubieszow-Chelm, gathered all of the Jewish men from the age of 15 to 60 and drove them to the Bug in the direction of Sokal. They were escorted by Gestapo troops, riding in autos, and the Jews had to run [on foot]. Anyone who fell because of exhaustion was immediately shot. After riding for a specified distance, the German murderers stopped, and each *Gestapo* commandant of a separate group of Jews counted how many Jews remained under his control. If after this count, the number did not agree and there were extra Jews over an even number – they were shot. – After this, the German murderers again drove the unfortunate Jews with a satantic bloody sport, shooting those who stopped after counting to the nearest ten. Throughout the entire day, they drove the exhausted Jews so that the evening 1800 of the 2400 Jews so treated were murdered. The rest, at night in the darkness, fled, and barely several tens reached the Bug, torn apart, beaten, with frozen limbs. They barely got themselves to Sokal – where Soviet guard troops detained them, and didn't let them into the city. This hapless condition of the handful of bloodied Jews even touched the hearts of the anti-Semitic Ukrainian peasants on the other side of the Bug. They took in the unfortunate ones into their houses, warmed them up and gave them food. One of the peasants sneaked across to the other side of the Bug to Sokal and let them know about the fate of the Jews. As soon as this tragedy became known in Sokal, a great wailing broke out in the city. A large gathering was called to be held in the *Bet HaMedrash*, in order to begin gathering money, clothing and shoes. They also intervened with the Russians and made an effort that these unfortunates should be allowed into the city. A place was also created in the hospital for the sick, and everyone was provided with a dwelling. It was Joseph Falik ה"ע who entirely organized of this, who spared no effort and strain, in order to provide food and clothing and a place to live for the refugees. Despite the fact that the houses of the Kreminers were already occupied earliest by prior refugees, they took in these exhausted Jews into their homes.





ר' אייזיק קונסטנטיין ורעייתו  
ר' אייזיק קונסטנטיין און זיין טרוי

Page 042:R' Isaac Constantine and His Wife

This was a decent and sacrificial undertaking by the Sokal Jews, in which Joseph Falik ע"ה played the principal role. It is a great misfortune that during the Nazi *aktion*-murders, those who were saved from the expulsion... their rescuers.. those who remained behind in Sokal.. And those driven from the city, were all exterminated.

Together with all the other settlements in Poland – our venerable settlement was erased and no longer exists.

Very few of the Sokal Jews saved themselves by a miracle... among them was our respected Dr. Kindler, who was a Zionist and community activist was very popular, respected and loved by the entire Jewish population in one-time Sokal. Also, here in Israel, he continued his activities on behalf of the remnants of the city of Sokal even though they entailed considerable personal sacrifice.

# The Jews in Sokal From Ancient Times to the Holocaust

By Dr. Abraham Khomet

## Geographical-Historical Facts About the City of Sokal



ד"ר אברהם חומט (כאמזעט)

Page 044: Dr. Abraham Khomet

– 1 –

In the epoch of the Red Forts (the so-called 'Grody Czerwieńskie') there was an independent province under the rule of Ruthenian Dukes, and also later, when Ruthenia disintegrated into single separate dukedoms – Sokal and its environs were part of one of these provinces that stood alone, that is



— בימת הכבוד בעצרת אזכרה לקדושי סוקל וסביבה בשנת 1958 בתל-אביב. —  
נואם: ד"ר דוד קינדלר  
— דאָס פרעזידיום בעת דער אזכרה נאָך די קדושים פון סיקאַל און סביבה אין יאָר 1958 —  
עס רעדט ד"ר דוד קינדלער

Page 043: The Presidium During a Memorial Service for Sokal & Vicinity in Tel-Aviv, 1958.  
Speaking is Dr. David Kindler

from the dukedom of Belz, with a separate duke at its head.<sup>32</sup>

In the year 1335 the last ruler of Ruthenian origin died and this entire land fell to Troydanowicz, the duke of the province of Mazovia. The location of Sokal already was in existence in the Belz dukedom, apart from the city of Belz, which in the year 1424 obtained the privilege from the Mazovian duke, which allowed it to rise to the level of a city with its own independent municipal self-government.

Very little is known about this city prior to the year 1424. According to the Polish historian Sokalski, the former Sokal lay on the left side of the Bug River, and it was only in 1524 that the city began to get built up also on the right side of this river.

The flat left side of the river was often covered by flood waters, and this completely held up its development. Apart from this, the city lay on what was called the 'black tract' – this was pathway that stretched from the far distant steppes, from which wild Tatar hordes would come, who during their assaults on Ruthenia, plundered and robbed everything that they encountered along their way.

In this period, the city was under the rule of the Mazovian dukes, who were concerned with its fortifications and permitted construction on the right side of the Bug, opposite the 'zhabuzhza' a fortified castle, whose purpose was to protect the city. In this castle, during a time of troubles, it was not only the local people, who sought refuge, but also people from the neighboring locales who were also under threat, and for this reason had an obligation to fund the fortified castle.

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<sup>32</sup> In the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, the Czerwien stronghold was in the hands of the princes of Włodzimierz (the Principality of Halych-Volhynia). Its greatest development took place at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries. In 1240, Czerwin was destroyed by the Tatars and then rebuilt [4]. The end of the existence of the stronghold came as a result of another Tatar invasion after 1289, when the Red disappeared from the face of the earth. The memory of the stronghold disappeared for many centuries, and its function was taken over by Belz. Therefore, in place of the old names such as the land of Red and Czerwienskie, the concept of the Duchy of Belz or the Land of Belz appeared in 1462, transformed into a province.

In the 14th century, the territory of Grody Czerwienskie (Red Ruthenia at that time under the control of the Tatar Khanate) was re-incorporated by Casimir the Great into the Polish state.



על יד חורבות הארמון העתיק בסוקל      ביי די חורבות פונעם אַלטן שלאָס אין סיקאַל  
על התמונה מימין (אויפן בילד פון רעכטס): משה ברי ושתי אחיות טלר

Page 045: The Ruins of the Old Castle in Sokal (From the right: Moshe Beri and the Two Teller Sisters)

This commitment stands out relative to nearby dwellings which led to the articulation and subsequent order of the Polish king Sigismund August in December 12, 1571 that the neighboring city of Stoyanov, in which the people who lived there were referred to as ‘those, who with all their heat want to help the fortification of Sokal, because it is there that, along with all their net worth they will go during a siege, to find a refuge and safety.’

– 2 –

The Duke Ziemowit ruled until the year 1446. After the death of the last duke of the Mazovian line in the year 1462, the province of Belz fell to Poland as a separate voievode, to which, once again, the governance of Sokal belonged, that is to say, the city of Sokal and its surrounding villages.

Now, Sokal participated in the fate of all Polish boundary territories, which were exposed to continuous battles and devastation in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, by the Tatar, Cossack and Swedish wars. The

city suffered a great deal in the year 1499, when the Tatar armies fell upon the Belz province, and then again in the years 1502-1503, 1509, 1511 during which time those same Tatar camps ran amok in all of Ruthenia.

Sokal was entirely devastated in the year 1519, when the Tatars tore into the Ruthenian territories. The area of Sokal on the left shore of the Bug was entirely burned down, and on that wreckage, on February 8, 1519 there was a battle that took place between the Tatar warriors and Polish military forces, who came down from the castle. Despite the fact that the Poles fought fiercely, the Tatars were in an overwhelming majority and the Polish fighters had to retreat to the castle.

On the part of the Polish rulers, efforts were made with a variety of easements, releasing the residents from tax payments, as well as reimbursements for the rebuilding of the destroyed city. These efforts were expressed in a Privilege from the king Zigmunt in the year 1524, in which it is recorded that the Sandomierz voievode of Jenzi of Tenczyn, who through no minimal effort and much expense, created a better condition all through the managed cities and castles in the Belz Starostvo – this also brought about an elevation of Sokal, which through unfortunate events as well as neglect by the previous landowners, had reduced to poverty, such that nobody wanted to live there. However Tenczynski not for his own needs – again stressed under the king – ‘ that for the good of the republic, led the residents of this city to a different and more appropriate location and in order that people be more interested in living there, and so he exerted himself that the privileges be reconfirmed that our fathers gave the city.’

The residents of the old, incinerated Sokal were indeed relocated onto the other right side of the shore, and found themselves under the protection of the castle. In order to unite this with the prior parcel, which was called the ‘Zhabuzhza’ there existed a sort of connecting bridge.

– 3 –

## **The First Evidence of Jews in Sokal**

Despite the royal efforts to raise the economic state of Sokal, a series of mishaps such as revolution, fires and plagues, negated such efforts. We know about these unfortunate incidents in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century from a testament, which the Starosta of Sokal began to write in the year 1570 – which conveyed that the residents of those houses do no, in general, pay any rent.

It is in this testament that one finds the first mention about the presence of Jews in Sokal. As indicated there, there were only two houses in the city in which Jews were permitted to live.

This decree was formalized later in the year 1578 by the king Stefan Batory limiting the number of Jews in the city to two families and two houses.

As is told in the memoirs of R’ Isaac Konstantin, which contains a treasure of facts about the old home, it is thought that the first Jews of Sokal came from Belz. In the first Jews of Sokal came from

Bela. period the Jewish settlement came from Belz. In the first period, Jewish settlement in Sokal was very poor, but they were – tells R' Isaac Konstantin – decent and observant Jews, scholars and sages. This small settlement was an affiliate (*pszikahalkeh*) of the community of Belz and all community matters were dependent on Belz.

So long as the local Jews were permitted to reside in only two houses, their means of development was severely limited. All the efforts on this first small outpost of Jews to create better circumstances for their existence and to raise the economic status of this poor Jewish settlement, were met with stubborn resistance from the Christian citizenry, who had only one concern: not to permit the Jewish population there to grow.

The efforts of King Zygmunt III to raise the economic life, by granting a privilege on March 26 1607 to open a Ruthenian salt storage facility in Sokal did not help.

A frightening conflagration turned the city to ashes. Together with this misfortune, King Zygmunt III gave out an order, which had been approved by the *Sejm* in Warsaw in the year 1616, that which relieved the city of the burden of land obligations, taxes and repayment, that the city had become responsible to pay into the King's treasury.

Almost all of the Polish kings in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century used all manner of efforts through actual releases from debt to raise up the royal city of Sokal from its fall, the condition in which it found itself after ongoing fires, in which the still weak Jewish community that suffered there along with the Christian populace.

On December 5, 1639, the King Wladyslaw IV granted a Privilege which took into account the continuous and by this, prevented Sokal from having a second Market Fair, and he ordered that this fair. He ordered a second fair in the city proper at the marketplace and should last for two weeks only in mid-week and not during Roman Catholic Holidays. At the same time, he freed all merchants who came to this fair from paying a head tax for a period of 10 years, which they were normally to pay to the castle and the city.

The fortified castle was completely destroyed in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Now, the residents in the Sokal area had to seek protection in the buildings of the St. Bernard Cloister, which had been built there in, the year 1599.

– 4 –

Despite the fact that the city government in Sokal, with the help of the royal *Starosta* rigorously observed the decree that Jews should not live in more than two houses, the number of Jews there rose despite this. This increase in Jewish population was an result of the fact that in neighboring Belz the Christian citizenry worked on the King Zygmunt Augustus, such that he issued an order in 1557 which forbade the local Jews from running saloons. and because of this, many Jews from Belz left the city and sought to make a living in neighboring Sokal. already previously identified writer of the memories of old Jewish Sokal, R' Isaac Konstantin, gave yet another reason why the number of Jews

rose. Namely, R' Leib ש"צ had taken up residence in Sokal. He was the son of the renown *Tzaddik* and *Gaon* R' Sirkis Joel ben Shmuel, who was called the '*Ba"Kh*' using the acronym [in Hebrew] of his substantive book, '*Bayit Khadash*.'

The son, R' Leib also stood out in his acuity and scholarship, and thanks to his presence in Sokal, the Jewish settlement there became an attraction to the point for many Jews from the entire vicinity.

– 5 –

The fires and other misfortunes that brought Sokal to the level of being totally destroyed, compelled the locally residing Christian populace to change their relationship to the Jewish populace. In the year 1609, an agreement was achieved between the local Christian and Jewish populace by which Jews, for the price of 100 Polish zlotys, obtained the right to construct 18 residential structures in the city, a synagogue and to organize a cemetery.

It is on the basis of this agreement that it becomes clear why the Jewish population in Sokal grew significantly in the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This agreement also clearly implied that this Jewish settlement would make an effort to tear itself away from the Belz community. You can appreciate that these efforts ran into sharp resistance from the leadership of the Belz community. There were more *Din-Torah* cases brought before the Rabbis in the center-city of Żółkiew and even in Lvov.

As R' Isaac Konstantin relates in his memoirs, there is an interesting episode connected to these *Din-Torah* sessions, which took place at the Sokal *Rebbe* R' Sholom Rokeach ש"צ. After extensive discussions and dealings about the issue of splitting it [Sokal] from the Belz community, the Rabbi, as the Head of the *Bet-Din* whose spiritual position was well understood by both sides – issued the decree that they should count up the number of set of *Shas* that there are in Sokal, and the number of prayer books in Belz. If it become evident that Sokal has more *Shas* than Belz has prayer books, then the Jewish community in Sokal will get the right to separate itself from the Belz community.

And this was the way it actually happened – tells R' Isaac Konstantine. Truly, in Sokal there were more copies of *Shas* than there were prayer books in Belz. Since that time, the community of Sokal became entirely independent, and was on its own.

– 6 –

A new enemy appeared on the eastern borders of Poland, and like a flood, it inundated the cities and towns sowing death and destruction. This was Chmielnicki in the year 1648, at the head of the united Cossacks coming out against the Polish state. A gruesome war was spread out, from which it was the Jews who suffered the most, and were bloodied the most.

In the years 1648, 1651 and 1655 – during which time, the united front of Cossacks with help from Tatar armies wrecked entire cities and villages – all of which was tragically incorporated into the history of Sokal.



המגדל וחלק החומות של המנזר הברנרדינים בסוקל  
 דער טורעם און א טייל פון די מויערן פונעם בערגארדינער קלויסטער אין סיקאל

Page 050: The Tower and Part of the Wall of the St. Bernard Monastery.

The first time the Cossacks appeared at the city, was when Chmielnicki, marching with his soldiers to Zamość, took care of Lvov, and first stopped at Sokal. During an assault by the Tatars, the fortified castle had already been burned to the ground, and the fortified castle, and the only remaining place of refuge was in the well-fortified St. Bernard monastery. It was here, indeed, that the Jews of Sokal and Poles, as well as the area populace who then put up equivalent forces in the form of a strong resistance inside the walls of the monastery – and they compelled Chmielnicki and his Cossacks to retreat from the city.

Out of all that remained from the terrifying Chmielnicki period of the years Ta'Kh & Ta'T the only historical material that remained was just one small book: '*Yeven Metzullah*' – 'an important source for the history the decrees and incidents of the Chmielnicki period that fell upon our Jewish brethren' – serving as an important source for the history of the decrees in this Chmielnicki period, prepared by R' Nathan Neta Hannover from Zaslów in Ruthenia, a refugee of that time. This small book was written in the year 1653, and was translated from Hebrew to Yiddish in the year 1920.

'In all of Poland, Ruthenia and Lithuania – we read in this little book – and all around, when news of the happenings arrived, the 'Greeks' rose up against the nobility and slaughtered all the nobility and all the Jews in a manner never before seen. Some fled to fortified cities, to the sacred communities: Bar, Kamieniec, Podolsky, Brod, Lvov, Narol, Prszemsyl, Belz the monastery in



Sokal and to Zamość. Some fled into the Wolynian territory, the Rabbis fled to the other side of the Vistula.’ About the simultaneous protection offered the Jews and Poles in the St. Bernard Cloister in Sokal, Dr. Yaakov Szatzki relates in his description of the ‘Decrees of Ta’Kh (which appeared in Vilna in 1938), where he tells that there was a famous monastery in Sokal where approximately 100 Jews saved themselves (p. 152).

A year later – in 1649 (in the month of July) after the Polish king Jan Kazimierz ordered a general mobilization of the people, the Polish army concentrated itself behind Sokal and it was from her that it went out to make war against the Chmielnicki hordes. A peace was concluded between the two sides in Zaborow, but already, by the year 1651, Chmielnicki broke the peace agreement and prepared himself of a new assault on Poland. The king, Jan Kazimierz again called together a general mobilization, and the concentration point for the Polish fighters was set at Constantine, a city not far from Sokal. Immediately afterwards when the Cossacks took possession of this city, a new point was selected for the Polish army, and it was the city of Sokal.

On May 17,1651 when the king Jan Kazimierz came to Sokal, a strong Polish army had already come together on the fields of the ‘Babiniec’ consisting of more than 130,000 soldiers, who went out to do battle with the bloody enemy. The battle with Chmielnicki’s Cossacks ended with a complete victory for the Polish army.’

In order to compensate for the losses that Sokal sustained while the Polish army was stationed at Sokal, the king Jan Kazimierz released the city from a series of taxes for a period of five years.

– 7 –

This condition of peace did not last very long. In the year 1655 Chmielnicki – now with the help of Russian military forces, invaded Poland and laid siege to Lvov. This time, as well, he did not overlook Sokal, and he destroyed the city. The St. Bernard Cloister was spared by a miracle.

In that very same year, a war began with Sweden that was of long duration, whose troops went into Poland and after a series of victories over the Polish military forces, took control of a large part of Poland, plundering the occupied territory in a frightening way. Sokal was also among the cities that suffered seriously during the Swedish occupation.



על המבניע'ים – פורץ של סוקל (על התמונה: ירידה של הצלם מזרז) אישן באבניע'ים – פריזשנס פון סוקל (אויפן בילד: די הוינגב פון פאטאגראף סטאדיו)

To round out the misfortune, in 1671 a frightening fire destroyed the city. After this fire, the residents of Sokal became so impoverished that the king Jan III saw it as

Page 052: On the ‘Babiniec’ Outside of Sokal (Picture: House of Mazur the Photographer)

necessary in the year 1678, to released the city from several royal taxes, including the Jews, who were released from a head tax for four years.

The war with the occupying Swedes spread out almost across the entire country. The city of Sokal, that had already suffered so much at the hand of the Swedish invaders, was again occupied in the year 1702 by the Swedish general Sztenback, who billeted himself and his army on the 'Babiniec' expanse. The Swedish soldiers plundered the city and also the St. Bernard monastery, from which they seized inventories of valuable jewelry and other valuables, which the neighboring nobility used as a cache as well as the municipal leaders of Belz.

Two years later (1704) the Polish king Augustus II again halted the otherwise victory-laden Swedish soldiers, and stopped them at Sokal with the help of Russian military divisions that were at that time friendly to him. You can understand – that the local residents did not get much good out of the presence of the royal Saxon and Russian soldiers.

All of these misfortunes, the constant warfare, fires, the frequent marching through of enemy and friendly troops, the heavy taxation and plagues – brought the city to the level of ruination.

The decline of the city was so widespread, that the subsequent royal relaxation in tribute in the year 1717 had little effect, a time when the city was once again relieved of certain taxes for a period of five years.

– 8 –

However, during this time, the Christian residents occupied sufficient fertile soil, from which they could derive a sustenance – the local Jews suffered not only from general troubles, which made it difficult for the entire municipal populace to make a living. They had to fight stubbornly to expand their presence in the city, for just the simple need to work for a living, or being allowed to participate in the town fairs. It is for these reasons that the economic circumstances of the Sokal Jews, in this period of time, was especially difficult and the poverty that could be found on the Jewish street took on a frightful form.

But the Sokal Jews, mostly craftsmen and middlemen, did not break under the yoke of these difficult wartime events and frequent fires, and engaged in all manner of strenuous effort to re-build the destroyed city.

The so-called objective Polish historian Bronislaw Sokalski explicitly stressed in the previously mentioned monograph of his that the Christian residents of Sokal did not, apart from working the land, engage in any sort of other labor – while at the same time complaining that 'the city is so fallen, that – during the many years of sacredly observing king Stefan's rule, that one should not forget the limit of two houses for Jews in the city. Sokalski takes the firm position that '– Sokal is once again getting filled up with Jews.' And with great sorrow, he underscores that during the time the Jewish printers were driven out of neighboring Tartakov in 1754, they received a friendly acceptance by the local [Sokal] Jews as if they were guests. The number of Jews in Sokal grew daily. In the lists of the

census for the first half of the 18th century, ordered by population, Sokal is counted among the nine large congregations, called out for the Chelm-Belz valley, the expression '9 Congregations' is often mentioned in the documents of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* during the period 1664-1744. In connection with this census count in the Chelm-Belz valley, there were nine large communities contained in the census of 1717, to which it belonged: Luboml, Chelm, Olesk, Szywno, Warzyce, Sokal and Tyszowce, with Zamość at the top.

In the first half of the 18th century the Jews of Sokal occupied a sufficiently large position, if they had the nerve to call a member of the royalty to court. We learn about this from the Act of 1749, where it is stated that in that year before the royal chancellor, Yankl Kiwowitz, a resident of Sokal declared on his behalf – and that of the Jews Pesach Jakubowicz and Mark Smolewitz, residents of Hrubieszow and Sokal that they are stepping down from the trial against an employee of the royal treasury.

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סטרענאנעס אינעם אלטן סוקאל

דוכנים בטוקל הישן

Page 055: Elevated Porches in Old Sokal

How many Jews lived in Sokal in the first half of the 18th century?

It is difficult to provide accurate statistical numbers in connection with the number of Jews for this period in time. The first counting of Jews in independent Poland took place in 1764 and the beginning of 1765. The Jewish historian, Dr. Raphael Mahler writes: 'The Jews in former Poland lacks good numbers (see *Verlag*, the Yiddish Book from Warsaw 1958) – and in the year 1927 began to work on the census rosters of the census taken in 1764.

In the year 1937 Dr. Mahler interrupted this work, leaving uncounted, among others, the rosters concerning part of the Ruthenian districts (this is Eastern Galicia) and seeing that the census rosters of the year 1764 with the additional census rosters of the year 1795 were incinerated in Warsaw

during the Hitler occupation, Dr. Mahler's statistical research could not include the Jewish residents of the Eastern Galician vicinity.

Most of the Jews in Sokal at that time were engaged in buying agricultural produce from the residents of the surrounding villages.

Jewish craftsmen had to endure a lot of trouble from the Christian unions, to which the Jews could not belong. During that time, the unions were the deciding factor in all issues, that had to do with labor. To become Master, in order to sell one's own products, to obtain raw materials, – for everyone there had to be consent from the unions, who looked upon the Jewish workmen with antipathy, and as competition and fought them every step of the way.

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## **Under Austrian Rule**

In the first partition of Poland in the year 1772, that part of the Belz voievode that encompassed Sokal and its surrounding towns fell under the Austrian monarchy.

The change in rule because of this occupation of Eastern Galicia involved upheavals in the right-wing political supporters as well as changes to the socio-economic condition of the Jews who lived there.

To begin with, the Austrian kingdom built up an administrative apparatus in Eastern Galicia that relied on the central Viennese institutions of rule. This was the period when the rulers of the large kingdoms relied on enlightened absolutism, that is to say from a royal politics, this was a form of monarchial politics that the centralized monarchial rule gave the appearance of humanitarianism, whose motto was to create '*leibeseigenschaft*' (*panoszyć*<sup>33</sup>).

The Austrian government in approaching the Jewish populace in Galicia made use of directives and orders, which first and foremost sought to minimize the number of Jews, and second these directives bore a purely physical character. Also for the Austrian rulers – just as it did for the Polish magnates and populace – the Jews were thought of as an object for physical exploitation.

This goal was realized by the Jewish ordinance of Theresienstadt of the year 1776, which took into account the rooting of a Jewish social presence, which was still tightly bound to the Jewish religious tradition. The queen, Maria Theresa established the autonomy of Jewish communities, for which she created a central body – the so-called 'Jewish Directorate,' whose objective was to divide up the Jewish taxes among a few communities.

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<sup>33</sup> Run by the nobility.

Maria Theresa's successor, Kaiser [Franz] Josef II, who was a loyal follower of the absolutist-humanitarian governing tendencies of the previous era, approached the Jewish question seriously with a radical plan for transforming the Jewish standard of living.

In connection with these administrative changes, which the ruling government of Austria carried out based on the Royal patent of 1782, occupied Galicia was divided up into 18 circles, who were directly dependent on the governing authority in Lemberg. Sokal was in one such circle, even though, in this period, it had the appearance of a large town. Even the local circle headquarters had its location in a wooden building.

Industrially separated, cut off from other parts of the land because of a lack of a train station and suitable roads, which could have enable a light contact with the then most important center in Lemberg – the area city of Sokal, for a long time, did not emerge from its industrial backwardness.

A small part of the local populace at that time made a living from primitive weaving methods, which only started to develop at the end of the Joseph II period.

To understand what was relevant to the socio-economic condition of the Jews in Sokal during the Josef II period, requires that we consider the king's far-reaching reforms, which cut deeply into the economic life of the Jewish settlement in Galicia and were formulated as part of his famous 'Tolerance-Patent' of 1789. This patent first disposed of all limitations concerning Jewish commerce, and permitted the Jews to freely pursue their crafts, and to sell their products both in their homes, and at fairs or in the marketplace. With few exceptions, this 'Tolerance-Patent' nullified all the decisions of municipal governments in connection with their right to limit the dwelling rights of Jews.

An exception – rather rare for Jews – the '*Judenordnung*' was the right to limit the number of Jews in a village that engaged in agriculture only, or craftsmanship, and it was thereby forbidden for Jews to deal with the villages in drink products, to lease parcels of land, mills, and the like.

These decrees, ordered by Josef II shook up Jewish economic life in Galicia. Approximately 40% of the Jewish population living there lived in villages during that period. Now, the Jewish village people were left without an income and had no other choice but to move from the villages to the cities.

It was conditions like these that the Jewish settlement in Sokal with wondrous persistence strained all of its might in order to overcome the imposed constraints, which it encountered on a daily basis in the difficult struggle for a decent existence.

Thanks to these efforts, not only did the Jewish settlement get stronger, but the city itself began to develop and raise its economic power.

The development process of the Sokal Jewish settlement encountered obstacles frequently, which, on one side, had its roots in the centralizing tendencies of the Austrian government in Vienna, and from the other side in the old enmity from anti-Semitic circles within the Christian residents who were still strong enough to wield influence.

As the previously mentioned Polish historian Bronislaw Sokalski relates, Sokal was a n ‘insignificant city’ even as late as 1885, in which the world was built of wooden boards and resembled a large village rather than a center city. ‘But in the latter times – Sokalski immediately stresses – much improved and now the city looks much better.’

Since the significant part of the city began to expand on the right side of the Bug, new streets appeared there with small houses boasting of mortar.

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The northern side of the Lemberg *Main Gasse*, which stretched for a distance of 3 kilometers, with time became more substantively built up and by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a whole row of new buildings were concentrated there, such as the municipal hospital, the Magistrate’s offices, with a small tower added in 1898, in which a tower clock was situated. These significant buildings by virtue of government law and tax income, stood as a bulwark, into which the municipal marketplace expanded. Over time, other buildings were built for important institutions such as the Girl’s-School, the store for kitchen supplies, the Post Office and several private homes. However, near to these new buildings there remained a number of low huts with straw roofs, that gave the appearance of a village setting. It was only later that these small huts vanished, because the municipal government began to allocate building permits to erect only houses using concrete and mortar. Slowly but surely, thanks to this movement to build more houses, the city grew larger, and began to lose its village-like appearance.

However – as our Polish historian Sokalski complains – ‘a misfortune’ befell the city of Sokal... He writes in his monograph that ‘the Jewish population which heretofore had lived only in the northwest part of the city, on the so called ‘*zarwanica*,’ has now taken over the marketplace, and took up residence even further along the Lemberg *Gasse* , buying up the parcels from the locals whom they displace from their prior homes.’

Old and well-known complaints are repeated in all municipal monographs that Polish historians write over the course of centuries. Sokalski’s arguments are not understandable to the Jews, seeing that they have built new concrete and mortar buildings in the place of burned out wooden houses... but he personally stresses that since an intensive construction movement began there, Sokal took on the appearance of a city.

But according to Sokalski’s conclusions, this was not the only ‘sin’ of the Jews in Sokal, which had developed so rapidly only thanks to Jewish diligence and patience.



לפני חנות של אסיאס ליבר (ר' יהושע) בסוקל, שנפתחה בשנת 1876  
סאָרן געשעפט פון אַסיאַס ליבער אין סיקאַל, וואָס איז געעפנט געוואָרן אין יאָר 1876  
Page 059: In front of the Store of Isaias Lieber R' Yehoshua) in Sokal, Opened in 1876

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As we have already previously noted, the reforms of [Emperor Franz] Josef II caused fundamental changes to the socio-economic life of the Jewish population in Galicia.

To begin with, all of the constraints regarding choice of occupation fell away. From this time on, Jews received the opportunity to be active in all socially permitted professions and became free to sell their products in their homes, or in the market or at fairs.

All of the local agreements of municipal leadership limiting the area where Jews could live were nullified, and given a larger number of houses where Jews would be allowed to live. Together with this, Jews received permission to enlarge their residences.

Such a process also came into being in Sokal. Here, as well, Jews moved in from the surrounding villages and began the stressful activity in order to occupy an appropriate position in the local economic life. Along with the local residential Jews, they made meaningful contributions to the growth and rise of the city.

Weaving was the exception in this regard, where a larger number of the Christian residents were employed, who wove primitive linen. This folk-weaving first began to develop strongly during the reign of Josef II.

In light of these facts, the complaints of the referred to author of the monograph concerning the Sokal vicinity are characteristic, that 'in the entire Sokal *Powiat*, the Jews have entirely displaced the Christian element in the towns, dominating the industry and the commerce with small towns.' This is an explicit and angry slap with clearly anti-Semitic overtones...

Without a question, all of the commerce in Sokal was concentrated in Jewish hands. However, towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, this commerce did not have any great potential for growth, because at that time Sokal was still cut off from the principal communication road which led to Lemberg. Almost an entire century passed until the year 1878, the first such road was completed, which connected Sokal with the station in Kristianopol and in this fashion, the city obtained a connection with Lemberg via Mosty' and Żółkiew. Apart from this connection in 1884, the construction of a train station was completed, which went from Sokal through Rawa Ruska and Żółkiew until it reached Lemberg.

In the year 1893, the road from Dobroczyń to Sokal was paved with brick, and in the same way, in 1898, the road was done from Sokal to Tartakiv. These communication links contributed a great deal to the increase in commerce in Sokal. The export trade in agricultural products was thereby increased in a large measure. It is worth noting that in 1899 that 82 residents in Sokal were engaged in the weaving trade, and 864 manual laborers and merchants were domiciled there, the majority being Jews, who controlled the export trade, which took in everything but wood products and agricultural products. The export of eggs became very significant, which were sent out of the country by wagon. Because of this egg transportation, Sokal Jews obtained work as egg buyers, carton makers, and the like.

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A consequence of this revolutionary upheaval, which spread all over European countries in the year 1848, the socio-political foundations of the Habsburg Empire began to disintegrate. In Galicia, after creating the *Panczizna* (private ownership) profound changes took place on the scene of economic life. The purchase power of the rural areas rose, and together with the rise in consumption needs of the peasant masses, Jewish commerce grew stronger.

In Sokal, which according to the report of 1889, was reckoned to be among the 29 larger cities with its own autonomous municipal leadership, there was created a solid base for a stronger economic



activity by the Jewish populace. The skill base of the Sokal Jewish populace grew meaningfully, which had now become a magnet for Jews of other locations.

A picture that stands out of the continuous growth of this Jewish populace is provided by the statistical data from a number of census takings, which the Austrian authorities carried out in Galicia.

Up until the year 1850, it was the royal authorities that came to take the census, which were carried out by organs of the military and therefore the results of these tallies had questionable worth. Even the first civilly-conducted census of the year 1869 which took place a mere two years afterwards, in which the rights of the Jews in Galicia were undercounted, this did not arouse any sorrows with the Jews. As was previously the case, during the physical and military census, the Jews used every method they could not to be found in the census rolls.

It was only in the civil census of the year 1880, which took place in Galicia after the implementation of general military service, which also was imposed on the Jews, the census was conducted rigorously, and had trustworthy data in it.

There were three such census counts taken in Galicia until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: the years were 1880, 1890 and 1900.

In order to become acquainted with the results of these three census rolls in connection with the Jewish population in Sokal – we revert to a separate tale:

1880

The general population in Sokal .....6725

Jewish Residents

The Absolute Total..... 2408

The Percent vs. the General Population..... 35.8

1890

The general population in Sokal .....8006

Jewish Residents

The Absolute Total..... 3272

The Percent vs. the General Population..... 40.9

1900

The general population in Sokal .....9609

Jewish Residents

The Absolute Total..... 3778

The Percent vs. the General Population..... 39.3

Together with this statistical data, one has to first underscore the meaningful growth of the Jewish population in Sokal, where the Christian residents over the course of centuries strictly supervised conformance to the privilege of 1578, where the residential rights of Jews there was limited to only two houses. From barely 20 to at most 30 Jewish people in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century – up to the year 1880 grew the Jewish population to 2408 people.

Ten years later – in the year 1890, the Jews of Sokal had to document a large growth, because the Jewish population at that point had reached 3272, that is, 864 additional lives. Also relatively, in comparison to the general population of Sokal residents, the number of Jews rose to 40.9%

But in the next decade (1890-1900) the number of Jews in Sokal only grew by 506, and relatively, their percentage fell to 39.3%

This relative decrease in the indicated decade was a result of the nationalist politics of Ruthenia from the side of the Polish administration in Eastern Galicia – in an area where there was not yet any bigger industry, that could provide jobs to new immigrants. With the help of the Polish authorities, these Polish residents began to pressure the Jews who lived there, moving them out of their economic positions. Those Jews who were so driven out did not have many towns in Eastern Galicia to which they could relocate to other Austrian lands, or to emigrate overseas.

As the first statistical data indicates, the Jews of Sokal did not break under this pressure, but rather withstood the strong doubled pressure from the Austrian bureaucracy on one side – and the ruling Polish circles on the other side. In the resulting ‘humanitarian’ Josef directives, all the village Jews from the Sokal area, left the homes they resided in, and moved into Sokal, where the Jewish settlement had already conducted a severe struggle with the attempts of the Poles to exterminate them.

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Changes also took place in the organization of the community along with changes that took place in economic and political life of the Jews in Sokal under Austrian rule.

During the reign of Maria Theresa, the largest of the Jewish communities continued to remain in place, under what can be called ‘general-direction. It consisted of 6 precincts composed of 6 elders headed by what was called an *Oberlands-Rabbiner*. The principal objective of this body, which was selected for a term of 6 years after a very complex election process, was to divide up the taxes among the various communities.

The successor to Maria Theresa, the Kaiser [Franz] Josef II, created a ‘Jewish Directive’ in the year 1785 with the autonomous communities. Following his reformist plans regarding the Jews in Galicia the remnants of Jews from the former autonomous Jewish communities in Poland were an obstacle to his efforts to remove Jewish separatism. In his opening year of 1789 ‘tolerance patent,’ in 64 paragraphs he formulated the constitutional foundations and the proper condition of the Jews in

Galicia. Apart from a whole variety of agreements which limited the entry possibilities of the Jewish populace in Galicia, such as military service, a variety of taxes –especially the tax on kosher meat and candles, the patent sanctioned the removal of the ‘General-Directive’ with the land – and the elders in the communities, and it left 141 newly-created communities in the entire country, whose only objective was to have a sort of religious oversight without any other competition. The election of such a community (having from 3 to 7 principal representatives) — the so called ‘*Kultus-Gemeindesverstand*,’ was introduced by a system of election whose basis was the principle of Sabbath candle count, therefore only homeowners could become members of such a Community-leadership. The candidates for this community leadership had to have command of German and get 2/3 of the vote those Jewish *balebatim* qualified to vote.

It was in this fashion that hegemony over a community was turned over into the hands of a small group of rich Jews, who did not always take into account the important living issues of the Jewish populace, who suffered so greatly under the burden of the tax-yoke from other bureaucratic directives.

The ‘*Tolerance-Patent*’ of the [Kaiser Franz] Josef II provide for a ‘*Kreis-Rabbiner*’ for the larger communities, and a ‘*Religions-Weiser*’ for the smaller ones, who were nominated by the *Kreis-Rabbiner*. The objective of such a ‘*Religions-Weiser*,’ in his location was the same in his location as that of a ‘*Kreis-Rabbiner*’ in his community. Sokal belonged administratively to the circle of Żółkiew, and employed a ‘*Religions-Weiser*’ who was nominated by the ‘*Kreis-Rabbiner*’ in Żółkiew. In the year 1833, his salary came to 170 Florins.

The only thing remaining for the *Kreis-Rabbiner* to do was act as a judge in religious matters, and because of that, he was forbidden to make use of excommunication. Also forbidden was any contact with the community leadership, in order to render impossible to undertake the creation of any attempt to create any sort of central community body.

A prominent feature in the ‘*Tolerance-Patent*,’ can be found in the attempts by Josef II to interdict any attempts at Jewish-Nationalist separation. At the Kaiser’s demand, the Jews needed to shed all of the religious customs, which do not express loyalty to the laws of the land. For not carrying out this decree, risked the loss of the citizen’s rights, and additionally had to pay the emigrant-tax – this was the decree to leave the country.

Jewish life in Sokal oriented itself in compliance with these legal decrees. This Jewish settlement, which towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was still a fortress of *Hasidism*, took up very reluctantly these Josef II reforms. To the good fortune of the Sokal Jews, since the year 1782 there was a chief-area head in place, who placed great weight first of all on economic problems and specifically engaged himself to raise the living standard of the city’s populace.

Because of this, the old *Hasidic* manners held on during this period with the *Haredim*, with the Yeshiva, with the *Hasidim* as the spiritual center, from which famous scholars and Torah sages emerged.

Also later on, under the rule of Kaiser Josef's heirs, the Jews in Galicia suffered from the burden of the reactionary tendencies by the Austrian rulers. The ruling administration of that time in Galicia, stood with complete rigor on the watch of this law, particularly with regard to the tangible monarchical interests, when it came to the Jews.

In addition to the physical pressure, there were also economic and cultural pressures. The entire array of economic limitations placed on Jews in Galicia remained in place.

Since 1829, Jews were forbidden to engage with medical crafts and pharmacies. Jews were not allowed to deal with items sacred to Christians, including pictures.

All the Jews of Galicia suffered in the cultural sphere as well, mostly from the very strict Austrian censor, who did not permit even old religious writings. It was forbidden to make use of religious books and this, yet further, forced the Jews of Galicia to print all of their books using secret press facilities. A medieval decree continued to remain in force, where the prohibition forbade the use of old religious customs to light [candles in] the synagogues, or to appear in the streets during a Christian procession, which always engendered a fright and terror in the Jewish populace.

It was first in the revolution in Austria of 1848, the so called 'spring of the nations,' that in Galicia new horizons opened to Jews and awakened hopes to struggle for a fully-qualified citizenship as equals. In the month of April 1848 the Jews in all of Austria got the active and passive right to cast a vote for the Austrian parliament and in the first constitutional convention Jewish debates took a part in the proceedings, among whom, the most prominent of the Jews was the Viennese Rabbi Mannheimer, who had been elected in the Jewish section of Galicia.

Thanks to their tireless struggle in the Viennese parliament, in October 3, 1848 the shameful taxes on kosher meat and candles were nullified.

It was difficult for the Jewish debaters at that time to achieve the total removal of the remaining but legal limitations imposed on the Jewish community. It was first after the fall of the Austrian government in external politics and after losing wars, the constitutional régime in Austrian lands became strengthened, and in the end, the various national groups in Austria received broad autonomy in the constitution of the year 1867. All Austrian citizens had all of their rights guaranteed with equality under the law, regardless of faith or nationality.

It was on the strength of this constitution the Jews of Galicia also achieved full, legal rights as citizens.

A whole array of previously arrayed limitations on the right to do work were annulled, and the number of Jews in the schools, and universities grew, and along with that the number of Jews in the independent professions grew, all of which opened the path to Enlightenment widely in Galicia.

The changes wrought by these right-wing political changes also altered Jewish life in Sokal. The *Hasidic* Jews there, who during this period were still living with the patriarchal tradition of Polish Jewry, tried all manner of means to dilute these tendencies to adopt these reforms, which threatened to block the Jewish way of life up to that point. All of this while in neighboring Żółkiew as well as other Eastern Galician cities, in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a whole array of Enlightened folk, and people who fought for secular education, but in Sokal, they strongly refrained from adopting even the most minimal level of secular studies.

Despite the fact that since 1806, Jews in Galicia were permitted to send their children to the government-run elementary schools, the number of Jewish children in these *Volksschule* was still very small in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. In the entire district of Żółkiew to which – as we know – Sokal already belonged, in 1806 there were barely 100 Jewish students in these secular *Volksschule*. Even later, in the year 1830, when the general number of children in the Government-run elementary schools reached 51,153, there were barely 804 Jewish children there from all of Galicia, this already included the number of children in the Jewish school in Tarnopol.

As is related in the memoirs of R' Isaac Constantine, Sokal Jewry in this period lived under the spiritual influence of the Belz *Gaon* and *Tzaddik* R' Sholom Rokeach ר' שלום רוקאך. This influence held sway even after his death in the year 1855, when the Rabbinical seat in Belz passed to his youngest son, R' Shia ר' ש"י and his uncle R' Zindl and after him (about 1882) R' Shmuel Rokeach ר' שמעון רוקאך. It was R' Shmuel Rokeach who was particularly strict in seeing that Sokal Jews lived in the spirit of Torah and tradition. He closely examined every innovation to *Yiddishkeit* in the city. He founded a Yeshiva, where over 100 young men from the age of 13-14 studied. These Yeshivah students were stringently separated from any whiff of worldliness, including even mastery of the Polish language, which was forbidden.

As R' Isaac Constantine tells further in his memoirs – he, being a pupil of that Yeshiva had a desire to learn the Polish language; But his father ר' יצחק did not permit this, standing on the point that it was sufficient to be able to write an address in Polish.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Sokal permitted itself to undergo a significant change in all aspects of Jewish life. Almost all of commerce was in the hands of Jewish merchants and it was the cohort of Jewish craftsmen who had the lead.

There already was a steam-driven mill in place, which belonged to the one-time Jewish rich man, Raush. Thanks to the Jewish energy in action, there was a significant export of agricultural products from Sokal.

We learn of the extent of export business from a number of statistical sources, which Sokalski documents in his previously mentioned monograph about the Sokal vicinity. The following were sent out of the Sokal train station in the years 1890, 1891, and 1892:

5,485 Tons of grain for the inner land  
460 Tons of grain to Austria  
397 Tons of grain to Russia by way of Brod  
10 Tons of grain to Germany

During these three years, the following potato exports were sent out from this train station;

657 Tons to other parts of Galicia

80 Tons to Austria

During this same period, the following was also sent to other parts of Galicia from Sokal:

262 Cattle to other parts of Galicia

2,562 Cattle to Austria

The Sokal Jews also developed their own small industry. In the 80 years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century they were engaged in the manufacture of small belts with a Kilim weave.

In general, they opened up work for Jews in Galicia in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that were far-reaching. In the year 1859, the 'durable goods-law' was implemented this broke the independent control of the guilds, and as a consequence, Jews received the right to engage in collective labor.

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It was only at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the first rays of the Enlightenment-Movement penetrated into Galicia. Since most of the Austrian provinces became open to communication methods and the Jewish merchants remained connected with Vienna and other large cities, a fresh atmosphere dominated the spirit of Galician Jewry.

An intense culture war [sic: *kulturkampf*] broke out on the Jewish streets in Eastern Galicia. In a whole row of larger cities, in Lemberg, Brod, Zólkiew and Tarnopol, Enlightened people and culture activists lived and made their influence felt, who set themselves an objective to create a synthesis between religious tradition, Yiddishkeit and the knowledge being developed in the outside world, and in doing so, strove to spread worldly education and child-rearing on the Jewish streets.

This movement towards Enlightenment encountered a strong opposition from orthodox circles, who in that period still opposed, in Jewish settlements, to not allow in any form of change in the old way of Jewish life. The struggle between Enlightenment reformers and orthodox leaders mostly was played out within the study houses, in the schools and the *shtiblach*. By extraordinary stressful methods, it fell to the Enlightenment to lead for worldly cultural enlightenment among the Jewish masses by their activity.

In Sokal this *kulturkampf* did not have such a quick success. In this city, even though it belonged to the circle of Zólkiew, where the Enlightenment movement was already strongly enough developed, the Rabbis and scholarly rich men, still retained the deciding influence over the religious-cultural directions on the Jewish street. They subjected every attempt of Enlightenment activity on the Jewish street to a strong-handed approach, subjecting every move by the Enlightenment to scrutiny which began to storm amongst the Jewish youth in that place.

Where it is related, in a different part of this Yizkor Book, the Sokal native R' Yitzhak Birnbaum – left his home town even before the First World War, and when he returned After a number of years to Sokal, already being an Enlightened young man, the *Hasidim* regarded him with suspicion and spied on him, whether he was -God forbid- not become 'infected' with Zionism, which had in other Jewish settlements in Galicia already had captured the mood of Jewish youth. But – as Yitzhak Birnbaum relates– most of the youth fro the Husiatyn *Kloyz* in Sokal had already absorbed something of Zionism and they asked of him more than once, that he acquaint them with the foundations of the Zionist concept.

But these were isolated individuals from the younger generation, who secretly sought a way to the Jewish Renaissance movement. At that time, the Jewry of Sokal was still stubbornly and tightly tied to the old Jewish way of life, and still lived under the strong influence of the Rabbis and *Hasidism*. The orthodox leader in that location accumulated enough clout in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – to [zealously] guard the foundations of the 'old ways' on the Jewish street, in connection with how to raise youth by sending them to *Heder* and *Yeshiva*, where there was a pervasive fear of any attempt to broaden the spiritual and social horizon.

In this period, even if there were weak social forces active in Sokal, they could not get themselves out of the ranks of receiving charity – or other philanthropic support endeavors.

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Sokal went through yet another development towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. New buildings for schools and other public institutions, the general hospital (finished in the year 1878), the lively private building movements – this all raised the significance of the city, which now no longer belonged under the supervision of the Zólkiew leadership, rather, it became the principal city of a separate Sokal administrative area.

This implied that the economic condition of the Jews there improved, who used the favorable opportunities whether for internal or external commerce. Thanks to their ability to make a large effort and extraordinary diligence, they overcame all the difficulties that they had to struggle with in their daily struggle for existence.

In their loyalty to the sacred faith in the year 1856 they built a respectable school modeled on the school in Zólkiew.

The Christian townsfolk had no small amount of envy of their Jewish citizens. Suddenly, the Poles and Ukrainians who for long years live essentially from agriculture, found satisfaction in commerce.

'In the city, there is one Christian colonial business' – Sokolski complained in his monograph on the Sokal vicinity. Now, the Christian residents became ardent guardians of the village peasantry, and began to spread about plans for how to free the peasantry from Jewish hands, from the Jewish merchant, from Jewish storekeepers, craftsmen and intermediaries.

Along with these efforts, whose goal was to take control of the Jewish trade – the Christians of Sokal made great efforts to drive the Jews out of the export trade, calling on the agricultural populace not to sell agricultural produce to the Jews. To launch this offensive with Jewish commerce, they began to form the so-called ‘*Zulka Rolnica*’, (agricultural circles).

In the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there existed more of these ‘*Zulka Rolnica*’ who engaged in buying up and sale of the agricultural produce of the peasantry, and in the year 1898 a Commerce-Union was founded, which encompasses more than 50 such buy-and-sell circles in the area.

These Christian commerce points, supported by undisguised funding via the *kreis-rat (rada powiatowa)*, had to serve as an authority for the expulsion *aktion* and – and as emphasized by our Polish recorder Sokalski – these ‘*kukla Rolnica*’ needed – to enjoy continuous financial support from the local authorities (especially the *rada powiatowa*) and at the earliest future date to become competent enough to take over the village-based commerce into their hands.

This anti-Jewish *aktion* had to produce the desired result. The pressure of this act of penetration, subsidized by official and unofficial anti-Semitic factors, began to subvert the economic foundations of the Jewish population of Sokal. The number of Jewish business entities that fell as victims of this extermination-activity by the Christian populace of the town, grew stronger day-by-day. Only one alternative remained for the Jewish populace of Sokal: Emigrate away from the city.

It is for these reasons that in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the relative number of Jews in Sokal fell 1.6% as we have already established before.

A growth of the Polish element took place at the expense of the Jewish populace, which chose the path of emigration.

There was no talk of an independent Jewish self-help organization. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there remained only few respectable, orthodox faith promoters, Who in past times had honestly and sensibly managed community funds, and represented Sokal Jewry in the office of the city Magistrate. These one-time orthodox leaders such as R’ Isaac Byk ש״י and after him, R’ Israel Brod ש״י – with completely earnest commitment were active in the community. But they did not take account for the thinking of the larger Jewish populace, which at this point in time, because of reactionary voting ordinances, had no elected authority to act on behalf of the [Jewish] community or the City Council. Despite the fact that these activists were always ready for any community undertaking, and for each occasion developed a necessary philanthropic help-activity for the good of their needy Jewish folk. But to open the gates of the community for the wider circles of the Jewish populace, these activists had not developed an understanding of how to proceed. Quite the opposite – guarding the old Jewish way of life on the Jewish street in Sokal, they succeeded in stopping any trace of worldliness, that had already begun to penetrate into the ranks of orthodox Jewish youth.

It is sufficient to point out the writings of the Sokal landsman Aharon Hafner ש״י, born in 1864, and studied there in a yeshiva. After he married, he became a comic, and began to write songs in Hebrew



and Yiddish, and later, in the year 1901 he and his family emigrated to America, where he participated as a journalist in the daily papers there, and also published several collections with Hebrew songs. He died in America in the year 1933.

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The twentieth century began in Sokal with a great misfortune. A frightening fire in 1901 destroyed a large part of the Jewish quarter, and hundreds of Jewish businesses were left with no roof over their heads. With the greatest of efforts, the local Jews there took to rebuilding their destroyed homes, and those Jews that did not suffer from the fire did not allow their brethren to fall in this time of trouble, and generously helped with the reconstruction work.

In general, the economic circumstances of the Jews in the Galician cities and towns deteriorated. If, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century approximately 80% of the commerce was in Jewish hands, and in certain lines of business there were exclusively Jewish control in wholesale and export business, already in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century these Jewish economic positions began to totter.

In Sokal and its vicinity, there was a substantial rise in Polish ‘*Zulka Rolnica*<sup>34</sup>’ which were also deeply rooted in the wholesale business with agricultural products.

A similar [business] activity was also developed by the ‘*Soyuz Ukrainskii*, the ‘*Narodna Torhowla*, and the ‘*Soyuz Ruskii*.’ The Jews now finding themselves under the double pressure of Polish and Ukrainian anti-Semitic forces, had to battle intensely against the efforts to expel them by the opposite Christian sides.

We catch a glimpse regarding the economic and social structure of the Jews in Sokal during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from the writings of Dr. David Kindler, the renown Zionist and social activist in that area for decades, who miraculously was saved from the Nazi *Gehenna* and today lives with his family in Israel.

As he tells this, as early as the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, what developed in accordance with the accepted practice, among the Jewish masses, was the manifestation of concentrating itself around the *Gaonim* of that time, *Tzaddikim* from Belz, Husiatyn and Strilets’ke. Each such group of *Hasidim*, built and maintained its own house of worship. Apart from Yiddish, the Jews there spoke a bit of Polish, or Ruthenian, to the extent that it was needed to transact business with the Polish or Ruthenian populace. During that period, there were already Jews who spoke a bit of German, and read the Viennese periodical ‘*Die Neue Freie Presse*,’ which simultaneously was a sort of guide to political problems.

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<sup>34</sup> Circles dealing with agriculture



שכונת יהודים בסוקל הישן (לפני הדירה של משפחה קארן)  
א יידיש וווינזנס-פעריסל אינעם אלטן סיקאל (פאר דער ווינזנג פון דער משפחה קארן)

Page 073: In Front of the Korn House of the Jewish Quarter.

The so-called small group of Jewish intelligentsia, which at that time was already active in the city, carried on a separate life and was entirely assimilated. Members of this intelligentsia circle were: the lawyer Frankel, a highly respected and well-known man, and the medical doctor Orikh, who had a mostly Jewish practice.

There was a steam mill that was run outside of the city, which was built by the rich Sokal man Rauch. Later on this mill was bought by the Baron Watman, who took on the responsibility of providing Rauch's son with the position of director of the mill, which had only Jewish employees and Christians as simple laborers. The director Rauch – even though he ran his house in the Polish spirit, was very generous in donating to all Jewish needs.

On the periphery of Sokal was a bench factory, which belonged to the Griner brothers who out of the manufacture of benches for distilleries made a great deal of money. The *balebatim* that owned this factory, simple Jews of the old traditional way of life, integrated themselves to a great degree in the city. Their children were, however, already members of the so called assimilated intelligentsia.

Most of the Jews of the city – as Dr. Kindler tells – in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Jews were involved with commerce, not a little in wholesale. There were also craftsmen among the Jews that were active. The tailors, carpenters, artists, and a very few shoemakers. The Christian populace – that we already know from before – also got themselves involved in the working of the land, and as a result there were also Christian craftsmen but not in a large number.

As Dr. Kindler tells us, two Jews stood out as unusually excellent in their community work: one was the businessman Burstein, a wealthy Jewish man, one who observed tradition, and while would often

be perusing a page of the *Gemara*. His children were already studying at universities, and were entirely assimilated and, in general, took no part in Jewish community affairs.

The second community activists was Abgot, the owner of a fabric cutting business and a member of the Sokal City Council. As to his two sons – one was an active assimilationist, while the second led a Jewish life.

As to all political issues, at that time the Sokal Jews aligned themselves in accordance with the guidance given by the *Tzaddik* of Belz.

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As early as the end of the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Galician government readied itself to limit and even eliminate the competition from Jewish communities, the progressive Jewish activists of that time in Galicia from the ‘Shomer Yisrael’ organization called for a gathering of Jewish communities in Lemberg, which took on the role of being a model of status for the communities of Galicia, and it was decided to establish a Rabbinical Seminary in Galicia. Along with this decision during this gathering, a heated battle took place between the modern oriented representatives of the communities and the emissaries of the orthodox. In the end, the *Tzaddik* of Belz, the *Rebbe* Yehoshua Rokeach זצ"ל, along with other orthodox rabbis, called for a boycott of all the decisions taken at the Lemberg conference. At the same time, they created a separate religious organization, ‘*Makhzikei Das*,’ which set itself the objective to contest the progressive tendencies that began to penetrate the Jewish communities.

These orthodox circles called for a conference in Lemberg in 1882, in which 220 rabbis participated and 800 delegates from Jewish communities in Galicia and Bukovina and as it was decided at the time. The status of the Jewish communities was to follow the orthodox tradition.

This contest between the orthodox and progressive camps in Galicia took on sharp forms – this was especially the case when Jewish-Nationalist leaders began to appear in the Galician political arena, who took up the fight for the realization of Dr. Herzl’s solution to the anticipating Jewish communities.

As we have previously shown, a grasp of the Jewish-Nationalist politics as alien to the Sokal Jewish leadership, and still by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was calm that reigned on the Jewish street of Sokal, until the appearance of the first Zionist pioneers and even then, Sokal was not plagued by any fighting. Several respected rich orthodox families held sway in Sokal, carrying out their duties and community affairs with commitment, within the narrow limitations of what was then the area of Jewish activity.

These rich people often represented the Jewish populace in the Sokal Town Council, using very simple efforts to obtain relaxation of limits for the Jewish side.

In the battle between the Poles and Ruthenians, they always took a solid position on the Polish side, who supported the single just ruler in Eastern-Galicia.

The National-Zionist currents, which in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had already captured the mood of the Jewish masses in the larger Eastern-Galician cities, in the end, broke through the wall of indifference and political nationalist lack of concern that for generations long had held sway over the Jewish street in Sokal. In the year 1905, there was already an active Zionist Society headed by Dr. Shimon Wolfram.

In the 1907 elections to the Austrian parliament the young Zionist activists in Galicia, for the first time, went out to do battle on behalf of Jewish-Nationalist candidates, that were put forth in a few election districts. This election contest awoke the Jewish masses from their political apathy and reluctance to participate. With indescribable and ardent fire, the Jewish-National proposals were taken up in the Jewish settlements of Galicia.

The Jewish national camp fought from a unified front of the Polish reaction with assimilated Jewish people, voted for the Jewish-Nationalist ticket, against anti-Zionist orthodox circles, who were only able to put up three or four candidates, even though the mass of Jews voted in an array of cities, voted *en masse* for the Jewish-Nationalist ticket.

This voting contest still elicited a weak reaction in Sokal. The young Zionist organization there, encountered a strong opposition to its efforts from all orthodox circles, who at that time were still the deciding factor on the Jewish street.

These same circles, led by rich orthodox *balebatim*, also held sway over the Jewish community in Sokal. The large part of the Jewish populace did not have any strong idea regarding the election of the community leadership, because the active and passive privilege of voting depended on two aspects of the election census: a census of wealth, and of scholarship.

Jewish Sokal, during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was in the advantageous position, that Jewish scholars stood at the head of its leadership, who faithfully, and with commitment, carried on the affairs of the community for the benefit of the entire Jewish populace in the city. This becomes apparent from the composition of the Sokal budget of the year 1909/10 (5670), at that time, the head of the community was R' Isaac Byk, and his deputy was Todros Anker. Other members of the community council were: Mekhl Shlomo Burstein, Meir Pfeffer, Tzalel Szmutzer, Moshe Baum, Meir Berisz Reiman, Mendl Trefel, Leib Beri, Shlomo Blum, Chaim Yaakov Reiman, David Szpalter, the city rabbi at the time was R' Shmuel Rokeach and apart from him, other rabbis who were active in the community were: Shabtai Herzog and R' Leib'eleh Dayan. The secretary of the council was Yaakov Horn.

At that time, the *Hevra Kadisha* was directed by Chaim Yaakov Reiman. It is worthy to note that the Sokal municipal budget of the years 1909/10 came to 12,000 Austrian Crowns – a large enough amount in comparison to others at that time.

Towards the end of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the stream of Poles from Western-Galicia became substantive. The decline in the relative number of Jews vs. the local general population of residents, that became apparent already in the year 1900, now continued to grow. In the year 1910, the number of Jews in Sokal was 4,516, this being an increase of 738 people over the year 1900, and despite this, the relative number of Jews fell from 39.3% to 38.9%. You can appreciate that with the growth of the number of Polish residents – the pressure against Jewish business positions also grew stronger.

The Jews did not sit idly on their hands. The Jewish society in Eastern-Galicia organized a broadly based counteraction, whose objective was to allocate help to the positions of Jewish businesses under threat, being destabilized by the pressure of the threatening undertakings by the elements of the Polish citizenry.

In Sokal, during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Poles unfolded an intensive economic activity, especially in the founding of credit [granting] institutions, whose goal was to finance Polish commerce. During the year 1908, there were 4 Jewish credit-societies active there, and at the same time there existed 5 Christian so-called credit-institutions.

As a result of the decree to have Sunday as a day of rest, as well as decrees regarding salt and monopolies in [strong] drink, the condition of the businesses in the hands of the Jews meaningfully deteriorated in Sokal. A fatal influence on the economic condition of the Jewish populace was the order regarding propination<sup>35</sup>- concessions, because of the 15,000 Jewish families that lived off the commerce in drink – 8,000 – meaning about 40,000 Jews lost their livelihood.

Thanks to the intensive Enlightenment activity of the younger Zionist organization, towards the beginning of the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the awareness of nationalism began to be

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<sup>35</sup> Propination laws were a privilege granted to Polish *szlachta* that gave landowners a monopoly over profits from alcohol consumed by their peasants. Propination is a historical right to distill spirits.

In many cases, profits from propination exceeded those from agricultural production or other sources.

These laws usually included:

peasants were not allowed to purchase any alcohol not produced in their owner's distillery alternatively, they could be allowed to brew their own drinks but had to pay a fee according to the amount produced peasants had to buy at least a given quota of vodka or okovita. Those who didn't comply had the remaining amount dumped in front of their houses and had to pay the costs.

These laws first appeared in the 16th and were widespread by the 17th century. They lasted until 1845 (Prussian partition), 1889 (Galicia) and 1898 (Russian Partition).

Propination was the main cause for massive alcoholism in Poland; also, because taverns in rural region were leased nearly exclusively to Jews who took part in enforcing these privileges, it was also a major reason for anti-Semitism among peasants

awakened among the Jewish populace. During the 1911 elections to the Austrian parliament, the Zionist organization already took an active role in the election process and threw itself into the election campaign with fiery ardor.

In the Zólkiew -Rawa Ruska -Sokal election district, the Polish professor Stazhinsky, Dr. Ignacy Steinhouse – a lawyer supported by the city official (viceroy) Bozhinsky, the Ukrainian priest Lewicki, and Dr. Rapaport, and easterner, and a member of the city council in Lemberg. The Jewish-National Committee proposed to the Ukrainians that they conclude an agreement, which required that in this circle, that had to cast their votes for the Jewish candidate, Rapaport. But nothing came of this, because the Ukrainians wanted primarily to demonstrate their strength and for the first ballot, they voted for their candidate Lewitzky, and only in the eventual final vote, they wanted to cast their votes for the Jewish-National candidate.

As Dr. Kindler tells us in his memoirs, the Jewish-National candidate Dr. Rapaport obtained the greatest number of votes in the city of Sokal proper, but in an array of smaller locations, that belonged to this election district, the Jews were terrorized by the official administrative factors, as well as being under the influence of the anti-Zionist orthodox milieu, and voted for Dr. Steinhouse and it came to a run-off between this latter individual and professor Stazhinsky. Dr. Steinhouse was elected, who upon joining the Viennese parliament, became a member of the Polish parliamentary club (*Kola Polskie*).

In the year 1912,1913, Galicia endured a difficult economic crisis. The aggressive military tendencies of the Austro-Hungarian political scene made their appearance even stronger than before.

The entire economic life in Galicia became shaken up. There was stagnation in trade, as well as the weakly developed industry, which led to a frightful unemployment and the pauperization on the Jewish street took on a frightful appearance. There were Jewish social forces at work in an array of cities, whose mission was to organize a broadly branched assistance initiative.

In Sokal, up to the year 1913, there was not a single Jewish social institution, or humanitarian organization, that would make the effort to lighten Jewish poverty in an organized way. There were single well-to-do Jews, who held that the good deed of giving charity, and as far as was possible, exerted themselves to help their needy brethren. The tales of these refined Sokal Jews will eventually be discussed in other chapters of this Yizkor Book.

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Because of the pre-war industrial crisis in Galicia, and the general poverty that spread unchecked across the Jewish street in Sokal – caused the local activists to see the need to establish philanthropic activities on broadly-based social foundations. It was for this reason that in 1913, several philanthropic societies were founded, each of which had different goals.

An animated activity was started by the Jewish Tailors Society, which was founded in that year. The reason that this Society was first founded in this year, simply because in old Sokal, in the city of scholars and Torah Greats, the number of Jewish craftsmen was not so large. In time, Jewish

craftsmen came from the surrounding villages, and as it happened there was a larger number of tailors among the new arrivals, therefore causing them to found their own society with their own small synagogue, which was found near the *Bet HaMedrash* and, apart from the Jewish tailors, craftsmen from other trades also worshipped. Over the course of many years, the head of the Tailors' synagogue was R' Josef Eliyahu Zwirn ז"ל, who was very active in sustaining the Tailors Society and its little synagogue and thereby, he developed a very necessary activity for the good of the Jewish craftsmen in the city. In the budget year of 1914/15 it was the well-to-do Sokal resident and activist M. Krebs ז"ל that stood at its head.



טיטן (פון רעכטס): ר' אשר שמידער — ראש ישיבה בסוקל

Page080: From the Right, R' Asher Szmierer – Sokal Rosh Yeshivah

It was the *'Tomkhei Aniyim'*<sup>36</sup> society that began to take shape in the year 1913, which assumed the responsibility to provision the poor people with adequate heating material during the winter months. The head of this society was R' Mendl Beri, who with his inexhaustible energy did much to lighten the need on the Jewish street.

A separate society of exceptional importance in Sokal, which began its work in 1913, was the women's society, *'Ezrat Nashim'* whose principal objective was to supply foodstuffs for those sick Jews who sustained themselves in the general municipal hospital. The committed social activist Mrs. Chana Kreminer ז"ל and Mrs. Podzhamczer were at the head of this society for many years.

The *'Bykur Kholim'* Society had a very important humanitarian mission, which also initiated its activity in the year 1913 and concerned itself with distributing cost-free help for poor Jews. The well-to-do activist R' Ephraim Gross ז"ל led this society over the course of many years.

To the credit of the leadership of the Jewish community in Sokal in the period 1913/1914 – it is necessary to stress that in the domain of social support, it demonstrated a meaningful activity. In the budget year 1913/14 the head of this community council was R' Tzalel Szmutzer, who continued the tradition of the previous community leadership and fulfilled his social goals with full commitment. Two additional community activists, apart from those previously mentioned, in the year 1912/13, two new social activists belonged as well, these being R' Abraham Krom and D. Welisz Zaks.

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<sup>36</sup> Supporters of the Poor.

The Jewish community found itself in especially difficult circumstances in the budget year 1914/15, when in the second half of the year. The First World War broke out. R' Tzalel Szmutzer stood at the head of the community <sup>571</sup>, and in the community leadership Abraham Krom and Zaks were replaced by R' Hertz Constantine and Nathan Schreiber. A. M. Zak served as the community secretary during this time.

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The First World War broke out in August 1914. During the first bloody days of battle, Sokal immediately found itself on the front lines. As a result of the first clash, the Austrian soldiers came as far as Lublin. However, immediately, at the hands of the Russian general Ruzsky they were thrown back over the Austrian border. The Russian soldiers took possession of Sokal on August 16, 1914. Two weeks later, the Russian general Brusilov took control of Tarnopol and Halicz, and on September 3, 1914 entered Lemberg with his army.

With the outbreak of the First World War, the Sokal Jews were faced with very difficult times. Immediately after the city was taken by the Russian Cossacks and Circassians, a bloody pogrom took place. All Jewish places of business were plundered, and in addition 35 Jewish hostages were taken, and 75 Jews were dragged back into Russia. It is not possible to put down in writing the suffering of the Jews of Sokal during the long-lasting Russian occupation. The hunger and general want on the Jewish street placed massive responsibilities on the handful of community activists that remained in the city.

Refugees arrived on a daily basis even from more distant places, that suddenly found themselves on the Russian or Austrian front line. And whenever danger threatened needy Jews, the *balebatim* of Sokal, themselves in difficult material circumstances, did not stint in their energy or sacrifices to help out and organize initiatives to bring relief.

When the Russians suffered a substantial defeat at Gorlitz, in a panicked speed, they drew back from all of mid-Galicia and in leaving the city of Gorlitz, the Russians seized 80 respected Jews, thereby being old and weak, that had to make the entire trip to Sokal on foot, where the Russian military staff made its headquarters. Exhausted and half dead, the hostages from Gorlitz were taken to the chief headquarters of the Russian city commandant, which occupied the post office building. The news of the frightening circumstance of the Jews from Gorlitz spread with lightning speed through the city, and Jews came running from all streets, bringing food and drink for the starved hostages, so they could eat and drink. Simultaneously, the tireless community activist of the Czortkow-Husiatyn kloyz, R' Israel Brod, went to the commandant of the city and worked out with him that all of the Gorlitz hostages would be set free under the condition, will frequently, that he was compelled together with the then Sokal community head guarantee that these released Gorlitz hostages will, at all times, at the behest of the Russian commandant, return to be under Russian command. In the meantime, all of these Gorlitz Jews were settled in the Husiatyn kloyz, where they got food and drink. They were also provided with living quarters, because almost all of the well-to-do *balebatim* took one, or two of the hostages.



In the month of June 1916, the Russian Army. Under the leadership of General Brusilov, after difficult battles, once again took over a large part of Eastern Galicia and all of Bukovina, and in those areas that fell under Russian control, the situation of the Jews improved a great deal. On the other side, the economic and community conditions of the Jewish populace got worse in the occupied cities and towns.

The state of the Jews in occupied Galician industrial sites was very sorrowful. As An-ski portrays it, in previously documented memoirs of his – large swaths of earth remained untended, commerce came to a halt, the factories and also the workingmen were left with no work to do. The remaining Jewish intelligentsia had no means from which to derive a living. The occupation drew out all sources of income. A beaten-down pessimistic mood was created. Ripped away from every culture, no newspapers, no books, no theater, the young left with no schools – that's what was found on the street. In that same year of 1916, the Russian authorities began to send back all of the deported Jews of Galicia (except those held hostage). The 75 Jews also returned to Sokal, that had been dragged off in the first weeks of the war. Along with them, the Russians also sent about 4,000 homeless Jews to Sokal, from Pidvolochysk and Husiatyn. These Jews found themselves in a frightful state. The impoverished community in Sokal undertook every effort in order to provide a roof over their heads for these unfortunate homeless Jews, and as An-ski describes, they settled 4 to 5 families to one room, and thereby, all the study houses were utilized, magazines and even stables.

## **In Independent Poland**

In November 1918 the bloody World War came to an end, and an independent Polish state was created on the wreckage of the destroyed monarchies, which, among other things, included Galicia. However, immediately the Ukrainians declared Eastern Galicia, which included Sokal, to be a part of the newly created Western Ukrainian Republic.

The Jews of Eastern Galicia had enough to withstand the fights between the Polish and Ukrainian forces, who spread out across this entire area. We learn of the sad plight of the Jewish populace in Sokal, under the rule of Ukrainian masters from a correspondence from there, which appeared in the Lemberg Zionist Daily 'Kvila' from 16.6.1919 (N. 152) on November 2, 1918 – we read this following correspondence – is the Jewish populace in Sokal willing to accept the fact of the take over of rule by the Ukrainians. Torn off the peripheral part of the country, and without direction – by itself it elected the very appropriate way of strict neutrality. Carrying out matters pertaining to Jewish issues, was taken over by a presidium of the native community, around which gathered a group of employable *balebatim*. From day-to-day, this need increased, because the full stagnation in commerce, elicited from the dearth going back as well as the reversal of the centralization of commerce in the hands of Ukrainian rulers, increased the poverty of the Jewish populace. The not infrequent military excesses elicited unrest and those who with force imposed by their nature, the '*Karbovantzehs*' (*Haryuventzehs*) ruined the rest of the assets of the people.

In this correspondence we further read that – from voluntary spending a philanthropic initiative was organized which was substantively helped by the Jewish Women’s circle. Every time, when it was necessary, they intervened with the Ukrainian authorities. A deep pain shook up the Jewish community because of the death sentence handed down to the imprisoned officer of the Polish military – Severin Buchsbaum ש”ר.

Finally, we learn from this correspondence, that in the city, ‘the life of the young people pulsed strongly, who had concentrated themselves around the ‘*HaShomer*’ organization and in the Hebrew school. The existing Jewish societies exerted themselves to satisfy the cultural and social needs, to the extent that they could and what was permitted at the time, and if there were not larger military divisions stationed in the city.’

‘The last days were frightful – it says in the correspondence – when the Ukrainian authorities fell upon the city wildly without restraint. There was no end to the plunder. No house was spared in this respect. After the Polish troops marched in, there was nothing to envy in being part of the Jewish community. First, because of an intervention by the local Polish residents, who did not forget the substantial restraint in leaving the Jews alone, whom they willingly helped both morally and with material things – conditions improved. This attraction to the Jewish populace on the part of the Polish residents, came with a manifestation of a gathering of the Poles, in which not a single hostile word was uttered about the Jews.’

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Despite this, the political position of the Jewish populace in Sokal was very difficult. Proclaiming the neutrality of the Jews in Eastern Galicia, during the Polish-Ukrainian War, elicited dissatisfaction and animosity towards Jews both from the Polish and Ukrainian side.

The condition of the Jews in Eastern Galicia did not improve even afterwards, when in the month of January, the Polish-Ukrainian War ended, with the total collapse of the Western Ukrainian Republic.

At this point, the battle over Eastern Galicia took on a political character. The Polish rule in this respect needed to be sanctioned by means of the political means of the day, imposed by the large victorious countries. After difficult political wrangling at the post-war peace conferences, after strong protests by the Polish government – Poland’s *de facto* recognition over the rule of the settled part of, Eastern Galicia, but only temporarily until that will be a new decision. This transition period lasted until 13.3.1923, when the ambassador’s council eventually allocated Eastern Galicia to the country of Poland.

During this transition period, which lasted almost 4 and a half years, the condition of the Jewish populace deteriorated further in Eastern Galicia.

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The Jews of Sokal were not an exception. The battles that took place in Eastern Galicia, the harassment and cruelty against the Jewish populace both from the side of the occupying Russian military, and the Ruthenians and later on by the Polish government, the decrees, the dragging off and

deportations to Russia – all of this caused a significant drop in the number of Jews in Sokal. According to the population census of 1921 the Jewish population came to 4,630, this being 114 individuals more than the year 1910 (4561) and the relative proportion of Jews rose by 0.45% because the general count of the residents in the year 1921 came to 10,200 souls.

The fall in the number of Jews in Sokal in the post-war period is understandable, when you take into account the gruesome events of the war, as well as the rise in Jewish emigration during the first years after the war.

To understand the rise in relative Jewish numbers, one has to take into account the heavy losses of the Polish and Ukrainian populace during the war years, and also the fact that during this period there was a temporary Polish colonization activity instituted in Eastern Galicia.

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The continuous growth of poverty of the Jewish populace in Sokal, elicited a strong reflection in the social life of the city. The reflection of this state in those social activists, decent and committed compassionate people, for whom philanthropic support activity was for them a deeply religious and moral responsibility, became powerless in the sight of the continuous growth of the need in the Jewish street.

Municipal initiatives now required organization of a self-supporting initiative on all fronts of political and economic life. Constructive help now became the solution of the new social activists, who together with representatives of the American ‘Joint’ made the maximum efforts to rebuild the Jewish businesses ruined during the war, and to create new means of earning a living.

As was the case in all Eastern Galician cities, such a Jewish rescue committee, was also formed in Sokal, which assumed the task the rebuild those Jewish entities ruined during the war, and for this purpose, were created manufacturing institutions in the cities and towns.

When in 19.12.190 a gathering took place in Lemberg of the Jewish rescue committees, Dr. Rauchberg, a gymnasium teacher from Sokal participated.

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The new generation of Zionist activists in Sokal, former Yeshiva students from the local *Bet HaMedrash* of the Husiatyn *Kloyz* who already understood how to take the measure of the weighty role and objectives of the Jewish community, which for many years was led by prominent *Parnassim* from the orthodox camp, who were elected to their positions by an old non-democratic leadership, which completely excluded the larger Jewish masses from participating in the leadership.

Already in the final three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a very heated struggle took place between the orthodox and progressive camps in Galicia regarding the rightful choices of business in the Jewish community.

The Austrian government prepared a project of their own in a general law for the communities in all of Austria, which was put in place in the year 1890 by the Austrian parliament. This community status did not include the postulates of national Jewry and foresaw no central community institution, since the First World War caught Galician Jewry in a state of disorganization regarding the issue of autonomous Jewish life as well as the deterioration of political and economic life.

Thanks to the reactionary election system which was a supporting part for the new community status, the communities often got elements [in charge] who did not have a comprehension of the new currents and needs of the Jewish masses and relied on the authority, with the help of the ruling monarchial institutions. Who did not permit the use of changes that were fundamental to community leadership, always turning instead to install a Government-Commissar as the head of a community.

In the year 1919, almost in all of Galicia, there were Government-Commissars who held sway, because due to the Ukrainian-Polish War there were no elections run in this area.

Later on, a more democratically election ordinance was simultaneously put in place by the Piłsudski decree of 7.2.1919 together with the order of the President of the Polish Republic of 14.10.1927 (excepting Silesia), which a larger number of the community members received the right to vote.

Despite the fact that the new community decree held by the old assimilationist principle, and limited the activity of the community leadership only to religious matters, it also created the possibility to open the gates of the communities for legitimate representation of the people, who would be open to the development of a broad social and national activity on the Jewish street.

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As we previously stressed, the Jewish community in Sokal, even before The First World War, was led by decent, committed activists, almost all from the orthodox camp, who approached their community obligations seriously. There were such precious Jews as R' Itzik Byk ר' יצחק, R' Bezalel Schmutzer ר' בצלאל, Todros Anker ר' תודרוס and many others, who for many years dealt with the issues of Sokal and literally gave their lives for the good of the masses, had a very well-aligned approach to social work, believing strongly in the power of simple exertion of effort, believing deeply in simple effort, they discharged their community duties with full commitment.

Even during the period when Government-Commissars were in charge, Jews were found in Sokal with a warm Jewish heart, with a deep empathy for distress and poverty. This exceptional sense of compassion manifested itself in the open during the support initiative for the hungry Jews in Russia and in The Ukraine, that was carried out in Sokal in June 1922. We read about this support initiative from a correspondence from Sokal, which appeared in the Lemberg '*Khwalla*' of 9.6.1922 (No. 131), which says: 'The help initiative for the hungry Jews in Russia and The Ukraine, which is now being carried out in many towns in Galicia, also had a start with us, thanks to the initiative of the native community, and an array of Zionist activists. On Sunday, the 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1922 a general meeting was called, from which a help-committee was constituted and immediately declared [a need for] approximately 200,000 marks. Special collectors for this purpose were designated to approach people and other *balebatim* [e.g. of substance] to collect expense money as quickly as possible.

With time, the activity of the Commissars in the Sokal community elicited strong opposition by the members of the Jewish social community in the city. In place of the prior serious activists. The community leadership brought in people, whose one virtue was their geniality, which they developed and showed to the Polish people in power in Galicia.’

The change in approach in the Sokal community is pictured for us in the Sokal correspondence, which appeared in the Lemberg ‘*Tageblatt*’ of 2.6.1924 (No. 87). Where we read: ‘as was the case in other cities, the lot fell on our city to carry the yoke of unsympathetic Government-Commissar. Now, thanks to the Jewish representation in the Sejm, we were privileged to have new elections and we have the possibility to liberate ourselves the indifferent overseers, making it possible for these [sic: our] good people to triumph in their candidacy.’

Very soon, elections were held in the [Sokal] community and from a later correspondence from Sokal in the Lemberg ‘*Tageblatt*,’ of 24.6.1924<sup>37</sup> (No. 123), we already learn that these votes were annulled because of voting irregularities.

‘ By the base and underhanded swindle of the old clique at the ballot box’ – we read further on in the correspondence – where they did not permit one trusted man from the national list [vote], the clique, once again won the community election. This elicited a strong outcry and a cold reaction even by those who were not party affiliated, such that on the second day, after the elections in the morning, a protest had already been put together with a large number of signatures. First the circle of the swindling cohort the protest was made fun of, and they even in unison that the *Starosta* will make no use of this. However, in several days later, when the *Starosta* brought forth a variety of witnesses in regards to this matter, and listened very intensively to them, they had already seriously thought about the issue. Now we are awaiting an official declaration from the *Starosta*, that the protest was accepted, and they must immediately print up new ballots. Our unwanted overseers are therefore walking around as if headless. We can rest easy on the honest understanding of the voters, that they wish to excise the process from the hands of the swindlers. And they will cast their votes on the second ballot for people that always strive for the common good, and are ready at any and all opportunities to protect Jewish honor and Jewish interests.’

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A severe economic crisis started in Poland in the year 1929. The first victims of this crisis were the Jews. Thousands of Jewish families were left with no income, and a frightful poverty spread throughout the Jewish cities and towns. The destructive effect of the crisis on the Jewish street had its roots not only in the abnormal socio-economic structure of the Jewish populace in Poland, but in a larger measure it accelerated the process of impoverishing Polish Jewry by the anti-Semitic extermination-politics of the Polish governing authorities. A major contributor to the [economic] deterioration of the Jewish populace in Poland was the strong anti-Jewish boycott-agitation of a broad anti-Semitic front, which, with the exception of Polish Socialists, enveloped almost all the Polish political factors in the land.

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<sup>37</sup>

Very likely a ‘typo’ which should have read 1924.



יידישע טרעגער אין סוקאל

סבלים יהודים בסוקל

Sokal Jewry was no exception in this respect. The community activists there made enormous efforts to organize the Jewish industrial forces in the struggle for work and sustenance. It was for this reason that great emphasis was placed on the effort to create independent support institutions, such as credit-cooperatives, and other socio-economic organizations.

Page 090: Jewish Porters in Sokal

In accordance with the census of the year 1931, 5,000 Jews lived in Sokal at that time, this was 640 additional souls more than in 1921. However, this growth in Jewish population was primarily the result of the fact that from the end of the third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the limitations on immigration from the European countries bordering on the ocean in connection with Jewish immigrants, reached their high-point. The result of this, was a strong drop of Jewish emigration from Poland.

At the same time, however, the percentage of Jews fell in 1931 compared to the general population, which came to 12,000. During the year 1921 the relative amount of Jews in Sokal was 42.8% – which fell now to 41.6% This decline was as a result of the strengthened Polish colonization politics in Eastern Galicia.

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In January 1933, Hitler came to power in Germany. The influence of Hitler's anti-Semitic solutions found fertile soil in Poland. With each passing year, life became more unbearable for Polish Jewry. Aided by esthetic experiments, monopolies and concessions, the pressure to push out the Jews from industry and commerce. The intent of each law, or every order that the Polish ruling circles promulgated, was aimed at damaging the Jews.

The disappointed position of the Jewish cities and towns in Poland became expressed during the budget debate in the Polish Sejm in February 1933, when the President of the Jewish Sejm-Club Dr. Yehoshua Ton י"ז, who added the declaration to the Sejm-Agenda that the Jewish populace had been led to such an unbounded confusion, that as their representative, he votes against the government budget.

Regrettably, the protests from the industrial and political Jewish organizations did not help. The reverberations of the pain emanating from the Jewish representatives did not elicit any echoes [of support] from the Polish Sejm and Senate. Anti-Semitic sentiments grew among the Polish populace. There was no end to the anti-Semitic decrees and harassments.

The reformation of the way products were sold from the government tobacco-monopoly, the animal slaughter law, the Polish 'Ovshem' politics that legitimized the industrial extermination initiatives aimed at Polish Jewry, the boycott initiative, which using all possible means were supported by the official authorities – this all had the explicit goal of driving out the Jews from their productive positions.

The Jews of Sokal, during this period of aggressive and total anti-Semitism, showed a great measure of modest patience and a strong will to create independent self-help means, in order to bolster and save Jewish existence from complete ruin.

The willingness to help and endure sacrifice for the good of needy Jews was deeply rooted in the hearts of the Sokal Jews, who to every time and every situation did not spare energy or sacrifice to help their brethren. Not only once did the Sokal Jews put out their posture of decency, gentleness and being broad-hearted. Details about initiatives that were undertaken in Sokal in the most difficult off circumstances are related in another part of this Yizkor Book.

At the beginning of 1939, the illusions of the Polish ruling circles burst in connection with the possibility of arriving at an agreement with Hitler's Germany. In the end, the Polish people in power saw that Poland's life interests are in large measure threatened. No one any longer had any doubt that the German Army is preparing to invade Poland.

The entire country stood under the provocation of German demands... The war-psychology infected the mood of all Polish society.

The democratic circles in Poland had already seen that in the appearance of clouds that darkened the horizons of Poland, that it is necessary to create a united front of all forces in the country to fight the Hitlerist enemy. And when elections to the municipal council took place in Sokal on March 12, 1939, as a result of an agreement between the Jewish and Polish voting committees they created a partnered voting bloc of Poles and Jews, which put out a joint list of candidates for the Sokal municipal council.

As we read in the call to vote from the united Polish-Jewish voting committee written to the Jewish voters, the Polish side was represented by the one-time burgomaster Mgr. Z. Alszewski, and the Jewish side was represented by Rabbi Abraham Rokeach, the President of the Jewish community leadership, Eng. Schwartz, the president of the *Gemilut Hasadim* Bank, Dr. David Kindler, the city doctor, Dr. Szmieder, the doctor of the Sokal Hospital Dr. Z. Gruber, the director of the Merchant's Bank David Byk, the merchants Israel Rapaport and Joseph Babad.

Regrettably, there was no force to be had to halt the catastrophe, which with enormous speed drew closer to the borders of the Polish state.

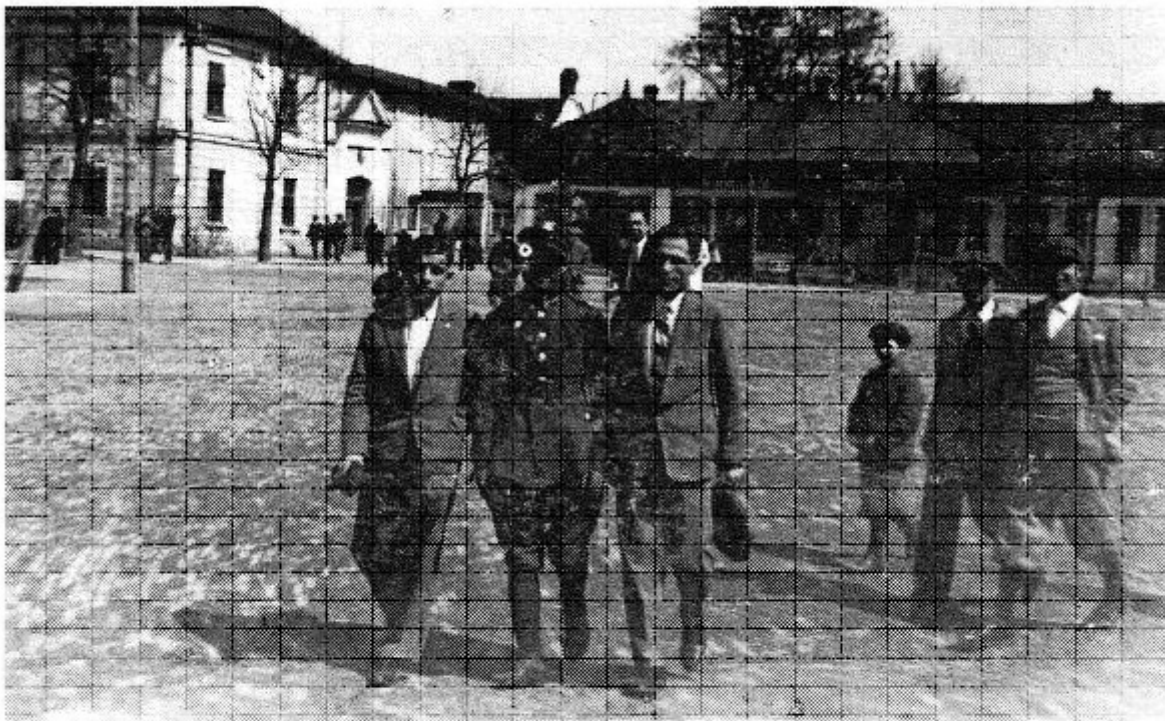
On September 1, 1939 the Hitlerist soldiers attacked Poland. In a matter of a few weeks, all of Poland up to the Bug River was occupied by the German Army. The rest of Poland was under the control of Soviet occupiers.

The catastrophe for Polish Jewry drew nearer. Immediately in the first months of German rule, the period of pain and killing of the Jewish settlements of Poland began.

The tragic killing of those decent Jewish people in Sokal drew nearer. During the cruel murdering

and relocation *aktionen* in the Sokal ghetto, the precious Sokal Jews were tortured together with their brethren from the surrounding locations, they gave up the sanctified spirit of their lives in the gas chambers and mass graves.

Together with all the other Jewish settlements in Poland the venerable Jewish settlement in Sokal was wiped out and erased.



קסע מהכר בסוקל בשנת 1932 משמאל בנין בית המשפט  
פראגמענט פון מארק אין סיקאל — פון לינקס דער בנין פון געריכט

Page 091: A Section of the Sokal Marketplace in 1932 with the Courthouse to the Left



**Zjednoczony Polsko - Żydowski Komitet Wyborczy  
do Rady Miejskiej w Sokalu**

27

מיט ערלויבן זיך איך צו דערמאנען אן איינע זעט זונטאג דעם 12 מערץ 1939  
אבנעבען איינע שטימע צו די נעמדיגע וואהלען איך די קאנדידאטען וועלע  
ווען איינעוועלט איך די שטימעוועל וועלע מיט ווען איך מיט זאך איך  
אן איינע קאמירע.

מיד ווענדען זיך צו איך מיט דער דרינגענדער בקשה נישט  
צוגעבן נור תיבה זונטאג אין דער פריה מיט דעם נאמען  
בני-בית צו קומען אבנעבען די שטימען!

די קאנדידאטען וועלע ווען איינעוועלט איך די שטימעוועל ווען  
אינטערסונג אקצעסירט געווארען לויט דער נעטיואאסער פערזאנלעכע פון דעם  
פולישען וואהלקאמיטעט מיט דעם פערזאנלעכע וועלען וואהל-הלאק.

די בייגעלענטע שטימעוועל דארף מען מיטברענגען צו דער  
וואהל.

„Szkoła Mateczek” איינער וואהל-קאמיטעט אמטירט אין דער  
(Babiniec)

מיט אנטווע  
פאר דעם קאמיטעט:

Mr Z. Okzewski  
burmistrz  
Dr D. Kindler  
pocz. kasy „Gminy Choszcz”  
David Byk  
dyr. Kasy Kapielkiej

Rab. Abr. Rokach  
zast. rabina  
Dr J. Schmieder  
lekarz miejski  
Izrael Rapaport  
kupiec

Inż. S. Schwarz  
prac. Gm. Żyd.  
Dr Z. Gruber  
lekarz Ubocz. Spół.  
Józef Babad  
kupiec

כרוז-בחירות לעיריית סוקל בשנת 1939 הוצא על ידי גוש משותף פולני-יהודי  
וואלאויפרוף פון פויליש-יידישן פאראייניקטן וואלקאמיטעט צום סיקאלער שטאטראט אין יאר 1939



אחד מרחובות סוקל ביום הידוד      אויף אַ גאַס אין סיקאַל בעת אַ יאַרד  
מימין (שפן רעכטס): מאיר ליפרמן, מורה לעברית ולייב פייבל בעת בקורו בסוקל בשנת 1933

Page 094:      On a Street in Sokal During a Fair

(From the right): Meir Liferman, Hebrew Teacher, and Leib Fyvel during a 1933 visit.

Translator's note:

*Page 95 of this book is devoted to a listing of 33 footnotes that the author has employed in the preparation of this memoir. All of these references are in either Polish or German, with a smattering of Yiddish and Hebrew. I have chosen not to translate this page, and refer interested parties to the original text if they wish to consult the details.*

## Historical Graves in the Old Cemetery in Sokal<sup>38</sup>

By A. Birnbaum

(Haifa)

Recently, during the dedication of a new cemetery in Sokal, I heard from elderly Jewish people that there is an old gravestone to be found there of a man and his wife and in the folio, which had been burned about thirty years ago during a fire, the following legend was appended as an addition to the headstone.

At the time that Sokal began to build the first cemetery on the side of the Bug [River] they dedicated the first cemetery, the Rabbi at the time, R' Revill expressed his wish, that on the same day he should renew what his wife immediately grasped and articulated, that just as she had accompanied him to the wedding canopy, she wishes to be interred with him in the 'True World' which was immediately done.

Being curious to satisfy myself if such a gravestone actually existed at all, the basis for the legend, with several escorts, set off to find this headstone, and with help from someone who knew the way, we actually found it. The writing on it was the following:

‘ For a number of years they came to the Ark, a man and his wife were buried.’

Then the headstone was divided in its length by a prominently carved feature and on the right side the inscription read: ‘On the 26 of Tishri in the year 5399, here is interred an honest and faithful man, a vessel of nourishing manna and a beautiful exalted and bestowed upon us Revill ben Our Teacher ה"לל a master of wisdom for many years, and as a reward for this may his soul be bound up in the bond of life.’

The left side indicated:

‘On the 26<sup>th</sup> of Tishri in the year 5399 the important, attuned, and modest woman Mrs. Pess'l daughter of Abraham Yitzhak ה"לל , having trod in a just path for her entire life, and for this reason my her soul be bound up in the bond of life.’

Not far from this headstone, we encountered a readable headstone, which interested us because of its style, which said the following:

Here is interred the deceased Moshe Safra Rabba D' Israel. Head of the top of Ari-El acute and accomplished in the flowering bird, consumed Yonatan ben Uziel, his steed and carriage of Israel, our souls will weep because the Ark of our advice was taken from us, this being Our Teacher and

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<sup>38</sup>

This article was written and published back in 1933 in one of the editions of the Lemberg *Tageblatt*.

Rabbi the Great *Gaon* and renown, Mr. Moshe Mazil ben Moshe ז"ל deceased – the year 5459. In asking elderly Jewish men about the headstone, several offered that they are aware of this headstone, and in his day, they inquired of the elderly *Rebbe* of Belz זל"ה as to whether this headstone is known to him, and how does it happen that they used the sobriquet ‘flowering bird?’ – to which he immediately replied that he knows of this headstone, and in those days no false things were written.<sup>39</sup>



משפחתו של רב ר' שלום רוקח זצ"ל וחסידיו  
שלישי משמאל (דער דריטער פון לינקס): ר' אברעמעלע

Page 097: The Family of Rabbi R' Sholom Rokeach זצ"ל and Followers  
R' Avremeleh is Third from the Left)

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<sup>39</sup> See the memoir of A. Konstantin about the ‘Jewish Settlement in Sokal’ (Ed.)

## The Jewish Members of the Sokal Municipal Council

By Dr. Zigmunt Gruber  
(Petakh-Tikvah)

ד"ר זיגמונט גרובר  
(פתח-תיקוה)

A reflection of the relations between the Jews in Sokal and the local Polish-Ukrainian populace was the connection of the municipal council and its members towards matters of life to the Jewish people. The organization of the Jewish section in the municipal commercial sector in a large measure was dependent was to stand aside from the municipal council, especially from the Presidium and its implementers.

This mostly affected the masses of small businessmen of which a large percentage consisted of Jewish merchants, which lacked the support of material means and a variety of expenditures for the good of the government and municipal employees and appointees, to have them render a helpful treatment of their just issues.



Page 098: Dr. Zigmunt Gruber

The Jewish populace had to place great awareness on the unity of the municipal council, to assure themselves a fair treatment of their justifiable issues, especially the Presidium that had the final decision.

During the time when in Sokal the Burgomaster was Janowski, the relationships were sufficiently cordial, given that one member of the Presidium was Jewish – Dr. Kerner as the Vice-Burgomaster. Thanks to his popularity with the entire populace, and thanks to his knowledge of the law, it was not only once that he brought help and advice on behalf of the mass of the small merchants.

In the thirties, ill winds began to blow in the Polish and also the Ukrainian populace from the Hitlerist west, when the former *Starosta* (Kostolowski) expressed an open war against the '*Yiddn-Comuneh*' and this changed the position of the municipal council and its attitude towards the Jews.

Burgomaster Janowski and the Jewish Vice-Burgomaster Dr. Kerner left and the shrunken Jewish representation had to be content with the Presidium (*Lawnik*), occupied by Engineer Schwartz, who with great commitment of heart and soul, placed himself against the growing anti-Semitic influence in the municipal council and the Presidium. By doing so, he lost favor with the Polish club, until the next (and last) election, he did everything not to permit Eng. Schwartz join the municipal council.

Only the following 7 Jewish people were elected to the municipal council: D. Byk, Dr. Gruber, Israel Eymeril, Birnbaum (son-in-law of Bart), Gerstler, Z. Krantz and Israel Rapaport. These Jewish councilmen formed a Jewish club in the municipal council, with Dr. Zigmunt Gruber as the chairperson. Our club at this point had a more difficult task, that was expressed immediately in the election of a *Lawnik* – a position which had been up till now occupied by a Jewish man (Engineer Schwartz).

Whereas previously we recognized the previous activity of Eng. Schwartz as being necessary and useful for the Jewish community, especially because he had enough free time – we decided to intensify his one inner difficulty to make use of the regulation through which the Lawnik did not have to be a member of the municipal council.

The Polish club did not want to agree to this under any circumstances, preferring my candidacy, which because of the large number of my obligations I could not assume. And so, with our Jewish votes we were able to see through our candidate, so the Poles attempted to initially use subterfuge, and called together a sitting of the municipal council on the Sabbath. And when, following my orders, all the members of the Jewish club appeared in their Sabbath finery to the meeting, the Poles, for the second time, made use of the fact that I had left Sokal for a few days, and using my absence with the greatest of speed called a meeting of the municipal council and elected a Polish Lawnik. At my protest when I returned, the Presidium refused to respect our intervention for the good of the Jewish populace.

The heavy clouds that came closer on the Polish horizon found an echo in abstaining by the Ukrainian, and simultaneously the Poles, regarding Jewish issues. Despite the fact – and this needs to be stressed – there never was such a sharp move in the municipal council. The outbreak of the war and the ensuing destruction – tragically ended the fate of Sokal Jewry and its representation in the municipal council.



באַרן הירש גאַס

רחוב בארון הירש

חסידות בסוקל

**Hasidism in Sokal**

חסידות אין סיקאל

# The Czortkow-Husiatyn Kloyz– Th Great Sacred Place in Sokal

By Yitzhak Birnbaum  
(Haifa)

This was about forty years ago...as a son-in-law of R' Israel Bard שליט"ה the prominent *master of the house*, who belonged to the visible faces of the Sokal Tchortkow-Husiatyn *Kloyz*, I returned to Sokal, the town where I was born. There was something that made me feel not good in the rigorous *Hasidic* environs, in which I was looked at with suspicion, wondering that I had become a follower of Zionism while away, which, God forbid, can become spread among Sokal youth. Even my own father-in-law did not extend much trust to me... it appears he was already warned that I could become a great danger to his still-young children.

Therefore I needed to camouflage myself a bit, and in my speech and going out I had to be very careful. To my good fortune – my father-in-law was a *Hasid* of the Tchortkow-Husiatyn *Kloyz*, where fanatics from the *Bet HaMedrash* had no control. There were already young people in this *Kloyz*, among them my two dear brothers-in-law: David and Yehoshua שליט"ה, who sensed immediately that I have something of a connection to the Zionist ideal and not only once did they implore me, that I should lead them into the secrets of the young Zionist movement ... and I always accommodated them.

I understood, however, that I had to accommodate myself in the *Kloyz* to the *Hasidic* way of life of the older generation, from whom I almost immediately found geniality and trust...most of these were decent Jewish people, scholars with a strong sense for exerting effort in philanthropic help activities. The central figures in the Czortkow-Husiatyn *Kloyz* at that time, even before the First World War, were: My father-in-law R' Israel Bord שליט"ה, R' Meir Pfeffer שליט"ה, R' Israel Rehr שליט"ה and R' Zanvil Krantz שליט"ה – wealthy Jews and prominent merchants. Despite this, they did not segregate themselves from other *balebatim* ... on the contrary – they were drawn to other *Hasidim* in the *Kloyz* as though to equal friends belonging to one and the same *Hasidic* group.

If one of them developed a need, they immediately helped him with money and performed other good *mitzvot*... if one of the Jews in the *Kloyz* was short money for a dowry for a daughter or for expenses to arrange a wedding – these charitable people worked out a loan for him at a bank at especially good terms, and often they personally signed the promissory note as being responsible. And further to honor the other partner's parents, and gladden the groom and bride, they also did not miss the opportunity to be among the guests at the wedding celebration. It was not only once that it occurred for them to buy up the promissory notes with their own money, that they had underwritten for poor Jews of the *Kloyz*. But this did not restrain them from more broadly based willingness to help, and other good deeds.

A complete sense of unity among the Czortkow and Husiatyn *Hasidim* reigned in all general *Hasidic matters*. But what related general activities from the two *Hasidic* sects, was yet another matter. At the time the leaders of the Czortkow *Hasidim* R' Meir Pfeffer שליט"ה and R' Israel Rehr שליט"ה were very active in the community in the municipal council, the Husiatyn *Hasidim* distanced themselves from material honors... simply, 'they hid among the pots and pans.'





מההוי היהודי בסוקל (ליחוי חתן לחופה)  
פונעם יידישן שטייגער אין סיקאל (מען פירט דעם חתן צו דער חופה)

Page 104: From the Way of Life in Jewish Sokal (Escorting a Groom & Bride to the Wedding Canopy).



דאס פארטאלק נאך חופה וקדושין

הזוג לאחר החופה וקדושין

Page 105: The Couple After the Wedding Ceremony

The following decent sort of Jewish men that graced the Czortkow-Husiatyn *Kloyz* as devoted and loyal *Hasidim*: R' Shlomo'leh Kreminer ש"י, his brother-in-law R' Issachar Ber Flam ש"י, and my brother-in-law R' Abraham Bord ש"י. They were the pillars of Torah in the *Kloyz*, who with unusual dedication studied Torah in the *Kloyz*, engaging in Torah study for its own sake, and in addition to this were strongly committed to the *mitzvah* of inviting guests.

Scholarly Jews from other places, who came to Sokal were provided by them with food and lodging, as well as a 'gift' of edibles for use during their further travels.

It was precious Jews of this kind that made up [the congregation] of the Czortkow-Husiatyn *Kloyz*.

It was a genuine pleasure to sit with these gentle Jewish men during a *mitzvah* feast.. Or a wedding feast... or at a substantial celebration at the *Tzaddik's* or even an ordinary *Melave-Malka* on a wintry Sabbath night. An elevated environment... a literally mysterious atmosphere always was created above the heads of the speakers, when they began to tell the wondrous deeds about *Tzadikkim* and *Hasidim*... with bated breath, with a stressful attention, God forbid not to miss a word, one would sit in the *Kloyz* until late into the night. All those who listened were enveloped in a deep joy and a generous sense of spirit.

A highly beloved raconteur of this assembly was a man named: R' Pintchi Kellner ש"י, a Jewish man, who despite the fact that he always lived in a state of want, he was happy and energetic. During tales offered by other speakers, you understand there were only those familiar with the *Kabalah*, R' Pintchi with his clear and understandable stories literally hypnotized the listeners.

In the Czortkow-Husiatyn *Kloyz* there were also *Hasidim* with a similar life style. These were simple, serious, decent Jews, who came to the *Kloyz* on arising, recited the Psalms before prayers, and other prayers, and later, after completing their prayers with the first *minyan*, their 'real work' just started, which was collection of a few groschen from the worshipers for a bit of whiskey to 'grab a bite.' The happiness was quite great, when after the purchase of the whiskey, they had enough left over to buy a herring. Their imbibing with '*L'Chaim*,' went on until the second *minyan* of Jews began to pray, and since it was not the custom of a Hasid to leave in the middle of prayer leaving [the prayers] '*Bracha*' and '*Kedusha*' – they remained among the worshipers of the second *minyan*, ended that prayer service, and then the same custom began of collecting groschen for whiskey, to grab a bite, and when possible for herring again.

An old story was told on the street in Sokal of an incident when one of this group once asked for a groschen in the Czortkow-Husiatyn *Kloyz* for a 'snort' from a '*Mitnaged*,' that happened to pray in th *Kloyz*, and the latter replied with a lesson, stressing, that it was his understanding a Jew is supposed to love learning a chapter of the *Mishna* instead of drinking a 'snort...' the elderly man from the *Kloyz* was not bereft of an answer and answered in the following way: 'after such a 'dead' worship as it takes place among you *Mitnagdim*, a prayer session without life and no ardor – one truly must study the *Mishna*, as is the case after someone dies, God forbid... but our praying is full of warmth and life and if one lives, it is also necessary to take part in the 'poison' of life.'

\*

The difficult survival during the First World War did not pass through without the influence on the spiritual and community condition of the Jewish populace...

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*The text of page 107 appears to be missing, and in its place is a copy of Page 97 taken out of order and not spotted by the editors. Page 97 has been translated in its proper place.*

*We continue with page 108 which is now rendered in Hebrew rather than Yiddish.*

*– The Translator, JSB*

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... their love of Israel and all those seated at the table cocked their ears like funnels, and paid attention full of praise and *Hasidic* attachment. The ‘Days of Festive Wedding Occasions’ served as a special indicator and a special experience. On the day of the wedding party, which was the day of the passing of the ‘Old’ ADMo”R, the celebrations and elevation of the soul reached its zenith.

At the dawn of the festival day, a ‘Feast’ took place that was complete for the time of day. At first, a *L’Chaim* was drunk (The blessing being that Providence shall protect us) and after that fish was served, meat and kasha, with appropriate drink. The food was ‘dipped’ in *Hasidic* sayings and short stories about the *Rebbe*. After the final blessing at the end of the meal, they went out and did a stormy *Hasidic* dance, accompanied by loud singing, that ignited the spirit and soul. This was the way the ‘Days of Wedding Festival’ were conducted by the ‘*Maggid*’ of Mezyricz, the grandson of R’ Israel Moazin, the founder of the dynasty and of the ‘older’ ADMo”R’s of Husiatyn and Czortkow. Despite the fact that *Hasidim* who were followers of two different ADMo”R’s there was not a factional friction, and a true peace and neighborliness was imbedded among them.

This is an appropriate place to underscore the feast that took place at the beginning of the day the Shas was completed in study, and its redistribution among those who studied, which took place every year on *Tu B’Shvat*. In order to enjoy the fruit of the earth on this *New Year of the Trees*, before the main meal, everyone tasted a jam ground up from the *Etrogim* that had been bought for the previous *Sukkot* holiday.

The ‘connection’ to *Hasidism* manifested itself especially during festivals and the High Holy Days. In those days, it was the custom for those called to the Torah to be blessed with *MiSheberakh*, and R’ Hirsch Yusha, the one who summoned people to the Torah reading, was the one who recited the *MiSheberakh*, for the ADMo”R of the person who came up for the Torah reading.

After I grew up from being a child in this *Kloyz*, and I got covered with the dust from the feet of the worshipers, it is my desire to raise the names of several of them from forgotten, the positions that they occupied in the *Kloyz*, and these represent an outline of their forms as they are recorded in my memory.

**R' Israel Rehr**, of the elderly *Hasidim* of Czortkow, and was the 'head spokesman' and uncrowned 'authority' of the *Kloyz*. He would call out the *shofar* blasts by name on Rosh Hashana, and without his permission, they did not sound the long *Tekia* blast at the end of Yom Kippur. His minute space was in the southern corner of the East Wall, and even if his place was modest – beside the oven – the large oven. People surrounded him there who listened with bated breath to his stories and experiences of 50-60 years ago which were readily at his lips.

His sons were 'seized' by the Enlightenment and were not *Hasidim*, with the exception of his son-in-law R' Shimon Zafrin זצ"ל, who was a fiery Czortkow *Hasid*. R' Israel himself passed away during the time of the Russian conquest in 1940 or 1941.

**R' Lejzor Brandwein** זצ"ל, a grandson from Stenyatin, and son-in-law of my grandfather R' Leib Gleicher זצ"ל. He was a *Melamed* in an upper *Heder* class. From time-to-time, he would lecture in the *Kloyz* in matters of legend, and Hasidism into which he wove *Hasidic* stories, of which he had a rich and replete amount. He was the 'starter' on the High Holy Days.

**R' Issachar Ber Flam** זצ"ל was a Torah reader, and led the *Shacharit* prayer on the High Holy Days. He was a quiet and noble person, he was an ardent Husiatyn *Hasid* who was 'punished' by having sons-in-law who were Belz *Hasidim*.



שלושה בנים של רבי שלום רוקח זצ"ל ובתו הצעירה שרה'לה  
 זי דריי זין פונעם סיקאלער רבי שלום רוקח און די יוגנסטע סאכטער שרה'לה  
 Page 109: Three Sons of the *Rebbe* R' Sholom Rokeach זצ"ל; Youngest Daughter Sarah'leh

**R' Moshe Shapiro** ד"ר, he was the second leader of *Shacharit* on the High Holy Days. Modest and honest, who would take advantage of every free minute to come and sit with a *Gemara* in the *Kloyz*. Of his 8 or 9 children, only his son, **Israel**, remained alive and is now in Australia.

**R' Pintzi Kellner** ד"ר, lived his entire life in sorrow and poverty, even according to the standards of the city at that time. He could not bear up under his sorrow and directed his words towards heaven and strongly 'demanded' bread and soup. This R' Pintzi, who would tell Hasidic tales, was like an endless river and a wellspring that grows stronger. He was a skilled storyteller, and his speech was pleasant and overflowing with the substance of life. I remember that on one '*Nittl*' (*Nittl* is what Christmas Eve was called, and it was customary not to study Torah on that day). He sat for consecutive hours to tell wondrous tales that satisfied the thirst [of listeners] with the words he had to say, with grace and much good taste. This was a pleasure '*from the World to Come*.' R' Pintzi also led the prayers on the premises with the knowledge of the *Kloyz*, elderly and regular ( he never needed a prayer book), and he had a sweet voice. He had a 'franchise' on the prayers for dew and rain. He came from Husiatyn.

**R' Nahum Fogelman** ד"ר. The community activist who did the best he could, in order to help all who turned to him in distress. He was an officer of the '*Agudat Yisrael*' *Kloyz* and a member of the community council. When the time came for elections to the community council, he would go out with a vengeance against those who would besmirch the ADMo'R of Husiatyn. He especially singled out his son-in-law, for their adherence to '*Mizrahi*.' It may be correct that he swore to himself that he heard 'from the mouth of The Holy One' that is, the *Rebbe*, for his support in the *Agudah*.

R' Nahum זצ"ל would, for whatever reason engage in *Shacharit* prayer until 11. He prayed alone, and the sound of his prayer resonated in the empty *Kloyz* as he was a man who was stretched for his entire length and breadth. On every Sabbath, he was the overseer of the Torah reading for that week in the synagogue of the tailors, and his speech that was 'mixed' with Ashkenazi words sometimes elicited laughter from the listeners. (His son, Rabbi Mordechai Fogelman שליט"א holds the pulpit in Kiryat Motzkin bedside Haifa).

**R' Chaim Ber** ד"ר, the seasoned *Gabai*. During the time the Torah was read, he stood on the Bima and whispered into the ear of R' Hirsch Yehoshua (previously mentioned) who should be honored by being called up to a reading of the Torah. This simple man knew no bounds for his affection for the ADMo'R of Husiatyn. On the Shavuot holiday, he would be disappointed if he did not have the means to travel to the *Rebbe* who directed his *Hasidim* in Galicia (as I mentioned previously), and he did not fulfill his duties and did not set specifically who would be called to the Torah. His motive was: 'The body regardless is in Sokal, but the soul is in Husiatyn.'

I will also recall R' Chaim Kreminer ד"ר, the *shofar* blower (his son Baruch was saved, and lives in Canada). And also R' Israel Brat ד"ר and his son, Avrom'tzi ד"ר, the deputy Torah reader, and R' Falik Szpritz ד"ר, the 'allocator.'

And to end, I raise up the memory of my father R' Zalman ד"ר and my mother Rachel ד"ר who spared no effort and energy and paid tuition to *Melamdim* for their five sons (and there was one daughter), and their entire interest was that their sons will be knowledgeable in Torah and uphold *mitzvot*. (From this entire family only the writer of these paragraphs survived). May the memory of all of them be a blessing.

# התנועה הציונית בסוקל

## The Zionist Movement in Sokal

די ציוניסטישע באוועגונג  
אין סיקאל

## The Zionist Organization in Sokal

By Dr. David Kindler  
(Ramat-Gan)

– 1 –

To the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the city of Sokal was still a fortress of *Hasidism* and pious [religious] observance. Especially – when after the passing of the *Rebbe* of Belz R' Yehoshua ל"ו in the year 1894, and his son R' Shmuel, became the *Rebbe* in Sokal, the tradition of *Yiddishkeit* became stronger there.

The *Rebbe*, R' Shmuel rigorously stood watch over the old *Hasidic* way of life in the city, relentlessly fighting every attempt to undermine the traditional strength of the Torah in the Jewish settlement of Sokal.



ד"ר דוד קינדלער

The Enlightenment movement at that time, wrangled with a whole array of cities in Eastern Galicia — such as Tarnopol, Brod, Buczacz – pitted against the opposing forces which concentrated themselves around the Rabbis and orthodox leaders.

But as early as the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the pioneers of the Enlightenment movement saw, that all attempts to reconcile the weighty Jewish-question by means of complete emancipation, did not yield the needed results and in observing the deeper Galician need on the one-time Jewish street, there was a lack of understanding of all of the attempts at emancipation.

The first rays of 'Love of Zion' appeared in Galicia, the first sounds were heard for the rebuilding of the Land of Israel, and this even from prominent Rabbis, who held that only in the Land of Israel can the Jewish faith be rescued. The idea of a return of Jews to the Land of Israel had, at that time already found some more adherents. Already, in this pre-Herzl period, Zionist enthusiasm shone and a small group of inspired idealists were already active, with concrete Land of Israel work, and made the greatest effort to found colonies there and to send colonists there as well.

The Zionist thinking in this pre-Herzl period manifested a visible expression in the conference of the 'Hovevei Tzion' membership in Katowice, in the year 1884, with the purpose of coordinating the colonization effort of the time in the Land of Israel, using a variety of groups, carried out in Russia and Romania as well as the '*Ahavat Tzion*' societies in Galicia.

– 2 –

At that time, the atmosphere of a strict orthodox way of life held sway. The city breathed *Hasidism* and [religious] piety. While in neighboring towns, the young people, thirsty for knowledge, already

had the energy to break through the wall of resistance and community ossification on the Jewish street — a like-minded and strong rabbinical political régime reigned over the Jewish street, which did not permit access to any spark of Enlightenment effort. It was forbidden to even learn the Polish language. Despite the legal requirement of those times, for Sokal Jews to send their children to government schools, they simply did not learn, but rather attended those schools until they reached the age of 10, when they were freed from the obligation to attend school.

And if it arose that in the Yeshiva, in the *Bet HaMedrash* or another *Kloyz*, a young man lusted for a bit of knowledge, or after a little news about the Land of Israel, he faced going through a n intense struggle, because *Hasidic* Sokal, with the formidable influence of the orthodox *Rebbe*, R' Shmuel Rokeach ש"ס at its head, carried on a stubborn battle against the minimal indication of [the presence of] the Enlightenment movement, seeing in it the greatest danger for the preservation of faith and the *Hasidic* way of life in the city.

But little-by-little one could encounter in the *Bet HaMedrash*, that fortress of the stern opposition to every Enlightenment activity, boys, who from time-to-time smuggled in Hebrew newspapers, which they would read in secret, hiding themselves from the *melamdim* and even from their own parents.

At this period of time, it was in this manner that the still weak rays of the Enlightenment encountered the Belz and Czortkow *Hasidic* fanaticism, which was uncompromising and intolerant.

In the later years – in the final decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century one encountered, in Sokal, a cohort of well-to-do *balebatim* who were in business contact with Enlightened Jews from the Wester Austrian monarchical countries, and derived their spiritual nourishment from the Viennese '*Neuer Freie Presse*.'

During this time, there was a small group of so-called intelligentsia that had no influence on the Jewish street, and lived within the ambit of German-Polish assimilation, distanced from Jewish values and tradition.

– 3 –

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Dreyfus Tragedy shook up the mood of European Jewry. A wave of anti-Semitism flooded the lands with Jewish settlements. In Austria, and specifically in Galicia the leaders of the Christian-Socialist Party incited the local populace against their Jewish citizens. There was a spiritual outbreak in the Jewish cities and towns in Galicia that penetrated into the houses of study, schools and Yeshivas which had lived in peace and now began to understand the necessity of finding a solution te weighty Jewish question.

An analogous spiritual process took hold in Sokal, where during the decade of the eighties in the 19<sup>th</sup> century became familiar with the tradition of the Russian Jews, who here – in this border city looked for a place of refuge against pogroms aimed at Jews, which at that time were rampant all over



Russia. The stream of emigration passed through Sokal, which consisted of Jews who had suffered under these pogroms, and this occurrence opened the eyes of the Sokal Jews and awoke their community activity.

– 4 –

In result of the Russia defeat by Japan in their war of 1905, a revolution broke out in Russia, that forced the Czarist rulers to relax the absolute monarchy grip of the régime. At the same time, however, reactionary Russian circles choked off the penetration of freedom of the Russian peasant masses by using a sea of Jewish blood. It was now that bloody pogroms against the Jews spread throughout all the cities and towns from the Pale of Settlement outwards. Jewish emigrants who were victims of pogroms, in a pandemonium of fear, filled all of the Galician border places. A Russian refugee, Yitzhak Bloch came to Sokal, who already had experience with the ‘*Hovevei Tzion*’ initiative. He also did not rest in his new domicile, and immediately took to his Zionist work. Apart from his efforts to win over students for the Hebrew language, he began to look for contacts with the youth of the schools and Yeshiva, where there had arrived weak but recognizable signs of the Zionist ideal.



ר' שמואל דוד ענגל ואשתו שרה

Page 116: R' Shmuel David Engel and his Wife, Sarah

Even though a Zionist Society already existed in Sokal in 1905, headed by Dr. Wolfram, his initiatives encountered severe difficulties. The first of the Sokal pioneers, would come together in Honig's synagogue, where the Zionist press from Warsaw was read and especially the ‘*Lemberger Tageblatt*,’ and it was in this way that actual Zionist problems were discussed among the many. Among the first Zionists, the former Yeshiva student David Byk distinguished himself with his commitment, who was actually engaged in Zionist work in the city. Before the seventeenth Zionist Congress in the year 1905, he carried out the first fund-raising initiative in Sokal, and had, at the time, sold 20 tickets, which in the one-time a feat that was thought to be a great Zionist success. Among the Jews who bought tickets at that time, there was the respected orthodox Jewish man R' Shmuel David Engel, an ardent disciple of the Zionist ideal. Before he passed away in the year 1920, he left a will, saying that his family should make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel. In the year 1924, the

first emigration to the Land of Israel was his son Nahum, and a few months later, his widowed wife Sarah Engel, made *aliyah*. Mrs. Engel took up residence in Tel-Aviv and lived in her own house on *Rashi* Street. During the time that her house was being built, she personally carried bricks and other building materials. Her daughter Rachel came into the *Land* in 1925, with her husband R' Zalman Kurtzman. In 1935, the son, Mordechai, made *aliyah* along with his family. It was in this way the deeply held wish of this deeply committed Zionist was fulfilled, who personally was not privileged to be among the first of the pioneering builders of the Land of Israel namely – that the closest members of his family should participate in the work of the ancient Jewish homeland. The wife, Sarah lived out the remainder of her life in Tel-Aviv and died in the year 1940. She was a dear Jewish woman with deeply held love of Zion in her heart... she was buried on the Mount of Olives.

Yitzhak Bloch found a close comrade in the young Zionist activist, David Byk. In partnership, they both created a connection with the youth of the Yeshiva and revealed to them the vision of national liberation in the old-new homeland in the Land of Israel. Yitzhak Bloch became very popular in Sokal thanks to his Zionist articles that he had printed in the '*Lemberger Tageblatt*' and it was under his influence that David Byk also began to write and publish his essays in that periodical.

– 5 –

This explanatory Zionist activity from such tireless propagandists as Bloch and Byk, did not lie around with no influence on the Jewish street in Sokal. As the concepts and energy of these first pioneers were put out in public, it caused the weakening of the power of the orthodox excommunication against the Zionist ideal. The Zionist propaganda literature and the Zionist press, such as '*Vskhod*' and the '*Lemberger Tageblatt*,' was already being read in Jewish Sokal houses without fear of harassment by the opponents of the attempts to revive [Jewish] nationalism.

And when at the Cracow conference of Galician Zionists in July 1906) they decided to take part in the elections to the Austrian parliament as a separate national-Jewish party on the basis of their general voting rights, The Zionist influence in Sokal was already strong enough, that immediately after the call from the Zionist central office in Lemberg to prepare for the election initiative – a group of young aggressive men was found in Sokal, who with their full ardor threw themselves into the work, in order to take up the battle from one side against the political indifference of the Jewish populace on the second side, against the circles for assimilation, which had penetrated the ranks of the Jewish intelligentsia.

It was not easy to carry on this struggle in Sokal. But despite all of the disadvantages for the first time, these young Zionist idealists showed themselves to the weak but stubborn and ready for sacrifice national powers.

In the Sokal circle, the Viennese Rabbi, R' Shmuel Bloch became a candidate, the publisher of '*Bloch's Weekly*,' which vigorously fought against anti-Semitism in Austria. He lost the election, but the election campaign that was carried out in Sokal with commitment and exceptional dedication, strengthened the Zionist arrays and it opened the way for a national-Jewish politics for the Jewish

masses. The young Zionists in Sokal came out into the open and with full energy and heartfelt commitment exerted themselves to broaden and strengthen the Zionist influence on the Jewish street.

– 6 –

In the first few years of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Zionist movement in Sokal lacked a headquarters, a social gathering place, from which a systematic organizational program could be carried out, in order to win over a larger segment of the Jewish populace. After much effort this writer was first in the year 1910 was able to found an official Jewish society under the name: '*Volks-leyen-zahl*' which became a central gather place for the members and sympathizers of the Zionist ideal.

However, without tactical reasons, in order to make it easy to legalization from the *Starostva* and not to repel the broader segment of the Jewish populace, the Society was given a general not-understandable name. In reality this was a pure Zionist Society led by members of the Zionist organization.

In this Society and intensive broadening of Zionist activity was carried out, and therefore cultural work stood on a high level. We were greatly helped in that work by members of the chancellery of the Zionist lawyers Dr. Frenkel and Schneider, the longtime member of the Zionist party council in Eastern Galicia, the later lawyer in Drohowycz, who had large expenses for the development of the Zionist organization in Sokal.

Apart from this, Dr. Inslicht and Dr. Wolfram – (the younger) – the brother of the already mentioned veteran of the Zionist movement in Sokal – Dr. Wolfram, distinguished themselves in Zionist activity.

Dr. Bikel-Szpitzer incurred very great expense for the Zionist organization in Sokal in that time, also a lawyer until the year 1914, when after the outbreak of The First World War, went over to Lemberg and took over being editor pf the Zionist '*Tageblatt*.'

This writer participated in this society activity, but only during free summer time, when he would come home from Vienna where he studied medicine.

Almost all of the Zionist activities, all gatherings for the Land of Israel Fund, the elections to the Zionist Congresses took place in this Zionist location.

– 7 –

This untiring activity by the first Zionist pioneers in Sokal strengthened the Zionist organization and raised its prestige on the Jewish street. The Zionist movement in Sokal became an important factor in the social life of the city.

Even among the minor number of Jewish gymnasium students in the city, who were already being raised in Zionist homes – the Zionist ideal penetrated, and a student circle of Zionists was established, which was given the name ‘*Tikvah*’ and it carried out a clandestine Zionist propaganda initiative among the Jewish gymnasium students in Sokal.

The power and influence of the Sokal Zionist organization became manifest during the elections to the Austrian parliament in the year 1911, when the energetic and active elections committee, led by the local Zionist steering committee brought a large increase and strengthening among the Zionist ranks in the city. Even though the Zionist candidate in the Sokal area, the Eastern Rabbi of Lemberg, Dr. Rapaport did not get elected, during the election process, he brought in a light and understanding even in the smallest quarters off the Sokal voting circle, and an understanding of Zionist thinking and awakened the nationalist awareness among the broad Jewish masses.

In Sokal the city itself, Dr. Rapaport got the highest number of votes despite the anti-Zionist pressure on Jewish voters from the Polish official bodies, who were supported by a voice that called from the Belz courtyard. But the Sokal circle was so cut up, that the Jewish votes were drowned in the sea of peasant votes.

This election campaign led the Sokal Zionists from the narrow rows of just a society. They had now achieved the position of a political party on the Jewish street.

Also the national Zionist organization increased its sense of value for the Zionist organization in Sokal, especially after the upsetting and changes wrought of the election campaign of the 11<sup>th</sup> Zionist Congress in Vienna, when the Sokal voting bloc put up Dr. Mandel as a candidate, he being a lawyer from Rawa-Ruska.

The outbreak of the First World War, in the Fall of 1914, destroyed the normal activities of the Sokal Zionist organization. In that same year during Passover holidays, still had the opportunity to absorb the former leader of the Zionist organization in Eastern Galicia, the brilliant speaker, Dr. Leon Reich, who with his debating style elicited an unusual invigoration of the spirits of the mass of the Jews there.

However, with the outbreak of the war, every Zionist and community endeavor was put to a halt in the city. Hundreds of Jews were mobilized and when Sokal was occupied by the Russian troops, a brutal régime emerged of Russians carrying out pogroms, the Jewish populace was mercilessly exhausted.

It was first in the year 1917 – the Jewish gymnasium students in Sokal came to themselves, who had to take a lot to live up to the Zionist activity, in those difficult war years. They organized a clandestine youth-organization ‘*HaShomer HaTza‘ir*’ which during this period still manifested a general Zionist character and with boundless commitment they spread a variety of Zionist solutions among the ranks of the Jewish youth, and awakened in the older generation making them shake off their apathy and despair. Until the end of the First World War, this was the only Zionist organization in Sokal.

In the meantime, incident in Jewish life kept on going on. On November 2, 1917 the Balfour Declaration was declared, which was understood as an act of creating a Jewish state in the Land of Israel and elicited a wildly vigorous impression in the entire Jewish world.

A year later, the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed. An independent Polish country arose, which also took in Galicia.

In Sokal, the Balfour Declaration elicited an elevated response and now, both young and old people gathered around the Zionist flag, who had often demonstrated their sympathy for the Zionist ideal.

Former Zionist activists began to return from the front, who immediately took up the work, in order to, once again, build up the Zionist organization in Sokal. This writer returned in May 1919, and barely on the first day, he took over the position of assistant in the municipal hospital, but to do so he had to intervene with the hospital director, Dr. Weigel, who represented the Polish national committee, in order that he release two Jewish gymnasium- teachers who had been arrested for organizing a memorial service in the school, relating to the pogrom against the Jews in Lemberg. These were professor Zeinfeld who came from Stanislawow, and was an active member of the Zionist party council in Eastern Galicia and the second was Rauchweg, a gymnasium-teacher sympathetic to the Zionist cause. On the very day that I intervened, both teachers were released from arrest. Their thanks were endless, as well as the happiness of the Jewish populace in the city.

In order to strengthen the slack in the Zionist ranks that had come with the War, this writer with the help of professor Zeinfeld called for a general meeting of active Zionists, in which a Zionist local-committee was elected, which immediately linked up with the Zionist Executive [committee] in Lemberg, and establishes normal Zionist activity and work.

In order to broader Zionist influence on the Jewish street and to make possible a larger mass staff to carry on with Zionist activity among older and younger Zionists, the organization '*HaTekhiya*' was founded, whose first chairman was Abba Frenkel and after him Israel Donner. In this local branch which was located in the house of Mr. Sobel, a vibrant cultural activity was carried out. The books from the pre-war prior libraries were gathered together there and a modest library was yet again organized with Hebrew and Yiddish books. All facets of Zionist work was concentrated in this branch, such as collections for *Keren Kayemet L'Israel*, selling of lottery tickets, initiatives by '*Keren HaYesod*,' which since 1921 were carried out under the direction of the exceptionally dedicated Zionist- activist, Moshe Ekker, a well-know charitable man, whose two sons were in Israel. One of them – Henryk Ekker was among the first of the *Halutzim* who built *Bet-Alpha* and in the later year of 1923 went over to *Sharon*, where he established the *Ramat Sharon* settlement, and lives there to this day with his entire family running a model business.

After Moshe Ekker emigrated, the lawyer Ephraim Menkes took over running the '*Keren HaYesod*' committee, whose only son, Dr. Efrat Menkes works as an agronomical engineer *Bet Dagon*.

The approach of the *Bet HaMedrash* in Sokal to the Zionist Society 'HaTekhiya,' was not a light one. By performing systematic clarifying work which consisted of a number of open lectures, discussions, and a number of cultural- impressions, such as theater presentations and literary evenings, a Zionist atmosphere was created in the Jewish street, which contributed a great deal to the success of the various Zionist initiatives taken in the city.

The elevated moment the Sokal Jews experienced, in connection with the San-Remo Conference in the month of May 1920, in which the Balfour Declaration was finally established and the leadership of Palestine as Mandate country was given over to England, which was charge to realize the Balfour Declaration. These decisions at San-Remo evoked a stormy lift in spirits across the entire Jewish world.

The Zionist Society in Sokal arranged for a celebratory evening, in honor of this historic event, at which the Senator Dr. Ringel had, to a rapt audience spoken about the great significance of the international declaration that favored the realization of the Zionist ideal. After the gathering, a celebratory banquet was held in honor of the respected guest, in which the entire Zionist active membership participated, and a great number of Zionist sympathizers.



דער פאראיין „התחיה“ אין סיקאל אין יאר 1919

אגודת „התחיה“ בסוקל בשנת 1919

Page 123: The 'HaTekhiya' Society in Sokal in 1919

The Sokal Zionists took part in the entire Zionist set of political initiatives with great ardor and fire, which now took place in independent Poland and of the attending masses of people's gatherings, the

Sokal Jews with fully earnest attention and great interest, adopted all of the presentations of such important customs from Lemberg – where the Rabbi Dr. Meir Geier was located, the Senator Dr. Schreiber, Dr. Max Lezer ז"ל, and to be blessed with long life, Dr. Zvi Heller, and Dr. Stoop and others. These folk-gatherings were developed into mighty demonstrations by Sokal Jewry for the benefit of Zionist initiatives.

The activities of the Zionist representatives in the community (among others David Byk and the Eastern [Galician] leader R' Yitzhak Birnbaum – who lives today in Haifa with his family) – as well as in the municipal council, disseminated much respect for the Zionist movement in Sokal and the popularity of the Zionist representatives in a very larger measure helped lead to the fact that in later elections to these bodies of control, up to the Holocaust, the Zionist candidates always emerged with a full victory. Also the last election to the municipal council under the chairmanship of Eng. Schwartz, this writer became a member.

The activists of the Sokal activist committee also did not desert its practical missions aimed at the Jewish populace in the city, and we detail that activity in another place.

Apart from all of these important economic and community activities, in addition, did not forget that first place in all their Zionist endeavors had to taken with regards to the Land of Israel Funds.

This initiative was carried out immediately for the first time in 1919, under the direction of this writer.

The fruitful activity for Keren Kayemet L'Israel in Sokal is witnessed by the monthly reactions of the gatherings for this Fund, which in its hour, were publicized in the Zionist press. According to the report of K.K.L. No. 1 – which appeared first in the Lemberg '*Khvoyla*' of 1.8.1919 – In the months of March and April 1919, the sum of 596.20 Crowns was raised – which according to the measure of that time was a great sum.

According to the K.K.L. report of the month of August 1919 (*Khvoyla* N0. 240), the Zionist activists Flax, Szargel, Donner, Steinbrook, Szitz, Levy, Constantine, Zindl and Moshe Zucker, collected 700 Crowns for the Herzl Forest.

Of greater significance was the initiative to expand the purchases in the Land of Israel of parcels of land in Djebalya, latter day *Bat-Yam*. This initiative was carried out with great success and more parcels were purchased.

And when the delegate of the Bank HaPoalim came to Sokal from the Land of Israel – Leviatov in order to gather up capital for this institution, and intensive collection initiative took place under the direction of this writer and eighty bank-notes were sold in the city.

The local-committee of the Zionist organization in Sokal also had the goal of maintaining contact with the Zionist groups in neighboring areas, that belonged to the Zionist Sokal sector. In order to

strengthen this contact, and to become acquainted with the state of these organizations area conference came together in Sokal on May 7,1922, in which representatives, apart from Sokal, took part from Kristianopol, Tartakov and Varenzh – with the participation of the General Secretary of the Lemberg Executive Dr. Lezer, who even before the opening of the conference, gave a substantively researched piece in the ‘*Dom Narodny*’ about ‘The Meaning of the Land of Israel to the Jewish People.’

In the evening, in the Hebrew school, came forth the recommendations of the area conference, which was opened by the chairman of this area conference, who was myself. After the speech by Dr. Lezer about “The Goals of the area-committee and actual Zionist questions,” a discussion ensued, after which a new area-committee was elected with this writer at its head, and one member from each [significant] location.

This infers that the ranks of the known Zionists increased, who stood at the service of the Zionist movement in the city, demonstrated by the fact, that at the gathering of the Zionist academics, which took place on May 14,1922, there was also a delegate from Sokal.



קבוצת פעילי „אחווה“ בסוקל  
 א גרופע אַקטיוויסטן פון דער כלל־ציוניסטישער אַרבייטאָרע „אחווה“ אין סוקאל  
 זיצביים מימין (עס זיצן פון רעכטס): רוחת סס. בעגליטר ורחל ברוגער — היום שמחוביץ הגרה  
 עומדים מימין (שטייען פון רעכטס): טוביה ברי און משה באָרד

Page 125: A Group of Activists of ‘Akhvah’ in Sokal  
 (From the Right, sitting): Rosa Fass, Begleiter, and Rachel Bruner –  
 today Simchovitz and lives (?)  
 (Standing from the Right): Tuvia Beri and Moshe Bard



In the same year of 1922 the Zionist Organization in Sokal, this writer entered, with the support of his Zionist activity, in 'The Gold Book' of *Keren Kayemet L'Israel*. Later on, after the Holocaust, an inscription was added to the Golden Book of the K.K.L. by a *landsmanschaft* of Sokal Jews in Israel – for the fully committed community worker Leon Fyvel ש"ר of Milano (Italy), who died early in Milan. To be granted long years, Kreminer of Canada was also entered into the book, who was a loyal Zionist and a great donor and philanthropist, who maintains a hearty and warm contact with his Sokal *landsleit* in Israel. For their generous activity for the good of the *surviving remnants* of Sokal Jewry, the *landsleit* Fyvel Joseph and Levy were also entered into the K.K.L. golden book.

The intensive activity of the Zionist organization's local committee in Sokal caused an increasing growth [in membership] from year-to-year, in all areas of general Jewish National and social life.

Of first priority the work for the benefit of the Israel Funds produced better results every time. The collections for K.K.L. became very popular and every *Keren-HaYesod* initiative elicited a broadly based response from the Jewish populace. We read such in the '*Khvoyla*' of 3.5.1924 – that the Keren HaYesod commission in Sokal, during the great *Keren HaYesod* push in Galicia 'without the help of the central office, initiated this action with their own resources, which thanks to the cooperation of Moshe Ekker and Dr. Kindler it was fortunate to produce good results.'

The Zionist organization in Sokal showed a special interest in the Hebrew School, which fought hard to maintain its existence. The principal goal was to assure that there were adequate funds for the necessary items in the school budget. The Zionist local-committee would arrange for various types of events, in order to cover part of the expenses of the school. The '*Lemberg Tageblatt*' tells us in No. 209 of 7.9.1923 via a correspondence from Sokal, in the days of August 25, 1923 under Rezhi and Adler, without Drohovyzh the '*Village-Youth*' from Kobrin was carried out – and for the benefit of the Hebrew School located there.

In time, the Sokal Zionist organization contributed to a strong growth in the number of *Halutzim*, for whom the fulfillment of this pioneering initiative was not just a simple phrase. Impatiently, they waited for a possibility, by legal or illegal means, a way to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel.

As we already mentioned elsewhere, Mrs. Sarah Engel ש"ר, the widow of the Zionist veteran from Sokal, Shmuel David Engel ש"ר, and his son Nahum were the first pioneers who emigrated from Sokal to the Land of Israel.

Later on in the year 1925 – when the World Zionist organization had received 8000 certificates of entry from the Mandate Government, the ranks of the *Halutzim* came to life, and a strong *aliyah* of *Halutzim* streamed into the Land of Israel. The '*Hitakhdut*' organization did a great deal for this initiative in Eastern Galicia, and among the pioneering group then assembled for *aliyah* – there were also *Halutzim* from Sokal: Margulies, Bard, Schatz and any Nyer (a ne and worked in neighboring orchards). This group in Petakh-Tikvah founded a spot in the name of the deceased Zionist leader and Senator of the Polish Senate, Dr. Max Bienenstock who had worked in neighboring orchards. From there the group prepared to take over the work in Magdiel to dry out the swamps.

There was a meaningful upswing and growth that the Zionist Organization in Sokal achieved at the time of the elections to the 15th Zionist Congress in Basel in the year 1927. This was a time when the entire world Zionist movement found itself under the pressure of the difficult political and economic crisis in the Land of Israel – the Jubilee Congress after 30 years since the first congress (1897) and stood for great expectations to mobilize all the creative energies of the Jewish people.



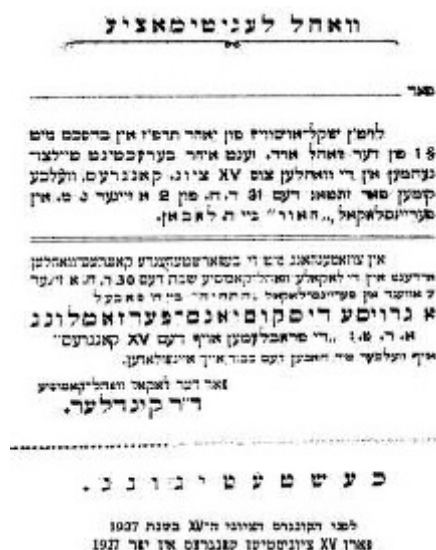
ה'לוצים מסוקל בקבוצת "בינשטוק" בתה'תקח בשנת 1925  
ה'לוצים פון סיקאל אין דער קבוצה "בינשטוק" אין תה'תקח אין יאר 1925  
זומדים בשורה ראשונה מימין: (עם שמוען אין דער צרעטער ריי פון רענטס):  
הראשון: בארד השני גיער (הרשוני)

Page 127: Sokal *Halutzim* in the 'Bienenstock' group of Petakh Tikva in the year 1925.

Standing in the first row from the right: First is Brod, and the second is Nyer.

For the first time, elections took place on the basis of an entitlement ticket and a new voting organization. It was now that the difference between the programmatic differences between the separate factions that participated in the election became visible.

A model process for elections to the congress took place in Sokal by the local inter-party election committee headed by Dr. Kindler. The congressional clarifications of the election committee had a general Zionist character and especially attempted to deepen the understanding of Zionism coming from the Zionist camp.



Page 128 A Voting Ticket for the 15<sup>th</sup> Zionist Congress in 1927.

There were many consequences to the growth of Zionist influence in the city, engendered by the trips to the Land of Israel taken by this writer in the years 1930 and 1934. Every time I returned from such a trip to the land of Israel I told about the heroic work of the pioneer *Halutzim* at gatherings in the school, and about the results of the Zionist rebuilding effort in the Land of Israel. It was in this fashion that a living contact was created with the Land of Israel, and along with it and interest and love for the Land of Israel grew.

A testament regarding the strong influence of the Zionist organization in Sokal in this period of time, is the fact that in the year 1932, 873 tickets were sold.



„אחווה“ בסוקל בשנת 1929  
 „אחווה“ אין סיקאל אין יאר 1929  
 יושבים בעורה ראשונה מימין (עס זיצן אין דער ערשטער רײ פון רעכטס):  
 דער 4טער משה קובלר און דער 6טער זיגמונט (זינדל) פאס

Page 130: The ‘Akhvah’ in Sokal in the year 1929  
 Sitting in the first row from the right are: 4<sup>th</sup>, Moshe Kubler, and 6<sup>th</sup> Zygmunt (Zindl) Fass.

And so the strength of the Sokal Zionist Organization grew from year to year. In the struggle with those who opposed the Zionist ideal – with the extremely orthodox and assimilationists on one side

– and with the *Bundists* on the second side, the Sokal Zionists hacked a path through to the Jewish masses using systematic Jewish information work, by creating a strong economic and socio-cultural positions, and drew to itself most of the Jewish populace to the veracity of Zionism.

The Zionist activity in the city during the later years until the outbreak of the Second World War penetrated almost every corner of Jewish life, and left its imprint on the entire Social structure in the city.

This richly successful Zionist work in Sokal was possible thanks to the meaningful number of activists, who loyally and tirelessly fulfilled their Zionist responsibility. The last Zionist branch in Sokal has the following as members: Dr. Kindler, Dr. Freier, Lustik, Levin, Auerbach, Kiel, Dr. Begleiter, David Byk, the lawyer Shmuel Fass, and professor Isaac Fass.



אגודת „אחווה“ בסוקל  
די „אחווה“ ארגאניזאציע אין סוקאל  
יושב בשורה שניה מימין החמישי: (עם זיצט אין דער צווייטער ריו פון  
רעכטס דער פינפטער): די׳ר בעגלייטער

Page 131: The *Agudat 'Akhvah'* in Sokal  
Dr. Begleiter is seated fifth from the right in the second row.



With the outbreak of the terrifying Second World War in September 1939, every Jewish cultural and social activity was disrupted. The Zionist initiatives were hacked off. All social and Zionist institutions were closed down as were all the Jewish societies on the Jewish street.

Sokal Jewry was annihilated in suffering and pain, in the death camps, in the gas chambers. The large camp of dedicated tireless Zionist activists fell in *Sanctification of the Name*.

Pay homage to their memories!

## From the History of the 'Mizrahi' in Sokal

By Yitzhak Birnbaum  
(Haifa)

In the year 1911 I took up residence in Sokal as the son-in-law of R' Israel Bard שליט. I came from the *shtetl* of Anistriszcz near Buczacz where the spirit of Zionism in general, and of 'Mizrahi' in particular needed to be uplifted for some time, and as understood, it hit like waves in its character, and I was taken by 'Mizrahi' in particular in all the aspects of my soul. According the place was very cramped for me, when I suddenly found myself in an atmosphere laden with hostile fanaticism so wide-spread against anyone that had even so much as pinch of a breeze of Zionism wafting off of him. And even in the Czortkow-Husiatyn 'Kloyz,' in which a place had been set aside for me to pray amidst the family of my father-in-law שליט whom their ADMo'Rs שליט were already known to be sympathetic to this national movement, I felt that in order that I not be an embarrassment and not defile to honor of my father-in-law שליט, I had to take care to watch what I said and in what tongue, and to be wary of all incorrect movements that could, God forbid, reveal 'me' among the many. To accomplish this, I had to suppress the spirit within me, and let it reside there. However, not much time went by and the spirit within me burst out and began to pressure me to get out, and my first step was to subscribe to the newspaper, the Lemberg *Tageblatt*, and out of a conviction that I first needed to spread some of my spirit to my two brothers-in-law (sons of my father-in-law) David and Yehoshua דידיה , whom I knew to have many friends among the youth, so I pulled them to read the previously mentioned newspaper, and in secret, I gave them various explanations that based them rather quickly, and they began to recruit souls for the 'movement', and to secretly bring them into the 'Pardes' and those same souls that came to life, began to follow me about, and to run into me at an hour that was neither day nor night, to beseech me so 'heretical' book in loan or just to laud take pleasure in what I had to say...

However, as it is written, 'No one says anything, and there are no words – without those who listen to their voices' and this thing cause me to sprout wings speedily, and I became something to talk about by many, and even the elder *Hasidim* in our *Kloyz*, and this filled them with anger, and cause them to speak badly of me, saying: that, God forbid, I am poisoning their children, and in front of my father-in-law שליט and in front of his firstborn son, my brother-in-law of precious spirit and gentle in soul, Abraham (who was called Avrom'chi, שליט), and this is the place where I need to recall my brother-in-law for the good שליט; he was indeed without 'politics' a committed *Hasid* to his *Rebbe* from Husiatyn and adhered to his deeds, and seeing as how I have already mentioned above, all the people of his 'courtyard' looked favorably at the Zionist movement in general, and on 'Mizrahi' in particular.

He did not pay attention to what they said, and he even calmed his father gently. And especially after these things, the issues were conducted with greater alertness, me for myself, and my brothers-in-law שליט for themselves, such that the first 'buds' already began to bloom and come out.

It is hard to know how things might have developed if the First World War had not broken out first.



סעילי המזרחי בסנת 1937  
 מורה צדקנים אין יאר 1937  
 ביטוי (פון יעקב לייבוש יאפאפארט אין שמחה שניצל

Page 133: The Active Mizrahi Members in  
 the Year 1937  
 (From Left, Right): Yaakov Leibusz Rapaport and  
 Simcha Sznycer

But immediately with the end of the War, a new wind began to blow through the city, the ‘fanatics’ cooled off a bit, and the youth matured, ‘the kids grew into fully-grown goats’ I was afraid of ‘the eyes of shame’ the shadow of disapproval disappeared from their faces, and the work was carried out completely in the open. This success lit up the faces, and tens of comrades, male and female, from the youth to mature bachelor men from all parts came to swell the ranks of our movement in a short period of time, to the point where we found ourselves worthy to formally organize ourselves and to open a meeting place called ‘*Young Mizrahi.*’ The opening was done with a great deal of panoply and dignity. In song and melody, directed by the honorable Rabbi Dr. Federbush who responded to our invitation, and honored us with a warm speech full of heart. Incidentally, when the Honorable Rabbi Federbush noticed that among our members that had already grown out of their youth footwear, he asked him smiling, until what age does a man still belong to being a boy... to his satisfaction, I replied that according to the sentence (Genesis 19) that this city had moved here... from the sorrow of the ADMo”R *Rashi* it turned out that there were 51 in the 51<sup>st</sup> year, and the issue raised a wave and captivated even people that had previously had the temerity to reveal themselves, and this was proven in the plot when in the elections to the community council drew near, the ‘Mizrahi’ candidates received many more [votes] from the numbers of our membership signed up with us. In time, our flag rose until, especially in our Kloyz, for a very good reason: When the Rabbi Prof. Fogelman (now the Rabbi in Motzkin) visited Sokal staying with his father ז”ל, ה”ד, who was also a Hasid of Husiatyn. It was pleasant for us to be honored by his speeches full of substance and

taste. That appearance of his caused us to depend on the saying „... ארציב יניעב אריג ינעמל<sup>40</sup>

Practically from day-to-day, we derived more from the sympathy of the congregation to satisfy our desire. Yet our young members were satisfied with the premises in which they entered in the evenings and Sabbath and Festivals, and spent their time in discussions of Zion, etc. But at the same time, those of us who were older, together had the feeling that together with this it was prior to the completion of the task that fell upon us because without a foundation – they are the neophytes without experience – the entire structure ‘was still a slender thread’ because if there are no girls there is no vigor of life, and without roots there are no trees. And so we sat on the porch and we tried to garner advice how to fill this gap on the premises of my brother-in-law David Bard ז"ל, who during this time became a ‘man,’ and we decided to establish a ‘Yavneh’ School of honor and beauty. Largely I remember this ‘man’ for the good, because he gave much of his time and money in order to complete the school and put it on a firm foundation. And this too, cast the light of success upon us, it developed and opened quickly. The students came from all four corners of the city, and the leadership earned respect and much recognition from all the parents for the beautiful teaching and secular education that their children received from us, amidst a feeling of intense affection.

This is the history of ‘Mizrachi’ from the day it was founded until I made *aliyah* in the year 1935, and all its deeds and undertakings from then up to the Holocaust, they are interred with our dear friends ימ"ש, that were murdered by the dogs of Hitler.

N.B.

In order that nothing leave my hands that is not edited, and that I will not, God forbid, in the many of my friends of the movement that were active and committed to it heart and soul, I have to remember for the good, Meir Tafirinsky, Zvi Zeltzer ז"ל and others (to my regret I do not remember their names) and separated for long life, Mr. Chamaides that was a desired Rabbi and teacher in our school, and Mrs. Jonah Rosenfeld who not only once gave us pleasure with her songs – both are found in the *Land*.

## **From the Revisionist Movement in Sokal**

**By Israel Shapiro**  
(Montreal — Canada)

The local Revisionist organization donated a large amount to the Zionist movement in Sokal, which had actively taken part in all of the Zionist activities and transformed itself into a highly visible part in the Zionist society of the city.

In the last years before the Second World War, the head of the Zionist Revisionists in Sokal was the young lawyer Dr. Gruder, whose heart-and-soul commitment for the realization of the Revisionist dreams did much to raise the popularity of this movement in Sokal.

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<sup>40</sup> Aramaic equivalent for appearing before the public.

In the year 1930, the skillful and capable young Revisionist, Ber'l Redlich, together with a group of activists, founded the youth organization 'Brit Trumpeldor' (called by its acronym BETAR), which in time developed a great influence on the young Zionist generation in Sokal. During most of his years, Ber'l Redlich was leader of the local BETAR. Thanks to his oratorical and organizational skills the position of the Revisionist movement in Sokal grew. His public speeches were very popular, and along with this, he got a lot of help in propaganda work from his friend Hersch Goldberg.



אַ גרופע ציוניסטישע אַקטיוויסטן אין סוקאל אין יאָר 1935  
 (קבוצת פעילי-ציונים בסוקל בשנת 1935)  
 עס שטייען פון רעכטס (עומדים מימין): לעווגאַי, פר. ציגמאַן, יואל אויערבאך און פר. מאַרגוליעס  
 עס זיצן פון רעכטס (יושבים מימין): פר. זענדער און איר ברודער שמואל, פר. גלייכער  
 און חנה האָראָוויץ

Page 136: A Group of Zionist Activists in Sokal in 19 35  
 (Standing, Right): Levgai, Prof. Tzigman, Joel Auerbach, Prof. Margulies  
 (Sitting, Right): Prof. Zender and her brother Shmuel, Prof. Gleicher and Hannah Horowitz

In the later years, after Redlich, Sholom Brak, who was Kreutzer's son-in-law, undertook the leadership of BETAR . What he garnered was the broadening of its influence among the Jewish intelligentsia and assimilated youth, which generally had no attachment to any particular Jewish-National movement.



It was from this coterie that among other, there emerged such committed revisionist activists as the Engineer Schwartz, and Dr. Gruder.

With boundless commitment for the Revisionist ideal and with a deep belief in their great leader [Ze'ev] Jabotinsky it was Mordechai Mendelson who excelled, who with genuine loyalty and willingness to sacrifice himself. Fought for the ideal of the Revisionist movement, to achieve a full realization of the end goal of Zionism. It is a shame that these energetic fighters for the Revisionist ideal was destroyed by the Nazi murderers... they did not have the privilege to live long enough to see the establishment of a free nation in the Land of Israel. Their tragic murder nullified their dream of making *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, in order to assimilate themselves into the camp of the builders of the new Jewish State of Israel.

## Poalei Tzion- and Hitakhdut in Sokal

By A. Kh.

### 1. Poalei-Tzion

The foundation of the *Poalei-Tzion* movement in Sokal was laid after the year 1905 when, among the refugees returning from Russia there was a Yitzhak Bloch, and active *Poalei-Zionist*, who in his new residence began to popularize the solutions of Poalei-Zion among the Jewish working class in the City.



קבוצת חלוצי. פועלי-ציון ביטנת 1930      א גרועע. פועלי-ציון חלוצים אין יאר 1930

Page 137: A Group of Poalei-Tzion Halutzim in the Year 1937

Whenever there was organizational work on this matter, it was not possible yet to say anything about it, and all of the activity was limited to solution discussions concerning questions that contained a general Jewish and Zionist character. Initially only young people belonged to the first circle of Poalei-Tzion, which was quite distant from knowledge acquired in classes. Indeed, they did not have a great influence on the Jewish street in Sokal and when the smaller number of older of *Poalei-Tzion*



להקה דרמטית ע"י "פועלי-ציון" בסוקל      דראמאטישע סעקציע ביי דער פועלי-ציון אין סיקאל  
 Page 138 (Top): A Sokal *Poalei-Tzion* Drama Group.

It was only after the Balfour Declaration, when Zionism sunk deeper roots in Sokal, and penetrated the ranks of the Jewish society there, and along with this a new life was awakened in an active



הסתדרות "פועלי-ציון" (המאות. עם צ.ס.) בסוקל      פועלי-ציון (פאראייניקט מיט צ.ס.) אין סיקאל

*Poalei-Zion* group, which counted as members among them: Hersh Weitz (who dies in New York in 1966), Ber Levin, F. Gingold, Sh. Burstein and Leimzider (a son of Aharon Leimzider). Apart from this work also for the benefit of K.K.L. this *Poalei-Tzion* Group carried on an intensive cultural activity among its adherents. These adherents emigrated to America, every activity of the diminished *Poalei-Tzion* came to a complete halt.



דער לאקאל-קאמיטעט פון דער פועלי-ציון ארגאניזאציע (פאר. מיט צ.ס.) אין סוקאל אין יאר 1933



קבוצת חברי פרייהיים בשנת 1932 עם א. אסקלרס מארדיפורדל באמצע  
 א גרופע חברים פון דער ארג. פרייהיים אין יאר 1932 מיט א. אסקלראס פון איי אין דער מיט

Page 139 (Above): The Local Committee of *Poalei Zion* (Before being with Tz.S.) In 1933  
 Page 138 (Bottom): A Group of the *Freiheit* Organization in 1932 with A. Axelrod from  
 Page 139: (Below): *Tze'irei Freiheit* in Sokal in 1936

## 2. Hitakhdut



קבוצת פעילי „התאחדות“ בסוקל א גרופע אַקטיוויסטן „התאחדות“ אין סיקאַל  
יושבים מימין (עס זיצן פון רעכטס): יוסף פייבל, שמאל ווינדלר, חבר מרדכיכוב,  
קאַלבושאַצער, מוטל שץ  
עומדים מימין (עס שטייען פון רעכטס): מענדל ליבר, משה שף, בענא בערגלאז,

Page 141: An Active *Hitakhdut* Group in Sokal

Sitting (RtoL): Joseph Fyvel, Shmuel Windler, Khaver Merdzhizikov, Kolbuszower, Mottl Schatz  
Standing (RtoL): Mendl Lieber, Moshe Sheff, Benno Bergloz

A radical process took place in the Zionist movement in Sokal after the First World War, which in its first ranks, it accepted youth groups seeking to be *Halutzim*, and who were connected to the general Zionist organization. The influence of the Land of Israel Labor-Zionism grew stronger from day-to-day, which a little at a time penetrated the ranks of the *Halutzim*.

At the same time, the Zionist labor party '*Hitakhdut*' established itself in Eastern Galicia in 1921, especially to create a Jewish Labor Society in the Land of Israel on the foundation of a free exploitive agriculture, supported by Jewish culture.

The leaders of the new party developed a broad multi-faceted propaganda campaign, and since a whole array of local places existed in the ranks of the general-Zionist organization that had been radicalized *Tze'irei Zion* groups, the momentum of the *Hitakhdut* initiative fell on sympathetic ground.

This is what also happened in Sokal, where the radicalization-process had strengthened itself among Zionist youth. There were several Zionist organizations already active there such as '*Gordonia*' and *HaShomer Ha'Tzair* which had significantly drawn closer to Zionist Socialism.

And when Dr. Zvi Heller, one of the ‘*Hitakhdut*’ leaders in Lemberg came to Sokal in 1922, in order to co-opt the Zionist youth of Sokal for the *Hitakhdut*-program, already he did not have a hard time of it. From the older circles of ‘*Gordonia*’ and ‘*HaShomer Ha’Tzair*,’ a branch of the *Hitakhdut* party was established with his help, with its own society ‘*HaTekhiya*,’ in which all the elements of the radical Zionist movement in the city, centered themselves.

Under the direction of such committed activists as Dr. Janowczinsky, Joseph Fyvel and Dov Kiehl the *Histadrut* organization in Sokal developed an activity that made an impact in all aspects of life –not only from pure Zionist ideology – but also from Jewish cultural and social-community work.



להקה דרמטית ע"י "התאחדות" בסוקל אחרי הצגת "דיבוק" בשנת 1928  
 דראמטישער קרייז ביי דער "התאחדות" אין סוקאל נאך דער פארשטעלונג פון "דיבוק" אין 1928

Page 142: The Sokal ‘*Hitakhdut*’ Drama Circle Presenting ‘*The Dybbuk*’ in 1928



קבוצת פעילי "התאחדות" בסוקל בשנת 1925  
 א ברופע אקטיוויסטן פון "התאחדות" אין סוקאל אין יאר 1925  
 עומדים מיטן (עם שטיצע פון רעכטס): אלי לעצער, אימנע פרנוליות, לייב ליפערמאן, יעקב  
 שארגעל, בוני אונגער, לייביש קרליער, משה קרליץ  
 יושבים מיטן (עם זיצן פון רעכטס): הערש קלינגער, שמעון ביק, וו. אימערל

Page 143: A Group of ‘*Hitakhdut*’ Activists of 1925  
 Standing from the Right: Eli Lezter, Itchek Margalit, Leib Lieferman, Yaakov Szargel, Buni Unger, Moshe Krantz  
 Sitting from the Right: Hersh Klingler, Shimon Byk, V. Eimeryl

# A Story from a Youth Organization

By Moshe Kubler, Lawyer  
(Tel-Aviv)

Tens of years have passed and what sort of awesome world events and well as personal experiences have shaken up your entire view... But nothing could wash off the memories of youth, which are connected with the youth organization 'HaNoar HaTzioni' and fill the substance of your life and that of tens of other young people from your *shtetl* of Sokal.



עו"ר משה קובלר

– 1 –

In the first thirty years of this [20th] century the middle class young Jews understood, that the time had come to organize and to occupy an active role in Jewish-Zionist life.

Jewish youth instinctively felt, that its future in the Diaspora contained no basis for them..that every day that goes by is a lost one.

Page 144: The Lawyer  
Moshe Kubler

The humanitarian ideals, that were dominant in the Jewish street at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with their high-sounding solutions of freedom and equality of peoples and of lands – and to have broad circles of Polish Jewry blinded with their illusion of the possibility to reaching salvation in the form of 'Enlightenment' or 'Assimilation' – vanished like a dream in the night.

Their place was taken by new ideals and solutions, that enchanted the hearts of the young generation and the ideals of the social revolution now dominated their entire awareness.

However, immediately it became apparent that these ideals were not any solution for the Jewish masses, who lived in the dark pall of the Diaspora. All the foreign objects lay broken in the Jewish street and no one could restore them to a recognizable form.

Until the period of the Jewish youth arrived, children from the middle class, that constituted the majority in numbers and did most of the building of the Jewish people in the Diaspora...this Jewish youth took its fate and future into its own hands.

\*

And it was in this way that in Galicia, as well as other parts of Poland, Lithuania and other countries of the Diaspora the youth group 'Akhva,' 'HaNoar HaTzioni,' and 'Akiva' and others, began to be founded amongst the ranks of the general Zionist movement. This writer, who had dedicated his young years to the 'HaNoar HaTzioni' movement in our *shtetl* of Sokal, set forth the modest goal that in general stressing and portraying our essence, the goals of this organization, as they reflected their daily lives. I hope, and my belief runs deeply, that I will succeed in achieving this goal.

Jewish life in our *shtetl* looked to be hopeless. The organized anti-Semitism of the Poles and Ukrainians began yet even with more force to drive the Jews out of their economic positions, especially from trade, which was the principal source of the incomes of the Jews. Need and hopelessness became a steady guest in Jewish homes. This difficult circumstance, as you understand, also had a reverberation on the mood of the young generation.



יוגנט־אָרגאַניזאַציע „אַחווה“ אין סיקאַל

תנועת הנוער „אַחווה“ בסוקל

Page 145: The 'Akhvah' Youth Organization in Sokal

– 2 –



התנועה הצעירה בסוקל בשנת 1929.

Page 146: The Sokal Youth Movement in 1929  
in the geography of the Land of Israel, and the like.

It is therefore no wonder that Jewish youth, looking for a ray and substance in life – began to stream to the Zionist youth organizations, and the 'local' as these organizations were called – replaced the home. The 'local' that used thousands of steps drew and bound the youth to them, and it did not have a premises where to gather, – just a place, where the national awareness of the young Jews was deepened... Where it was strengthened and hammered out.

Courses in all manner of subjects were organized, and divided into sections and from them, the youth obtained a fundamental education in Jewish as well as Zionist history, in

Obtaining facility in the Hebrew language and *Tanakh* had an honored place in the daily work of the organization, and because of this also the sports activities on the gymnasium arena was not neglected.

From time-to-time, trips were planned to the surrounding green fields and forests... there, not far from the city our young Halutzim spent their free time playing games, in song, and discussions on a variety of themes. These trips were especially good when outings of this sort were organized in partnership with other organizations in the vicinity.

Every year, during the great school recesses, colonies were established, where the youth of practically the entire surroundings spent from three to four weeks in free natural surroundings, and took part in a variety of physical and cultural events.

It is worth stressing that these summer colonies provided for children of non-paying parents, who, thanks to the help fo the '*HaNoar HaTzioni*' organization had the means to send their children to such a necessary institution.

It was the older comrades that bore the entire burden of the organization. Until late into the night, they would tarry in the 'local' searching their thoughts for the best plans and about future day-to-day work in the organization.

The Land of Israel was always at the top of their list of concerns. Our thoughts were dedicated to this holy land, over all other thoughts, and manifested itself in the assumption of our tasks to bring our ideal to fruition.

Every one of our mature members considered it a sacred responsibility to take part and excel in the work for the good of the institutions, that were linked with the building of the Land of Israel, manifesting itself in work on behalf of such as K.K.L., *Keren HaYesod*, support for *Halutzim* and a variety of party funds.

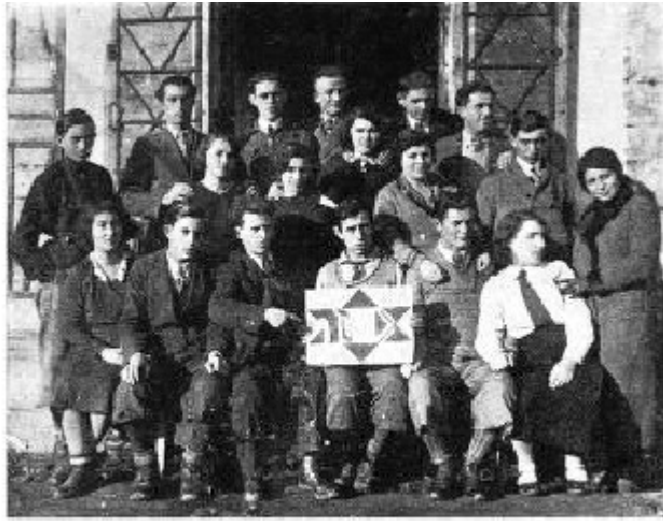


קבוצת חברות. הנוער הציוני" בסוקל לומדות עברית  
א גרופה חברות סוקל - הנוער הציוני" האם לשינון עברית

With the active help from our organization we founded a training facility for Zionist *Halutz* youth. We spared no means nor energy to create work for the *Halutzim*, and needed material help and necessary efforts for a quicker aliyah to the Land of Israel. The reputation of our *Halutz-Kibbutz* had a broad response in the entire area around Sokal. The leaders of the general Zionist organization took pride in the *Halutz* youth, and held it to be a great honor to take part in this activity for the realization of the Zionist ideal.

Page 148: A Group of '*HaNoar HaTzioni*' Girls, Learning Hebrew.





קבוצת הכשרה של 'אחווה' בסוקל      א גרוסע חלוצים פון 'אחווה' אויף הכשרה.

Page 149 (Top): A Group of *Halutzim* of 'Akhvah' in Sokal Training



קבוצת הכשרה של הנוער הכלל ציוני בסוקל  
כלל-ציוניסטישע יוגנט פון סיקאל אויף הכשרה

Page 149 (Bottom): *Halutzim* Who Were General Zionists in Sokal, Training.



קבוצת חלוצות. הנוער הציוני עם בוגרים  
 יושבים בשורה שלישית מימין: דוד וואלדמן (היום בישראל), חברה זיץ (היום גב' ויס בישראל),  
 מענדל וועקער, משה קובלר (היום גב' קובלר), מישה קובלר, חברה ליבר (היום גב'שניינליפערסן) בישראל

Page 150: A Group of 'HaNoar Hatzioni' with Grownups  
 Sitting in the third row from the right: David Waldman (today in Israel),  
 Khavra Sztiz (today Mrs. Ziss in Israel), Mendl Wakker, Fifi Lieber  
 (today Mrs. Kubler), Moshe Kubler, Khevrach Lieber (today Mrs.  
 Schneierman in Israel)

Zion, sons and daughters, together with those of us here who were freed here – in the free Land of Israel... in the death camps, in the gas chambers, they gave up their lives... our heart weeps with tears of blood... and there is no consolation.



The leadership of the 'Noar Tzioni' organization did not satisfy itself with the cultural work in the society-local. It took part in the cultural condition of the Jewish populace in the city. Our Drama section had significant revenues in this regard, which had taken upon itself with arranging in the larger, open 'locals' Yiddish theater presentations— including among others: 'Shver Tzu Zyn a Yid,' by Sholom Aleichem, and 'The Stranger,' by Gordon.



תזמורת המנדוליניסטים ע"י "הנוער הציוני" בסוקל — יושב מימין (יצט פון רעכטס): משה קובלר  
 מאנדאליניסטן אַרקעסטער ביי דער "הנוער הציוני" אין סוקאל

Apart from the amateur group of 'HaNoar-HaTzioni' organization also occupied itself with presenting such Page 151: The Sokal Mandolin Orchestra of 'HaNoar HaTzioni.' Moshe Kubler is sitting to the right.

The active Zionists in our city understood that just words alone will not suffice, that these beautiful solutions must be turned into reality through deeds. For this reason, the number of our older membership grew, who were readying themselves to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, and were it not for the shameful politics of the English Mandate authorities, which directed the limitation of Jewish immigration into the Land of Israel, in the end – were it not for the frightening Holocaust destroying most of European Jewry, which was carried out in the most gruesome fashion by Hitlerist murderers – many more of our comrades.. Loyal to

stars of the Yiddish stage as Jonas Turkov, Ida Kaminska, the singer Hilda Dolitskaya and others, along with our comrades they filled an important cultural goal on the Jewish street in Sokal.



אָנזעסן צווייטער יוגנט יאָג און סאָקל

אָנזעסן דעם זינצטן יאָר

Page 152: The General Zionists in Sokal

Bruner, David Waldman, Mendl Wecker, Yehuda Frazer (Schrager), from this writer and many others, we have to thank for all these achievements.

Only a small part of these comrades were privileged to realize their ideal and make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel.. these were barely small twigs from the fully branched tree that was so terrifyingly torn out and exterminated.

May these lines – a bloody description of my weeping heart – serve as a symbolic gravestone to the eternal memory for all of the young, loyal sons and daughters from the Zionist organization ‘*HaNoar HaTzioni*’ in Sokal, that were not privileged to free themselves together with us, in the free Jewish State of Israel – the sacred goal of their ideals. The memory of our tortured brethren is deeply etched in our hearts, and to the last breath of our soul we will recollect them.

A pity that we have lost them, and we will not forget them.

ת.נ.צ.ב.ת.



We take it as our sacred duty to offer our respect to the eternal memory of the committed Zionist activist Dr. Joseph Schmider ז"ל, the hearty friend of our organization. He spared no time, energy and money, in order to help us with our development. There was no instance in which he refused his participation and tireless activity, in order to fulfill the goals that we had asked him to take on.

May his memory be eternally blessed!



הנוער הציוני - קבוצה "טריים" בסוקל  
 יושב בשורה ראשונה באמצע (עם זיצס אין דער ערשטער ריין אין דער מיט) משה קובלר

Page 153: The 'Miriam' Group of 'HaNoar HaTzioni' with Moshe Kubler in the middle of the seated row.

upon our *shtetl*, she exerted the greatest effort with all of her might, and with all her strength she made the greatest strains, in order to lighten the difficult suffering of other Jews, in order to bring at least a ray of hope into their hearts.

Let her memory be blessed for all eternity!



קבוצה הציוני בסוקל בעת ניקוי חדר הקון  
 א מרדכי הציוני אין סוקל בעת דעם נייניקן דעם פארייניגט-קאפיטל  
 מיטן (פון רישטע): ספי ליבוי, מענדל וועקער, חנה הורוויץ, רחל ברונו

Page 154: A Group of 'HaNoar Tzioni' cleaning the branch. From the Right: Fifi Lieber, Mendl Wekker, Chana Horowitz, Rachel Bruner

With awe and respect, we also recollect the tireless effort of Mrs. Dr. Menkes, who, with indescribable commitment of the soul carried help to the poor populace in our shtetl and always found the time both with advice and actual doing to help us in our day-to-day work.

She was a wonderful person to behold... also later, after we had made aliyah to the Land of Israel, she continued her tireless philanthropic activity and when the dark night of the ghetto fell

We also have the local Zionist committee to thank a great deal with the tireless, generous Zionist activist headed by Dr. David Kindler – may he have good and long years – and with his members, the significant committed Zionist activists such as: David Byk, Moshe Weniger, Dr. Leon Honig, Zelig Linsker and Eydel Israel. Let these lines serve as a grave marker for all of these generous activists who excelled in their sacrificial work for the good of the stress to realize the Zionist ideal – and were not privileged to free themselves with its realization.

To everyone’s joy, our beloved and guarded Dr. David Kindler is to be found among us with his family. We wish him added long and healthy years together with us, to continue the sacred work for the good of our joint and lofty goal.



הגוער הציוני בסוקל — בתורה שליטת שמו מסמאל (אין דער הדיטער ריו — דער זעקסטער טון לינקס): ד"ר דוד קינדלר



Page 155: The Sokal “*HaNoar HaIvri*” with Dr. Kindler in the third row, sixth from the left.

# The 'HaShomer Ha'Tzair' Movement in Sokal

By Dr. Y. Efrat (Menkes)  
(Holon)

News of the '*HaShomer Ha'Tzair*' movement reached our city at the height of the First World War, when Jewish sons began to return from Vienna, after the city had been rid of the Russian Army.

Many, if not all, of the founding members of the Sokal branch were youth who studied, and pupils of the local gymnasium. The '*HaShomer*' branch was founded in 1917, which later on changed its name, as did all other branches, to '*HaShomer Ha'Tzair*.' The Sokal branch possessed a profound visionary outlook, and the most important of its leadership held themselves as erect Jewish people, pure and a doer of good deeds, of an honest heart and all the other attributes of a forward-looking movement.

It was a local and global movement, shortly after its founding, and concerns of the first ideologies, that were difficult to manage, engendered weakness and disappointment, more than the appearance of a movement of pioneering fulfilment. However such changes skipped over the Sokal branch, which for a continuing period, with a good reputation, guarded its fundamental idealistic character. During these years, the Sokal members of '*HaShomer*' did not know how to find a way to reach the masses of Jewish youth in the city, and because of its leanings towards Socialism, the branch remained almost exclusively a small group of the gymnasium students.

A fundamental change from this position began only in the years 1927-1928. The movement began to get enlarged stepwise from a small group of about 30 'students' and changed into a large youth group, and vibrant with life, that ran from 120 to 150 young people, filled and informed with all the life of a national and global movement: in this period, until the outbreak of the Second World War, our branch was one of the largest in the ambit of Galicia, not only in the manner large compared to the population of our city, but in decided and committed members.

The educational objective in the Sokal branch, as in all parts of the movement, was to motivate a youth to personally fulfill their role as *Halutzim* in the Land of Israel and to open characteristics both spiritual and physical in order to make progress to reach this goal. This forward-looking education, which over the years saw a diminution in the ranks of the movement to *The Land*, in our branch saw a special emphasis and when the Galician movement '*Khazara LaTzofiyut*' we were a wondrous example in this regard. As throughout the movement, and also in Sokal, there were many struggling to devise a synthesis between a Zionist-Socialist objective and an outlook on the world and education; However, we knew how to find a melding of the two, and consequently, our branch was spared the ideological upheavals that impacted large segments of the movement during the thirties, as evidenced by the number who left leaning to the left, who completed with leaving the branch was smaller than usual.

With its growth and increasing strength, our branch was transformed into one of the more important enablers among the local Jewry; its work was instilled in many ranks that were both, internal and external.

The internal efforts were based on a set of organizing principles. Accordingly, the branch was based on an organizational design: Grown people (ages 17 and above); *Tzofim* (aged 14-17); *Kfirim* (up to age 14). The branch was led by a head in partnership with the local leadership. These units were divided into sections, and these into small groups.



קן "השומר הצעיר" בסוקל בשנת 1930

Page 157: The 'HaShomer Ha 'Tzair' branch in Sokal, 1930

The essence of the effort was based on the following principles; 8-15 boys or girls; the heads of these groups generally would receive training aligned with the settlements of the leadership in *The Land*. An intimate atmosphere ruled inside such groups, one of camaraderie oriented among the students and the leader of the group, and the students themselves. The work itself was divided in accordance with an order, that were first put together by the Senior Leadership in Lvov; But these outlines served only to show the general way and left possibilities of fulfillment mostly in the hands of the teachers. The general line of our endeavors was to achieve an appropriate melding of the tone among all of the essential elements of the education of a 'HaShomer:' Pioneering Zionism, and an outward-looking Socialism. Among the *Kfirim* emphasis was given to the national and personal moment; Among the *Tzofim* the work was based, in addition to these, also fundamental indoctrination of Socialism, and the knowledge base for the foundation of socialism and economics; a special place was reserved to the movement of actual work in the Land of Israel; The history of Zionism, settlement, taking up residence, and knowledge of *The Land*, etc. This forward-looking education became real and opened the experience of an integral part of the education of those in this age group.

In the cohort of the older members, work was aimed specifically to prepare our comrades to realize their goal as *Halutzim*, to a life of preparation and the kibbutz. At this age, it was difficult to obtain a set educational integration program, since part of the cohort of the *Tzofim* was busy over their heads with the direction of the branch and educational work with the younger cohorts because a number of the members were already in this preparation process outside the city.

These groups would come together usually 3 times a week for regular activities ('discussions') in the hall of the branch ('its auditorium') as we called it in shorthand; however at frequent intervals we would meet under the cover of the skies, in one of the romantic spots in the vicinity of the city (*Dolinka, Blunya, or the Wolkowa Forest*).

The group and the division, and even the entire branch were a framework of the special activities such as legal texts, tours, to see important scenes, fund-raising, etc. And in addition to these training sessions, an important role was what we called 'Havai' not a subject in itself, but singing on command, dances in the hall, or in one of the places under the skies. But there were events for which it was not possible to rent a hall, because the entire process was conducted out of doors, when the place of the hall was pre-empted by one of the orchards of trees of the parents of the *Shomrim*.



קבוצת בוגרים. השומר הצעיר" בסוקל בשנת 1930  
 עומד בשורה שניה ראשון מימין: דב (בובי) לוי

Page 158: A Group of *Bogrim* from 'HaShomer Ha Tzair' in 1930. Second Row, first on the right is Dov (Bubi) Levy.

## Imparting General Enlightenment

With the growth and broadening of the branch reaching the ranks of the plain people, there was a risk of the dropout of young people from the schools from the movement, as was the example in many other cities in the expanse of Galicia. In Sokal we obtained the means to avoid this diversion, though in the years before the Second World War, there were groups among the youth movements, especially 'HaShomer Ha Tzair' were constrained by the risk of being taken out of the regular public high school. There was a double motive to guard this studying element: not to abandon this element to the influence of the streets, and to guard the higher cultural standing of the branch. At the time that it truly blossomed, the branch was made up of approximately 80% of youth that was not attending public schools (gymnasium, a teachers' seminary); in order to raise the level of enlightenment of this segment of youth, in the branch, apart from the regular education and indoctrination, a special initiative to impart fundamental enlightenment principles was undertaken for the cohort of the Tzofim. In special groups, those who watched over them, got an extension to provide additional input on subjects considered most important, both practical and humanistic, such as history, geography, mathematics, nature, literature, etc.





קבוצת בוגרים. השומר הצעירי בסוקל בשנת 1931 עם קבוצת ילדים  
 א גרוסע בוגרים פון. הגער הצעירי אין סוקאל אין יאר 1931 מיט א גרוסע קינדער

Page 159: A Group of *Bogrim* from 'HaShomer Ha 'Tzair' in Sokal 1931, with a group of children.

## The Hebrew Language

Many of our young people could not take advantage of this Hebrew school training for various reasons. For groups like this, we devised an approach to imparting the language by various means, beginning with studying elementary books, and ending with sections of the *Tana"kh*, literature the reading of Hebrew newspapers, etc.

## Settlements and Tours



מיטבת'קין של -השומר הצעירי- בכפר -קוציור- אנטוניובקה. בשנת 1929 בהשתתפות  
 ד"ר אפרים מענקס (יושב מלמעלה ראשון משמאל)  
 זומער-קאלאניע פון -השומר הצעירי- אין דארף קאציאר אנטאניובקא אין יאר 1929  
 מיטן אנטויל פון ד"ר אפרים מענקס (זיצט אויבן אן דער ערשטער לינקס)

Page 160: A Summer-Colony of 'HaShomer Ha 'Tzair' in the village of Kocior Antonivka in 1929, with the participation of Dr. Ephraim Menkes (First, above left).

The summer season and the extensive vacation it ushered in, always brought with it ways of taking advantage of the discoveries that flowed from the remaining months of the year. These were the months of the extensive tours and 'the return to the bosom of nature.' Going out to the summer residences, that the Sokal branch would organize by itself, both within the limits of the vicinity in partnership with the branches in nearby cities like Kristianopol, Kamionka, and Żółkiew; A number of settlements were established even in partnership with neighboring Koval.

A Sabbath or Festival stroll though the Wolkowa Forest were a custom in the Sokal branch. It was in this

forest, in the year 1917, that this forest was the became the cradle of birth for the branch. Even the youngest 'Shomrim' ('*Kfirim*') came and it was there that they received their *Shomrim* and Zionist 'baptism by fire.'

Nevertheless, once or twice a year, we would arrange for a the substantial event of a tour to one of the locations that were at a distance in the area. In the final years, with the renewal of education of the *Tzofim* and its strengthening, a trip such as this was always tied to encampments and forests such as the Horokiv Forest, Vuzlove, Hotowice, to Szaczotow, Lubcza, Okhnivka and others.

As far back as 1928 our branch to serve as a central location for the surrounding branches. The historical event in this regard was the first independent summer camp, that was set up in the village of Horodlo. It was this settlement that created the contact and first connections with other branches in the vicinity, encompassing branches from nearby Kovel<sup>41</sup> and nearby Vilna, from whom we had been disconnected until then, in short, a broadening of the family of the *Shomrim* including the boundaries of each and every city.



בשנת 1929 בארץ ישראל, השומר הצעיר בקיבוץ אנטוניבקה בשנת 1929  
 אין דער קיבוץ פון דער זומער-קאלאניע פון השומר הצעיר אין קאצור אנטוניבקה אין יאר 1929

Page 161: In the Kitchen of the Kocior Antonivka Summer Colony, 1929.

It was in this fashion that ‘the Sokal District’ was organized as inter-city of the branches of ‘*HaShomer Ha Tzair*’ whose job it was to organize admissions, mutual visits, summer camps, mutual help; to these settlements we would go out for 3-4 weeks and the number of participants was very large, especially from the cohort of the *Tzofim*. The move to the summer settlements was always a major undertaking, and already, for a long time before the work began, all thoughts were fixed on it. The influence of these settlements on the life of the branch was large enough, that one could divide the period of time into

two ‘ways of life,’ life for us after the settlement, and the prior one that preceded the anticipation of the next one.

The summer settlements were organized in one of the surrounding villages: Horodlowica, Kocior-Antonivka, Peitcziguri, Silelis, Ramučiai. The work done in each of these settlements was very variegated, there was a study group, a physical education group, concerns about the Zionist literary foundation, and live in contact with nature. There is no question that each branch was carved my the expertise of its participants and was unforgettable, from the creation of the world and beyond, and the difficulties of day-to-day-life in the darkened little villages for the entire year.

<sup>41</sup> Could be Kovel’



Page 163: *HaShomer HaTzair* in Sokal. Second Row, first is Yaakov Menkes (today Dr. Yaakov Efrat, an Israeli agronomist).

## The Place of the Branch in the Midst of the Jewish Zionist Community

The work of the branch in the midst of the community was a weighty one in the areas of organization and culture. There was much community activity especially in the relationships to the other movements and especially those with the labor movement in the Land of Israel, with them, they would bond with the *'HeHalutz'* movement.<sup>42</sup>

A large part of the work of the *Shomrim* was in connection with *'Keren Kayemet'* whose purpose was to be an integral part of our internal work in education.

Like a living part of the Zionist community in the city, our branch was an active partner in every event of significance such as the celebration of *'Lag B'Omer'*, 20 Tammuz, *'Yom Tel-Khai'* and others. A culturally-related celebration would occasionally put on appearances [sic: performances] in public, usually with their own resources, but also in partnership with forces from the outside.




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<sup>42</sup> There is inadvertently duplicated text here adding no new information.

With the arrival of the Great Holocaust, that was cast upon us by the Nazi capture, all this great and beautiful creativity was destroyed. The Germans annihilated Sokal when they reached it, even before the total extermination began, these were all of the active Jewish groups among them many *Shomrim*. We are a small remnant who reached *The Land*, who survived out of the large community and we have no words in our mouths to mourn the word that we did that was most beautiful, to beautify and pure souls that looked with complete faith and the ardor of youth, to the redemption of the people, and saw their future as part of the redemption of its re-built homeland.

Let us make certain that their memory will not be moved from our hearts.



Let us inscribe the names of Shomrim, who at different times in the history of the Sokal Branch were its workers and carried it.

From 1917-1921 The period of the first founders: Pinchas Gruber, the Weintraub brothers, Zvi Janowczinski (ג'נ'צ), Joseph Winger, Aryeh (Leon) Honig, Mordechai Eker, Aryeh (Lunk) Rosenberg, the Sink brothers, Shmuel and Zvi Fass;

From 1922-1927, The period of awakening: Mendl and Yitzhak Finkel, David Janowszczyński, Naffali Tauba-Shimoni, Moshe Eymeril, Aryeh Fass, Mordechai Lieberman;

From 1922-1927, The period of awakening: Mendl and Yitzhak Finkel, David Janowszczyński, Naffali Tauba-Shimoni, Moshe Eymeril, Aryeh Fass, Mordechai Lieberman;



קבוצת 'שומרונים' על שפת נהר בוג (מין רענשט שטיים): יוסף קורמן, משהאל (סון לינקס): יעקב מנקס  
 א ברופע, שומרונים ביים ברעג פון בוג

Page 164 (Bottom): A Group of 'Shomrim' on the Bug River. (From the Right, Standing): Joseph Kurman; (From the Left): Yaakov Menkes.

From 1928-1936, the period of blossoming: Yaakov ("Beinusz") Menkes-Efrat, Elazar ('Luzer') Ungar, Artik Schwartzberg, Bitka Weniger, Azriel Khereg, Yitzhak Eymiril, Benzion Brie, Shlomo Lantz, Chaya Bruner, Kalman Tellar, Ephraim Tauba, Susha Hafner, Tzila Taback and her brother Shimon, Eydel'eh and Tunka Brie, Frieda and Dov ('Boobee') Levi, Abraham Baker, Hadassah ('Hadleh') and Tzipora Brat, Chay'keh Kellner, Viola Zendgarten, Szifra, Leah, Zippora and Ze'ev Vatter, Yehoshua Mahler;



קבוצת "השומר הצעיר" בסוקל  
 מימין (מזרן לעצמם): ברוך צימרמן, אדלה ברי, יוסף קורמן, פנחס ברי, יצחק אייזרל, יצחק הוד  
 אחריו יושב אברהם פלעקר.  
 משמאל ראשונה רעיה לעצמם, אחריה אסתר רטר, חנן פערבר ואחריו ישראל קאנדל.

The Last who stood guard until the day of capture: Joseph ('Yushu') Kornman, Leah Levi, Israel Kandel and his brother Isaac, Lunyu Gruber, Chaya Ingberg, Runya Lawrence, Sarah Kremerman, Mendl'eh Zuckerman, Munyu Auerbach, Moshe Miller, and many others from the best of Sokal youth.

Page 164 (Top): 'HaShomer HaTza'ir Group in Sokal.  
 (From the right): Baruch Tzimmerman, Adela Brie, Joseph Kurman, Pinchas Brie, Yitzhak Eimeril, Yitzhak Hur with Abraham Flecker behind him.  
 (From the left): Ranya Letzter with Esther Rad behind, Hanan Farber followed by Israel Kandel.



קבוצת שומרים בסוקל בשנת 1927 — יושבים בשורה ראשונה משמאל: מרדכי טאובה, יעקב מנקס, בשורה שנייה משמאל: אריה (לאבקי) פס, נפתלי (תולק) טאובה-שמוני, מרדכי ליברמן, יושב על העץ: אלעזר (לזר) אונגר.

Page 165: A Group of 'Shomrim' in Sokal, 1927 — (Lying from the Left): Mordechai Tauba, Yaakov Menkes, (Sitting from the Left): Aryeh (Lakbo) Fass, Naphtali (Tulek) Tauba-Shimoni, Mordechai Lieberman. In the Tree: Elazar (Luzer) Ungar.



חברי קבוצת "בדוכוב" בסוקל — הראשון מימין: יצחק איימירל, השני: בובי לוי העלישי משמאל: סרג' איימירל והחמישי משמאל: מרגוליס

Page 166 (Bottom): A <sup>122</sup>'Borokhov' Group in Sokal (First, from the right): Yitzhak Eimeril, Bubi Levy. (From the Left, third:) Franz Eimeril, fifth: Margulies

Page 166 (Top): Members of Borokhov in Sokal. Center seated: Bubi Levy

## 'Tze'Irei Mizrahi' in Sokal

By Yaakov Za"K



קבוצת חברי 'צעירי מזרחי' בסוקל  
 א. ברזנע. צעירי מזרחי הבריוס אין סיקאָל  
 יוס'בים טשטאל (ייצן פון לינקס): (—) מרדכי בלנצברג, דינה רזנפלד (היום גב' טערנר בנפר'יונה)  
 יעקב קרוכמל, (—)  
 שמואל טשטאל (שטייען פון לינקס): יוסף שטוקהמער, חילף הערולד, (—) הירש גולדברג  
 החמישי: ה. גלור

Page 167: A Group of 'Tze 'Irei Mizrahi' in Sokal.

When the First World War ended, the youth was flooded with news of survival, and it was only then that the Balfour Declaration became known to us. Even though there was a Zionist club in our city before the First World War, but it was populated by youth that was far from the atmosphere of a *Bet HaMedrash*, made up of a number of students and part of the youth that were idle, coming from rich homes; but the atmosphere of revival penetrated also to the houses of study, and the various *Kloyzes* and demanded a

clear response. The Land of Israel became a prominent entity, one thought came after another on *Halutzim* making *aliyah* to the home of the patriarchs, and from this the idea arose in the minds of several members, who learned in the *Bet HaMedrash*, to leave the prevailing apathy and indifference, to organize and do something in the name of Zion that is calling to its sons. And as soon as the signs of organization were detected in the *Bet HaMedrash* and the *Kloyz*, a great deal of activity ensued among the *Hasidim* to stanch such organizational initiative. With threats against parents, and threats at all the membership that they would be thrown out of the *Bet HaMedrash*, if God forbid, they

would organize themselves for Zionism or, God help us, to *Mizrahi*, they began pursuing after all suspicions, God help us, leading to an organization. All this harassments had exactly the opposite influence, and we began to think about the form of an organization and how to make it real. We began to think of a premises where we could organize the mentioned group, which, by the way we with a name: How to name the newborn baby, to call it 'Tze'Irei Mizrahi' or just 'Mizrahi,' or just 'The Group of Observant Zionists, etc. And in order not to anger the Hasidim and other anti-Zionists, we decided to call the group 'Agudat Akhim,' with an agenda of national secular culture, without yet tying it to something Zionist. At that same time the 'Tze'Irei Agudat Israel' began to get organized in Poland, and the reverberations of this organizational initiative also reached our city, but it is important to stress that the opposition of the *Hasidim* was actually good luck for Zionism. After a great deal of effort, we managed to secure a small location made up of one room, with an attic, not far from the Husiatyn *Kloyz*, near Katz, an ironmonger's store, opposite Israel Rehr. We then began to function like a real society, or a 'verein' in local secular argot. After a short amount of time, the *Hasidim* began to try and influence us to close down the 'verein' first with constrained words, and afterwards with threats that they would throw us out of the *Bet HaMedrash*. But all of this was to no avail, and I remember being approached by Avrom'tzi Kisnuk who said to me: 'Listen, I know that you are involved in the business of the 'verein,' what do you need this for, why do you collect money that you then send to Lvov? Is there a lack of poor people in our city who need our support?' And no matter how much I explained to him, that we are not involved in philanthropy and the allocation of charity, this activity struck him as a manifestation of Zionism, that money is collected and sent to Lvov.



צעירי וחולצין המזרחי בסוקל בשנת 1925 אחרי גשף פריחה לזכר עליית יעקב ז"ק לארץ-ישראל  
 .צעירי און .החלוצ'מזרחי" אין סוקאל נאך א געזענענענס-אונטע לכבוד יעקב ז"ק צו זיין עלי  
 קיין ארץ-ישראל אין יאר 1925. — יושב השני מימין מאיר לישראל.

The *Hasidim*, or more correctly, the 'Flowers' of the *Hasidim* could not forgive us for this transgression that was called Zionism. They began to harass us in all manners. A) They told the *Shammes* not to give us candles so we could study at night, B) They began to utilize wet rags to throw at us during the time we were studying. We organized ourselves defensively and all sat in a circle beside one table. This was the table at which there was a regular place for Chaim





קבוצת הצעירים המזרחיים במוסקבה. בצעירי המרכזי אין ספקל יושב השני מימין (יצום דור צעירי המזרחיים: העליל גאולדברג)

Page 169: A Group of 'Tze 'Irei Mizrahi with Heschel Goldberg sitting second from the right

Berisz. As a result of this harassment, we began to speak Hebrew to one another, and as is understood, when they heard this, they intensified the harassment. I recall one day when a member of our group lost a Yiddish book written by Opotashu, and the 'Flowers of the Hasidim' found it and conducted an 'auto da fe' in public on the raised platform and amid shouts of 'Ye shall burn out the evil amongst you' they burned the book in front of everyone. All of this strengthened our desire to confront the desires of this opposition publicly, and we planned to publicly announce the adoption of the name 'Tze 'Irei Mizrahi,' hiring a large hall not far from Mr. Kindler and we began to open up a

cultural Zionist organization. We opened a religious school and this was not so easy, because it was difficult for us to find a teacher who could teach Hebrew-in-Hebrew and was also knowledgeable in the Torah. The curriculum of this school encompassed *Gemara*, Hebrew-in-Hebrew and similarly *Tana"kh*, etc. Until we were able to persuade Mr. Flack (?) The Enlightened man to run the school. We began with a small number of students, until we succeeded in getting about thirty students, after we released the parents from paying tuition. In that same period, we began to organize 'B'not Mizrahi,' independently, because even according to our outlook, and the spirit of the times, it was not considered culturally acceptable for boys and girls to learn together. As general Zionists, and in the 'Hitakhdut' boys and girls were together, but in a *Hasidic* street such as ours it was forbidden for boys and girls to be together. Even the independently organized of *B'not Mizrahi* was not so easy.

Not all the daughters from the cohort of *balebatim* and *Hasidim* agreed to quickly join the *B'not Mizrahi*. This again was a case of 'the king's daughter has her dignity within her,' and not a matter of organization. However, it is necessary to recollect here, a number of young ladies who helped us organize the *Agudah*: Reiz'eh Rachel Flam, Juta Neyer, Chana, daughter of Meir the ritual slaughterer, etc. We arranged for the girls to get a lesson in *Tana"kh*, we rented a separate domicile for their exclusive use, near the dairy store of Katz, opposite Mendl Trefil, and I recall that one day after the lesson in *Tana"kh*, Rabbi Leib'eleh Dayan ר"י (incidentally, whose daughter *joined B'not Mizrahi*) and said to me: 'Well, it looks like we have an organized *B'not Mizrahi*. Only for girls, and perhaps this is not so startling, but if boys come there to learn *Tana"kh*, this is contrary to an explicit statement, that says, 'everyone who teaches his daughter Torah is the same as if he were teaching her the prayers.'

As you can understand, no explanation of mine, in which I argued against the above-mentioned quote helped, and he stuck to his own, and the *Tana"kh* class continued. During this period the foundation of *HaShomer HaDati* underwent a trial, and it succeeded beautifully, and afterwards was disbanded for lack of interest and leadership, despite the fact that many young men wanted to join our

organization out of suspicion of 'What will the *Hasidim* say?' One answer that I got from one of these young men was interesting, who married a daughter of our city and settled in Sokal, he personally was from Hungary, dressed beautifully to the point that we did not want to have him join 'Tze'Irei Mizrahi.' His response consisted of the explicit sentence that was written: The House of Aaron Bless the Lord, the House of the Levites Bless the Lord, Those who fear the Lord, Bless the Lord, meaning according to him, that those who fear the Lord do not need a domicile (*verein* in local argot), just like the House of Aaron and the House of the Levites.

At the zenith of our development of *Mizrahi*, *Tze'Irei Mizrahi*, and *B'not Mizrahi*, after we had settled all three of these organizations, we began to develop an initiative aimed at a widely-branched cultural activity, parties, strolling, and a library etc. We were very active in the tasks of the *Keren Kayemet*, headed by Dr. Kindler. Meetings were always held at his house, and it is important to note, that in the collection of funds for the KK"Y<sup>43</sup> and other international organizations, We did not have to make use of hall such as was done for periodic donations, otherwise we could not collect the overhead that was levied upon us.

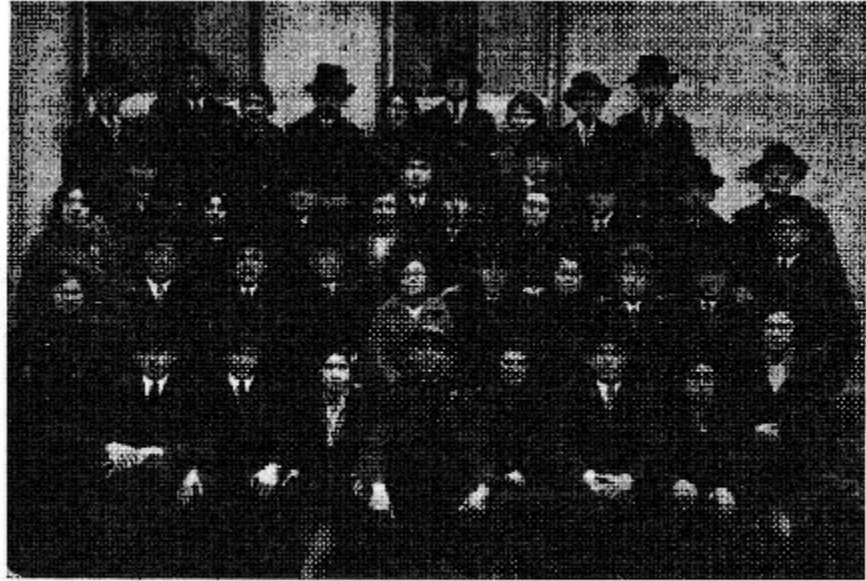
Here I attempt to raise in my memory the widowers from our movement that because of many reasons did not live to see what we did, the establishment of the state, and their ashes are strewn in the precincts of the Holocaust, and it is my wish to recollect a number of members from a partnered committee: David Bard Chair of *Mizrahi*, Moshe Kiehl Chair of *Tze'Irei Mizrahi*, Shmuel Szpilka, Tzipa Podhoretzer, Juta Neyer, and others who lost their lives of whom I remember the names of Wolf Herald, Yaakov Glazer, Pesach Krochmal, Feivusz Struss, Chana Redlich, My heart, my heart goes out upon them, deceased warriors for the shared ideal that for many reasons, were not privileged to make aliyah, and even during their lives, they had many satisfactory things happen to them, especially in matters of making a living, etc. How much did we have to battle against our parents,

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<sup>43</sup>

A well-known and famous charity for Israel: 'Keren Kayemet L'Yisrael.'

our rabbis and teachers for the international concept, if it were possible to get the use of some synagogue or public gathering place at which some sort of collection of monies in public could be done for international Agencies. I remember the war on the Eve of Yom Kippur for the benefit of the synagogue platter passed around for the KK'L, or the great



חברי 'צעי'ר-מזרחי' בסוקל

war to reach the *Bet* Page 171(Top): A Group of 'Tze 'Trei Mizrahi in Sokal *HaMedrash* at the

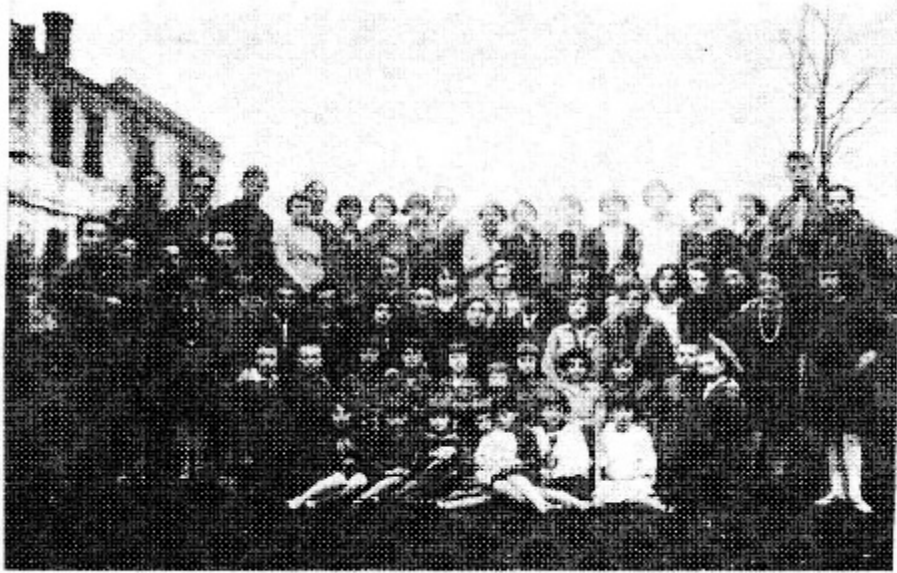
time of elections to the *Sejm*, in which it was necessary for us to forcefully break in so that Dr. Shimon Federbush will be selected for the good of the international ticket. It is important to note that this war was waged in partnership with all the Zionist organizations. And with this, I end this glorious chapter of the heroic battle against all manner of enemies, for the sake of making it possible to organize ourselves to proceed toward the voice calling us from Zion to come and participate in building of *The Land*. Let the Lord enfold all of these who fought on alien territory and did not live to participate in this building process, and see the rise of the State. Let their souls be bound up in the bond of life, and let the dust of their remains and bones rest in peace where they lie, until *The End* will come and those who reside in the dust shall rise.



א' גרושע. בנות 'קייבא' אין סיקאל

קבוצת 'בנות 'קייבא' בסוקל

Page 171 (Bottom): A Group of 'B'not Akiva' in Sokal



סניף "גורדוניה" בסוקל

Page 172: The Sokal 'Gordonia' Branch

## The Youth Organization 'Gordonia' in Sokal

By Yitzhak Levin

(Rishon LeZion)

Just as was the case in the remaining cities of Eastern Galicia, Sokal was very active in the various youth organizations. Among the remaining organizations, the youth in Sokal organized a large branch of the 'Gordonia' movement, named for A. D. Gordon ז"ל whose mission was to organize the plain youth into his ranks, to educate and orient them to the realization of a Zionist *Halutz* objective, that would be properly trained to make *aliyah* to *The Land*, and to take up a significant role in the building of *The Land*, in the spirit of the Labor movement in the Land of Israel.



סניף "גורדוניה" בסוקל

Page 173: The Sokal 'Gordonia' Branch in 1928, the 'Elisheva' Group, in the first row (right) the two Teller sisters.

There was a need for a large number of directors, in order that it be possible to integrate the hundreds of girls and boys that had concentrated themselves in 'Gordonia, and to give them an accurate and correct guidance. The human resources needed for this role created the need to draw from the intellectual ranks in Sokal, that also was to be found in the division of the '*Hitakhdut*' in our city.

Let us recollect those leaders who are no longer with us: Tzivia Birnbaum, Hirsch Loifer, the Bach sisters, Chaya Bass, Malka Krantz, and Shoshana Szofrinsky. Let these who are found among us in **The Land** be separated for a long life: Benjamin Degani (Kurman), Jonah Beri (Teller), Esther Katz (Linzen), and Yitzhak Levin.

There were three sections within the movement:

A – *Tzofim*; B) – *Mitorerim*; C) *Magshimim*, each section and its directors.

Thirteen attributes of the movement served as the program of the movement. For example: One of these attributes was – the goal of setting aside the means, and not all these means were legitimate to attain the goal.

At first the hall of the '*Hitakhdut*' branch was used, on Ulica Szlichcika in the home of Sobel, into which each evening all of the groups and their leaders would enter to do orientation work. The discussions that were held, were dedicated to various subjects, such as: the history of Zionism, and the history of the labor movement, literature, biographies fo a variety of personalities such as: Herzl, Gordon, Brenner, Borukhov, Nordoy and others.



Page 174Top): The 'Czyzyk' Branch of Gordonia in 1928

When the discussions were over, group song was begun, accompanied by dances of *Halutzim*, whose

reverberations reached far, far away.

On Sabbaths, the branch broke off to do a stroll outside of the city – to the Wolkowa Forest, and here in the forest, in the bosom of nature, the membership used the time to engage in games of their liking.

It was here in the forest, there was an important place for the principles of the ‘Tzofim,’ conducted by the directors of this youngest section, these being Rivka Grosskopf, Aharon Letzter, Shmuel Luster ז"ל. They tried to imbue the young girls and boys th principles of the ‘Tzofim’ with the help of games and various tasks involving work. It was in the forest that the general position of the branch was formulated, which had a holiday character, and its impression was substantial among those who Page 1 participated.



The branch stood in contact with the ‘Gordonia’ center in Lvov, from which it drew much inspiration by the visits of central committee members, among those who came to visit were Pinchas Lavon, Yeshayahu Shapiro, Ephraim Heffner, Michael Schwartz and others.

One of the great experiences was the eastern niche that was called the summer settlement, which came into being because of the effort of the valley committee of Rawa-Ruska under the leadership of the member Gimpel Just. During the period of extended vacation, hundred s of boys and girls would enter from all the branches in the valley among them: Tartakiv, Ohnov,



להקה דרמטית ציי „גורדוניה“ בסוקל  
 דראמטישער קרייז ביי דער „גורדאניה אין סוקאל  
 יושבים בשורה ראשונה מיטן: (זיצן אין דער ערשטער ריי פון רעכטס): יצחק לעווין, אוריח  
 מדרגה, אברהם פלאטטר. בשורה שניה יושבים מיטן (זיצן אין דער צווייטער ריי פון רעכטס):  
 ש. ווינדלר, קולבושובר, חנה ראגני, משה שאץ, שרה טעלטר. עומדים בשורה שלישית טשאלי:  
 (זיצן אין דער דריטער ריי פון לינקס): בערגלאז, אידה טנקל, סאטאשער, קלרה לאַיצענץ, ווידוביץ

Page 175: The ‘Gordonia’ Drama Circle in Sokal

Kristianopol, Mosty-Wielki, Radzichov, Kamionka, Witkow-Novy and others.

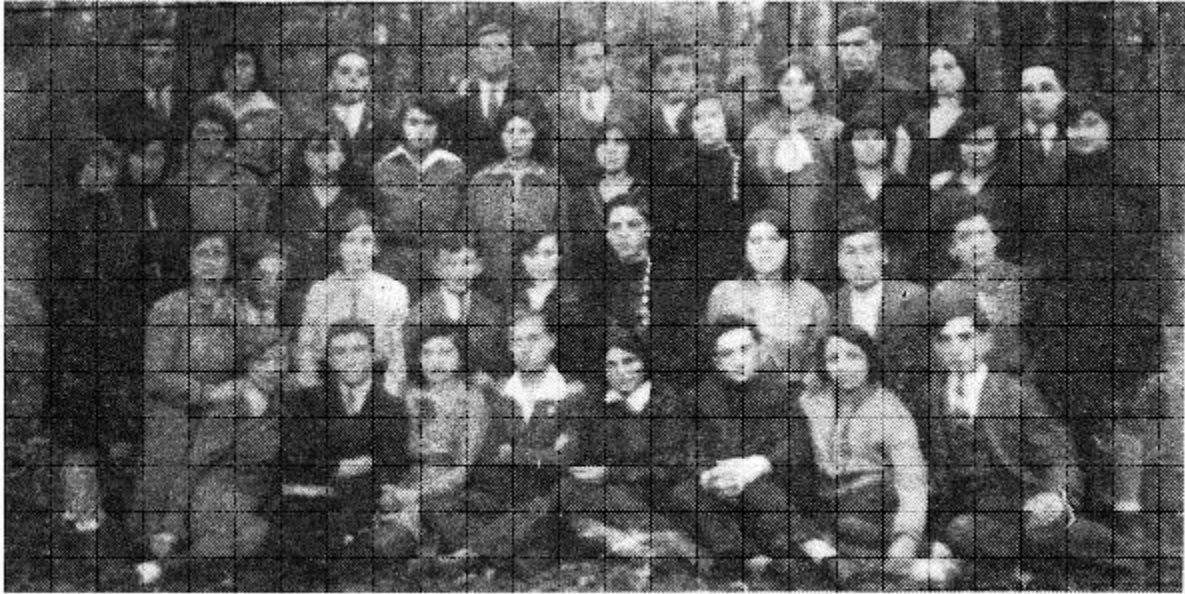
They would go out to one of the villages in the vicinity in order to live and spend a month in the bosom of nature.

The Sokal branch attempted where possible, to allow tens of children of meager means to leave their impoverished homes for a month, in order to gain some weight. This is what the organized life of the youth was like in Sokal, which was full of substance, hope, so that even noble ideals making aliyah – to build and be re-built themselves, and it is a pity that not all of them were privileged to fulfill the dreams of their youth, and it is for this reason we all sorrow.



דערער של - צודרה לחלוצים' בטוקל בשנת 1928 עם יוסף פיבל (ישיב הראשון מימין) בראש  
דער ווער פון - צודרה לחלוצים' אין טוקל אין יאר 1928 מיט יוסף פיבל (ישיב דער  
ערשטער פון ליכטס) בראש

Page 177: The Committee for 'Aid to Halutzim in 1928,  
With Joseph Fyvel, Head (Sitting on the right),



גורדוניה אין סיקאל אין יאר 1929

סניף „גורדוניה“ בסוקל בשנת 1929

Page 177 (Top): The Sokal 'Gordonia' Branch in 1929



גורדוניה " אין סיקאל אין יאר 1933

„גורדוניה“ בסוקל בשנת 1933

Page 177 (Bottom): 'Gordonia' in Sokal in 1933.



# The Resuscitation of the Hebrew Language in Sokal

By Dr. David Kindler  
(Ramat-Gan)

השדה בית-חוסר. התחיה' סוקל בשנת 1923  
 5 ציינויך פון דער העברעישער שול 'התחיה' אין סוקאל פון יאר 1923  
 Page 181: A Report Card from The  
 'HaTekhiya' School in Sokal 1923

For many years, Sokal was a fortress of *Hasidism*. The community there, found itself under the strong influence of orthodox circles, who stood watch over the raining of the young generation. This religious education was limited only to the *Heder*, and the Yeshiva, and because of this, the community created the Talmud-Torah as an educational institution for poor children.

Even in the later years, during the attempts of the Austrian King Jozef II to form separate schools for Jewish children, Orthodox Jewry used all of its powers to keep their children out of those schools.

In hindsight, the orthodox leadership in Sokal did not allow any exceptions and therefore made the most strenuous effort to support the Yeshiva in the city, as the only and most important educational institution for Jewish youth.

A point of change in the way of life of Jews in Sokal came in the year 1905, with the Russo-Japanese War, and the revolutionary outbreak on Russian soil. The wave of anti-Semitism pogroms drove the Russian Jews over the border – into the territories of neighboring Galicia.



בית-חוסר העברי' סוקל בשנת 1922 באמצע יושב המורה אידעם  
 די העברעישער שול אין סוקאל אין יאר 1922. אין דער מיט דינס דער לערער אידעם

Page 179: Hebrew School in Sokal in 1922 with the teacher  
 Eydem in the center.



קורס לתפירה בבית-הספר העברי בסוקל

שניידערייִקורס אין דער העברעיִשער שול אין סוקאל

Page 180: A Sewing Course in the Sokal Hebrew School

Russia, where the first grains of ‘*BiLu*’ had fallen, there already were committed adherents from ‘*Hovevei Tzion*,’ that came to Galicia, all fired up *Hasidim*, from the resuscitation of the Hebrew language and in the new residences, they became the first pioneers for the renewal of the Hebrew Language and literature.

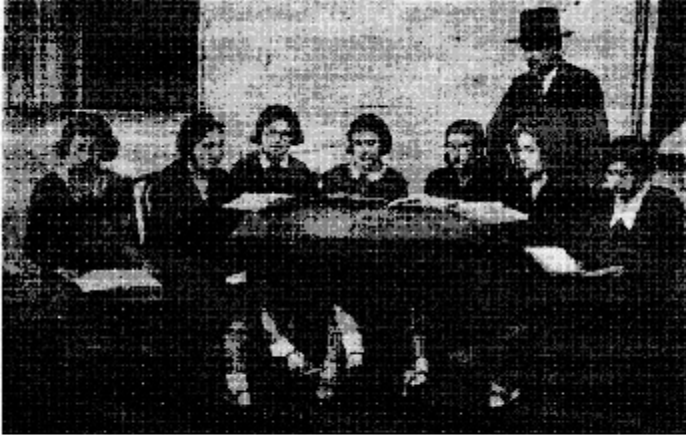
Among these Russian emigrants from Russia that came to Sokal, was Yitzhak Bloch, who came from Kishinev, a committed member of ‘*Hovevei Tzion*,’ already suffused with a fanatic love for the Hebrew language. Indeed, he held it as his personal responsibility to continue the work of spreading Hebrew among the Jewish youth.

This is not intimidate the opposing factions from the side of the *balebatim* of Sokal, who suspiciously researched his contact with the boys in the Yeshiva and *Bet HaMedrash*.

He began giving Hebrew lessons under very difficult circumstances. [He did this] In great secret, so the orthodox leadership would not catch wind of it, so he studied with his pupils, using a Hebrew textbook that had a Yiddish-Russian dictionary that he had brought along from Russia.

In time, the size of his circle of students grew, but the study of Hebrew still carried a private character and only a few energetic individuals dared to exhibit their understanding of the Hebrew language.

It was only first in 1907 during the elections to the Austrian parliament that the national awareness among Galician Jewish youth was awakened, and Zionism had already penetrated the houses of study and even hacked its way through the walls of the Yeshivas. Accordingly in Sokal, the rays of a national renaissance to burn and spread an influence, penetrating through the walls of generations-long resistance from the Jewish street.



המורה יהודה גרוסמן בעת השעור בכיתה של בית-הספר העברי, התחיה" בסוקל  
 דער לעצער יהודה גרוסמאן בעת אַ לעקציע אין אַ קלאַס פֿון דער העברי. שול. התחיה" אין סוקאל  
 י'ועבות מימין (עס דיצן פֿון רעכטס):  
 חנה דק. שרה ריטק. טניה פּרגליס, זינקל לייז, יונה רזנעמלר, שיינרל קיזל. לייז ציגמן

Page 182: The teacher Yehuda Grossman During a Lesson of the 'HaTekhiya' School in Sokal

The first public organized circle for the learning of Hebrew in our city, consisted of a group of youth, who found themselves under an idealistic influence from 'Poalei-Tzion.' By steps, this circle took in a larger number of students and when it came to the end of the First World War, a strong 'HaShomer Ha'Tzair' organization was established in Sokal, and these Shomrim, mostly gymnasium students took themselves to an intensive study of Hebrew.

After the First World War – in the year 1919 – the mood for learning

Hebrew was already so strong in our city, that the previously mentioned leader, Joseph Bloch saw the need to establish a Hebrew School, which to that point he was the only teacher.

It was not easy to run a Hebrew School in Sokal. Our city, even in the years after the First World War was a fortress of Hasidism, where Zionism was considered unclean, and fought strongly – and to found a Hebrew and Zionist school under these circumstances – would be a very important accomplishment indeed.

It is regrettable that the teachers in the first period of the existence of the Hebrew school clashed, which had an adverse effect on its development. Bloch went off to America and the school was then directed by a certain Lazar, who also left after a short stay, to Argentina and the school was taken over by the Hebrew teacher Idem from Gorukhow, who then almost immediately transferred to Lemberg, where he took over the post of a teacher in the *Tarbut* School there. Then our school was taken over by the Zionist activist from Tartakiv, through the *Tarbut* authorized teacher Yudd Grossman, wh with genuine love and ardor carried on with leading the school until the Holocaust overtook the Sokal Jewish settlement. In the year 1941 the Germans shot him and his son in Tartakiv.

The Hebrew school in Sokal was sustained by tuition from the students, as well as subsidies from the local Zionist committee, and the Merchant's Bank. This cultural school of integrity developed much popularity in our city, and continued to develop itself. During the final pre-war years, a great part of the Sokal Jewish youth spoke Hebrew to one another. The school already had four classes, in which about 80 students studied.

The management of the school for many years lay in the hands of the committed activist Herman Weniger, after which it was taken over by David Byk. They had to overcome many difficulties, in order to secure the continuity of the school, the fruit of a multi-year cultural effort from the Zionist organization in Sokal.

The development of this institution in time, demanded a broadening of the school administration, and in the last years before the Holocaust, the following belonged to the administration: Dr. David Kindler, Yitzhak Kiehl, Yitzhak Birnbaum and Janoweczinsky.

The *Mizrahi* organization in Sokal also brought in a Hebrew teacher, in order to found a separate *Mizrahi*-school supported by *Mizrahi* ideology. The efforts of this writer to unify the two schools – encountered opposition from the *Mizrahi*. Unfortunately this school did not last very long, despite the highly energetic efforts on the part of the *Mizrahi* adherents to achieve this cultural institution, causing it to be closed down because of large deficits.



A few years before the war the ‘*Agudat-Yisrael*’ in Sokal opened a ‘*Bais Yaakov*’ school, which also did not last very long.

Page 183: Zvi Ekker, son of Moshe Ekker, one of the first *Halutzim*.

With the annihilation of Sokal Jewry, our Hebrew school was also destroyed, the so important national-Jewish educational institution in our city.

**מפלגות לא-ציוניות בסוקל**

**Non-Zionist Organizations in Sokal**

**נישט ציוניטישע ארגאניזאציעס אין סיקאל**

## 'Agudat Israel'

By A. Kh.

With the growth of the Zionist influence on the Jewish street in Sokal, when it became more difficult to restrain the Yeshiva boys of the *Bet HaMedrash* and even those from the *Kloyz*, indicating to them that they should not read Hebrew and worldly literature – the more active orthodox leaders began to search for means to strengthen the religious position and to fortify the genuine orthodox center in Jewish Sokal.

The orthodox circle understood that, just like other idealistic directions, they must create an organizational area, that would take in all persuasions of religious youth in the city, and especially to excise the youth in the *Bet HaMedrash* and *Kloyz* from the Zionist ranks.

It was for this purpose that an 'Agudat Israel' organization was created in Sokal, to which a number of orthodox Jews belonged, who apart from the study of Torah were also active in a variety of areas in Jewish community life, mostly in concerning themselves faithfully with community needs.



הנהלת בית המדרש החדש. בית יעקב בסוקל  
די סגורדעלישנג פון דער רעליגיוזער שול. בית יעקב אין סוקאל  
בשורה ראשונה באמפע (אין דער שריטער ריי אין דער מיט): ר' נחמן פונגלמן ז"ל  
צומיים משמאל (שטיינן פון לינקס): סוליצר. זשעץ ודונבלט

Page 188: Leadership of the religious school 'Bais Yaakov' in Sokal

What helped greatly in the development of the *Agudat Israel* organization was the fact that its spiritual leader in the first rank, was the son of the Sokal *Rebbe* R' Abraham Rokeach ז"ל and the Sage and lover of Israel R' Menachem Nahum Fogelman ז"ל. and the prominent member of the *balebatim*, and generous donor and activist Israel Rapoport, ז"ל. The total commitment of these active members of society of these *Agudah* leaders, created the 'Agudat Israel' organization with full popularity by the Jewish populace in the city. For this reason the adherent of the *Agudah* R' Bezalel Szmutzer ז"ל during many years was head of the community in Sokal. R' Bezalel Szmutzer was also a very generous donor, who spent monies on all the Jewish philanthropic organizations in the city. Among other things, he purchased a home on the Baron Hirsch *Gasse* to be used as a night lodging for poor Jews.

Among the active and loyal *Agudah* leaders in Sokal, the commitment and all-sided social and party activity the brothers Moshe and Simcha Rapoport stood out, well-known and important *balebatim* of the city.

Thanks to the initiative of R' Nahum Fogelman a religious '*Bais Yaakov*' school was founded in Sokal with the goal of educating Jewish youth in the religious spirit. R' Nahum Fogelman ר"ת also occupied an honored position and when it came to 22 Tevet 5691 (1931) there was a second conference of the 'Agudat Israel' organization that took place in Lemberg for Eastern Galicia, the presidium elected him to represent them in conducting the conference.

The loyal and decent Sage, R' Menachem Mendl Fogelman had the privilege to die a natural death in 1943 during the Nazi occupation in the Sokal ghetto, where he was interred in a Jewish grave.

## The 'Bund' in Israel

The '*Bund*' in Galicia first began its activity in Galicia after the First World War, when a unification-conference of the Jewish Socialist Party took place in Galicia, the so-called J. P .S. (Polish), with the general Jewish Labor Party in Congress-Poland.

We do not have enough precise knowledge about the existence of a J. P. S. Organization in Sokal prior to the First World War, however – as the Jews of Sokal relate to us, among the working class there, there were a certain number of Jews from the working class before the First World War who were active on the cultural front, who held themselves to be Socialists, despite being at quite a far distance from a Marxist solution and did not have their own organization. It was first in the initial years after the *First Conflagration*, when Jewish society life in Sokal strengthened itself, and the Jewish national currents began to concentrate wide circles of the Jewish populace in the city – a local group of the '*Bund*' was established that took a modest place in the Jewish social society in Sokal.

A small portion of Jewish workers belonged to this Bundist organization, merchants and tenants and apart from professional pursuits, this Bundist society also included a certain activity in spreading Jewish culture.

Without a local branch, there was an active Jewish library and thereby, a drama circle was both run, and performed. There were popular presentations and evening courses held there.

In the year 1925 the ranks of the *Bund* organization produced the ;'*Jugend-Bund*,' '*Zukunft*,' which encompassed young Jewish workers.

Politically the *Bundist* organization in Sokal did not play a large part. San'eh Holtz was the head of the *Bundist* organization until the Holocaust, who made a great deal of money available to the development of the *Bundist* organization in Sokal. He came from an orthodox family, and was once a Yeshiva student. He was a sage among Jews, and was also an accomplished speaker and his appearances in public were always received with great approval by those who came to hear him.

After the outbreak of the Second World War, when the Soviet took over Sokal, as a *Bundist* he was compelled to leave the city and journey to Przemyslany, where he was subsequently tortured by the German murderers.

He served the *Bundist* ideal with loyalty and commitment of soul. His wife and daughter were exterminated during the last murder-*aktion* in Sokal in the year 1943.

מהחיים הכלכליים של יהודי סוקל

**From the Economic Life of the Jews of Sokal**

פונעם וויטראשאפטלעכן לעבן פון יידן אין סיקאל



# **Jewish Agricultural Work in the Sokal Vicinity**

**By Aryeh Fass**

– 1 –

Until the beginning of the First World War in the year 1914, a sufficiently large percentage of Jews from Sokal were engaged in agricultural work. Mostly, they were leaseholders of property owned by a smaller number of landowners, or involved in the distilleries of whiskey distilleries, economists, millers, dairymen, orchard tenders, etc. The economic condition of the lessors and landowners was a very good one, because under the large Austrian monarchy there was a good demand for the various agricultural products. These Jewish lessors and landowners, with few exceptions, were orthodox Jews, mostly wearing a beard and sidelocks. In every courtyard of this kind, a *melamed* also worked, whose goal was to educate the younger generation in Jewish custom.

The First World War, and the political changes that it brought about, produced a complete ruin of Jewish agricultural work in the villages. Bloody battles were fought from the very beginning of the War in the fields around Sokal. The fields went up in fire and smoke. The lessors lost almost their entire net worth. The owners were left only with the land itself.

The circumstances of the Jewish landowners was very difficult after the collapse of Austria, when the new Polish Republic came into being. The residue of markets vanished and in addition, the Polish authorities carried plans with them to parcel out the land among Polish peasants, which were brought in from western areas of Poland. The one way out for the Jewish landowners was in order to rescue small parts of their property from being parceled out, was to divide the land among their children.

In the Sokal vicinity, the following Jewish landowners were active:

Bezalel Szmutzer, Head of the Sokal community  
Dogilevsky in Stenyatin  
Hertz Ekker in Uhniv  
Yitzhak Krom Horodlowica  
Reiss in the Belz vicinity  
Alter Szprung in Varenzh  
Pesha Tauba in Liwcze  
Wachs and Engel in Laszczow  
Kaliszer in Bobyatin

Apart from the Kaliszer family. Owners of the large parcels in a variety of parts of Poland, who had permanent residences in Lemberg, all of these previously mention lessors lived on their property.

Jewish lessors of the following property in the Sokal area were:

Joseph Fish in Wojslawica  
Mottl Hinter in Krystynopol  
Fyvel Lawrence in Konotopy  
Yitzhak Lawrence in Wolica Komarova  
Hersh Fass in Starograd  
Moshe Fass in Dluzhniow

Netaniel Fass in Tartarowica  
Shimon Fass in Cielondzh  
Aharon Fass in Pietczigury  
Yitzhak Falvel in Zhabuzhza  
Moshe Ekker in Rolikovka  
Abraham Schiffenbauer in Switazhov  
Leon Schiffenbauer in Switazhov  
Moshe Kurtz in Cielondzh  
Izaak Gleicher in Witkow Novy  
Aharon Schiffenbauer in Konyuchy (Khodorov Precinct).

The founder of a respected leasing family was R' Yaakov Fass, a patriarchal Jew with a long beard, wearing a silken hat and a long *kapote*<sup>44</sup>.

His 5 sons oversaw landed property, spread all over the territory of the entire Sokal precinct. They did good business and every one of them built or bought a house in the center of Sokal which they held in reserve as a residence for themselves, in which, along with their families would come during Festivals, in order to be able to pray in a quorum. Only R' Yaakov Fass and his wife lived in Sokal (at Mickiewicz *Gasse* 4), and every Sunday, they held economic consultations under the oversight of the head of the family. A daughter-in-law in a fine carriage to which good horses were hitched would wait by the house in the city.

– 3 –

The outbreak of the First World War brought an end to this successful [venture]. The entire assets of this family was sunken in the grain business, in the efforts in the fields and in ripe inventory. During the incidents of the War all of this was burned and plundered... their entire worth was ruined.

Every member of this family was left only with their house in Sokal, along with a pack of promissory notes due at the end of the war, which had no value. Because of the complete ruin of Jewish enterprises, hundreds of Jewish workers lost their ability to make a living. Without bread-related work, only distilleries and the like were left in Jewish hands, which the Jewish lessors ran in their properly equipped facilities. Part of these unemployed Jews emigrated westward, over the ocean, others sought work and took up residence in the city.

After the creation of the independent Polish Republic in the year 1918, barely a few Jewish lessors remained in. The Jewish land occupiers were systematically driven out from the Sokal province, either by forced dividing up of the land, or anti-Jewish boycotting. In reality, the only recourse to the Jews was to sell their land – and the reverse, buying land was not permitted to them, because the '*Uzhond Ziemski*' (land ownership) was not specified in their purchase contracts.

Jewish lessor, in fact, could no longer acquire land parcels, because the boycott included the source of Jewish income. Leasing land to a Jew – was seen as something opposed to Polish national interests.

Up until the Second World War, only a few Jewish lessors survived, among them: Moshe Kurtz in

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<sup>44</sup> A long overcoat usually reaching to the ankles.

Cielondzh and the Schiffenbauers, who ran model businesses in Szwitszow, and the following landowners: Bezalel Szmutzer, Engel, Wax and Reiss.

– 4 –

The Red Army evacuated everyone in 1939... the same for lessors and landowners. Their entire net worth was ‘nationalized’ and they, as a suspect element along the entire border area could not obtain any Soviet parcels and were forced with their families to leave Sokal, in the years 1941-1942 they were murdered by the Hitler beasts.

Of the tens of families (several hundred lives) who lived off the land, saved themselves, first singly that today live in Israel: Leon Schiffenbauer and his wife, engaged in the teaching of agriculture in Kfar-Saba, – Aharon Schiffenbauer, a landowner in Herzeliya and Aryeh Fass, s teacher in the Mikve-Israel school of agriculture.



רעוב פסקי פוילן  
די געקויפטע שיינאס  
מיטן (פון רעכטס): יצחק אייזענשטיין, מ. סודעלמאן

Page 196: The Mickiewicz Street

## The Jewish Contribution to Sokal's Development

By Dr. David Kindler  
(Ramat-Gan)

– 1 –

Up until the outbreak of the Second World War, the Sokal province was made up of 5 city-like and 95 village-like settlements. Apart from Sokal, the cities consisted of : Belz, Kristianopol, Tartakov and Varenzh. The population in the entire province in the year 1900 was comprised of 211,000 souls, of which 112,000 (53.1%) were Jews.

In the city of Sokal itself the Jewish population in the year 1900 was 3,778, meaning (39.3%) of the general population of residents, which at that time consisted of 9,609 souls; in the other 4 cities, the number of Jews exceeded the number of Christian residents.

There were 20,000 Jews living in the entire Sokal province in the year 1900, that is 13.7% of the count of the general population.<sup>45</sup>

For many years, the city of Sokal had the appearance of a large village, which covered an area of 4,926 marg, arable soil, and its Christian residents until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were almost exclusively engaged in agriculture, with the herding of cattle, horses and sheep.

The entire factory business, with few exceptions, the entire industrial commerce was in Jewish hands. You must understand that the speed of industrial development first began to quicken to a

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<sup>45</sup> These figures are taken from Sokolski's book 'Powiat Sokal.'

greater extent with the construction of good roads, and after completion of the railroad station, which enabled communication through Rawa-Ruska and Żółkiew with Lemberg.

– 2 –

The Christian residents in Sokal were dissatisfied by the rapid growth of Jews in the city, despite the fact that they saw, that thanks to the energy and diligence of the Jewish residence, the city was developing in the industrial area.

The Polish historians that researched Polish industrial history, in their writings stated clearly, that after the second- half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Sokal still looked like a poor little village and it was first when the Jews began to take up residence in a larger number, did the appearance of the city change, because all of the empty parcels of land vanished and small wooden houses were built on them, made from concrete, and were mostly one-family houses.

Thanks to the Jewish underwriting of the construction of this home construction and thanks to the energy and spirit of commitment of the Jewish residents, Sokal became an important center of commerce and a center for industry and the new ventures, thanks to the Jews, brought in large sums of revenue and other fees, providing employment to a significant number of unemployed Jews and non-Jews alike.

I would like to recollect only a few names of Jews from Sokal who – at various times – mostly before the First World War, founded and managed large commercial and industrial enterprises.

First place goes to the large steam-[driven] mill, the only one in the entire Sokal province. It was erected by a Jew from Stanislaw, Rauch, a talented and cultured man. After a period of time, he sold the mill to Baron Hugo Watman, who had to take on the obligation, because in this time Rauch's son spent his entire life as the director of the mill. He actually did carry out his duties masterfully and in good order, until the outbreak of the Second World War, when the Soviets took control of the city of Sokal. All the employees in the mill were Jews and almost the entire grain for the mill was exported by Jewish agricultural workers. Young Rauch, even though he ran an assimilated household, was generously philanthropic to all Jewish causes. After the Holocaust, his daughter survived in Lemberg, who today lives in England with her husband, the physician Dr. Domansky.

Greener's bench factory belonged to the second largest factory, which exported benches to all the surrounding agricultural estates, and were active *gorzelnias*<sup>46</sup>. Greener, the owner of this factory, was of the *balebatim* and a religious Jew. Several years before the outbreak of the First World War, he sold the factory to a Pole, and moved to Lemberg alone. Of his entire family – three sons and two daughters – only one daughter saved herself, who today lives in Tel-Aviv.

Szargel's candle and soap factory was among the larger industrial enterprises in Sokal.

There were 6 brick making factories in Sokal, only one of which belonged to a Christian. The owners

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<sup>46</sup>

Polish for distilleries

of all the other factories were owned by Jews, such as: Honig, Szmutzer, who also ran a factory near the train station. The two printing businesses also belonged to Jews. One belonged to Glazer and the second to Kiehl, whose sons founded a factory in the town to do plumbing, this being the only one for the entire expanse of Galicia. In the year 1922, the factory exported its products to Haifa for Rothschild's mill.

Both of Kiehl's sons, David and Yitzhak, already belonged to the active Zionist in Sokal after the First World War. Yitzhak was a member of the Zionist chapter committee and belonged to the management of the Merchant's bank. He was killed by the Nazi murderers in August 1942. David Kiehl was killed along with his wife during the third *aktion* in the Sokal ghetto in 1943.

There was also a barley factory in Sokal which belonged to Mrs. Feiga Bennie.

– 3 –

Sokal also had a respectable place in the area of merchandising. This is thanks to the significant number of Jewish wholesale merchants, who developed a strong export business for cattle and agricultural products. The entire import of necessities that were imported was also in Jewish hands.

Among the more prominent families in this category were the Rapaport families, Babad and Burstein, who was the principal exporter of grain. Burstein was an observant Jew and collected a significant library of Yiddish books in his home. His children studied at universities and were already assimilated. All of them were exterminated during the Nazi uprooting and killing of Jews in Sokal.

Opgott was a prosperous textile merchant, who worked his way to have a considerable influence on the Jewish street in Sokal and represented the Jews in the Sokal Town Council.

The usual buying and selling in the city was naturally all in Jewish hands.

The large number of small-time merchants and storekeepers worked and lived under difficult economic conditions. In a large measure, they did business by buying up agricultural products from the peasantry in the surrounding villages, and as a result they participated intensively in the weekly market fair days that were held in the city.

In the area around Sokal there were Lessor Jews for larger estates, as among other families there were: Fass, Krom and Gantz. Accordingly there was not a small number of Jews running these large estates, such as Fish, who was a skilled agricultural worker.

In general, a masterful order reigned in all agricultural properties in which Sokal Jews participated, as lessors, or directors, and a masterful and orderly income from these ventures were not small. Also Sokal Jews were not missing in owning agricultural parcels, such as the Head of the Sokal Jewish Community Szmutzer.

– 4 –

Those Jews in Sokal, who were not active in these previously mentioned businesses, did hard work in very difficult circumstances, and not one trade practiced in the city in which Jews were not active.

The master clock makers Baszwitz, Ring and Windler were known throughout the entire Sokal district and were famed as good, decent working people. Meller belonged to the good *mozheniszkehs*.<sup>47</sup> The Christian residents took over the posts from employees in the municipal and governmental administration and participated in a limited fashion in production, and therefore the Jews engaged in selling their handiwork.

– 5 –

The Jews of Sokal established an array of beneficial acting institutions, and also founded humanitarian societies to help the poorer populace. This is detailed in another part of this Yizkor Book.

If we are dealing with the businesses of Sokal Jews before the First World War – it is worth emphasizing that in the free professions such as being a lawyer or a medical doctor, the Jews of Sokal were well represented. Among the most prominent of the citizenry were: the first and oldest lawyer, Dr. Frenkel, a nationalist Jew, in whose chancellery a whole group of rights practitioners worked, mostly young Zionist leaders such as, for example, Dr. Zvi Bikels, Dr. Schneider, Dr. Gottesman, and Dr. Inslicht.

Dr. Auerbach also ran a legal chancellery at the same time. Dr. Wolfram was a committed Zionist and founder of the ‘Honig’ school.



נבירה יהודית בסוקל בשנת 1939  
יידישער סטאלער-הארשטאט אין סוקאל אין יאר 1939

Page 201: A Jewish Carpentry in Sokal, 1939

Up to the First World War, there was only one practicing medical doctor, Dr. Orikh, who often treated poor Jewish patients without a fee.

This small collection of facts most prominently displayed what Sokal Jews, bestially murdered by Hitlerist executioners – contributed to the development and growth of the city.

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One of the local townspeople

מוסדות צדקה וחסד של יהודים בסוקל

## **Humanitarian and Charitable Institutions of the Jews in Sokal**

יידישע צדקה און ווילטעטיקייט-  
אינסטיטוציעס אין סיקאל

# **Jewish Philanthropic Organizations & Institutions In Sokal**

**By Dr. David Kindler**  
(Ramat-Gan)

Charity and the doing of good deeds were not alien to the Jewish settlement in Sokal. From time immemorial, the Jews there were suffused with Torah and genuine piety, which was expressed in an identical mark on the Jewish social life of Sokal. Every Jew of means was someone who gave to charity. A feeling of compassion and genuine help – these attributes stood out very markedly for Sokal Jews.

For many years, it was the responsibility of the Jewish community to help poor Jews. But with the decline of the social significance of the communities, when long life contributors and a variety of contributors reigned there, it was first at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that religious-philanthropic organizations first began to be established, later on there were social-community groups and societies that were established. The philanthropic activity on the Jewish street was well-developed and the Sokal community, when it came to rendering help, stood on a sufficiently higher level.

## **The ‘Support for the Poor’ Society**

But with the growth of the need on the Jewish street in Sokal the process of distributing charity could not satisfy all of the needy Jews in the city. Jews, who at one time led the lives of *balebatim*, suffered intensely from the economic crisis in the years before the outbreak of the First World War and were left literally with no income. In order to help these impoverished Jews, who were too ashamed to beg and ask for donations – the *balebatim* of means saw that charity initiatives must have a greater social character and to this end they founded the Society for the Support of the Poor with the goal of providing the poor Jews with heat during the winter months. At the head of the leadership of this society and in the years 1913-1914, the activist R' Mendl Beria (called Red Mendl'eh) stood at its head, and thanks to the broadened help activity of this society, in time, it became an important factor in all areas of Socio-economic life on the Jewish street in Sokal.

## **The Ladies Society ‘Ezrat Nashim’**

From the outset, this society was principally concerned with providing kosher food for the Jewish sick, who were confined in the general hospital of Sokal. The society was founded after the outbreak of the First World War by the very special woman of Tzedakah, Chana Kreminer ש"ת, the widow of the sage R' Shlomo Kreminer ר"ע, who died at a very young age, as a victim of the typhus epidemic, which reigned in Sokal immediately in the first months of the First World War. The good-hearted lady Chana Kreminer ש"ת looked after the needs of the sick and after that, when they left the hospital. After the fall of Austria the management of the society was taken over by the energetic lady Podzamczar and thanks to her committed work the society strengthened its comprehensive help for sick and poor Jews in Sokal. The gymnasium professor Dr. Zeinfel ש"ת did much to assist in the development of this society.



## **The Philanthropic Activity of the Young Women's Circle**

The necessary humanitarian activity of the mentioned Ladies Society '*Ezrat Nashim*' did not remain without an influence on a circle of young ladies, especially those raised in the Zionist organization, who assumed the task to look after the fact that there not lack any bread for the Sabbath in a Jewish home. Quietly, and modestly with great care, not to deride the honor of the impoverished Jewish families – the good-hearted young girls carried out their mission. Thanks to their committed and well-organized help initiative, indeed in no Jewish home in Sokal was there hunger or want which rarely appeared, and there was no lack of *Challahs* and bread. The names of two young girls remain in my memory, Donger and Frenkel, who belonged to the ongoing strength of the management of this society.

## **Bikur- Kholim**

Care for the poor sick always took first place in the philanthropic activity of the Jewish street. Since time immemorial, for this purpose there were special groups in almost all Jewish homes who had the objective of providing free medicinal help to the sick poor, to provide for their medicines, and in general to save the Jewish poor who were sick. Such a philanthropic society existed in Sokal under the name of '*Bikur Kholim*,' which was founded first in the year 1913 by the social activist R' Ephraim Gross ר"ע at its head. The members of the society looked after help for those Jewish sick and they would often sleep at their homes for entire nights, if this was necessary.

## **The Gemilut-Hasadim Fund**

Hunger and need reigned on the Jewish street in Sokal after the First World War. With the help of the general Jewish advisory committee in Lemberg a Jewish Help-Committee was also established in Sokal, whose activity consisted of dividing Jewish financial contributions among the needy in a limited amount. This support served to quiet the hunger of a small number of families... but this was just a drop in an ocean of poverty.

It became clear to the local society activists, that this philanthropic help-activity cannot bring a lightening of the sorry state of the impoverished Sokal Jews. In searching for means, how to utilize these funds gathered in the city in a more effective manner, and what we got from the advisory committee in Lemberg, we understood, that our central goal is to make it possible for the financially ruined Jewish worker, storekeepers or retail merchants – to get back on their feet and start up their businesses again, and thereby helping them to become productive people, who are able to earn a living on their own.



הנהלת קופת גמילות חסדים בסוקל די פארוואלטונג פון דער גמילות חסדים־קאסע אין סיקאל  
 יושבים משמאל (זיצן פון לינקס): אשר וועניגר, ד"ר דוד קינדלר, אייזיק בירנבוים, גזשעגאזש  
 יאנובשטשינסקי, דוד ביק  
 עומדים משמאל (שטייען פון לינקס): מזכירה לעווין, מאיר לינסקר, אהרן לאָרענץ, גאַסטוואַלטער,  
 שמעון ביק, בערל לעווין, שאַפראַנסקי, דוד באַרד

**Page 208: Management of the *Kupat Gmilut Hasadim* in Sokal**

Sitting (from the Left): Asher Weniger, Dr. David Kindler, Isaac Birnbaum, Gzhegasz Januvczynsky, David Byk

Standing (from the Left): Secretary Levin, Meir Linsker, Aharon Lawrence, Gasthalter, Shimon Byk, Ber'l Levin, Szafransky, David Bard

As was exactly done in other Jewish settlements in post-war Galicia, under the management of this writer, a *Gemilut Hasadim Fund* was established, with the support of such prominent people as R' Asher Weniger, R' David Byk, Yitzhak Kiehl and representatives of 'Mizrachi' and the 'Hitakhdut' organizations, whose object I've was to give interest-free loans to the Jewish worker, so he could create the means to do work or the necessary raw material, as well as the small merchant or storekeeper to buy merchandise from the wholesaler.

The first secretary of the Fund was *Fraulein* Rikl Levin, who, with extraordinary commitment for a minimal loan fulfilled her missions. In the branch of the sokal '*Kasa Kowiecki*' (Merchant's Bank) she conducted the agenda of the from a small table which stood there in a corner... the Fund

distributed loans from 50 to 200 zlotys, that were paid back in weekly minimal instalments of a small as 1 zloty... the management of the fund imposed significant difficulties on her. Especially before Passover, when it was necessary to buy up goods for the stores, and the requests for funds always rose, and the Fund did not have the necessary capital, in order to satisfy everybody who approached them for help. At such a time, this writer took out a personal loan from the 'Merchant's Bank' of two to three thousand zlotys and with this sum, he was able to fund all of the loans that had been set up.

With every day, the significance of the *Gemilut-Hasadim Fund* grew for the manual laborers and small businessmen. The importance of this institution especially showed itself during the general economic crisis in Poland in 1929, when a frightful need reigned over the Jewish street in Sokal and tens of Jewish families were faced with bankruptcy. The management in Sokal of the *Gemilut-Hasadim Fund* at that time decided to carry out a large initiative to broaden the activity of the Fund and thanks to that initiative it became possible to rescue working places from going under and to create jobs for the pauperized Sokal Jews. So for example – a number of years before the outbreak of the Second World War, a strong boycott against Jewish residents penetrated the Ukrainian villages around Sokal, the last of them were compelled to leave and relocate their homes in Sokal. For each refugee from a village, the management of the *Gemilut Hasadim Fund* bought a cow and in this manner created new possibilities for the relocated village Jews to find new work and ways to earn a living.

## **The Merchants' Bank**

On the eve of the First World War, a severe economic crisis cut out the foundations of Jewish economic life in Galicia and thousands of Jewish families were left without an income. The difficult struggle of the Jewish business circles stopped the leaders of the society at that time. As a goal, it set for itself the creation of a rescue initiative, that was to create the means for a broadly-branched help-activity on the Jewish street. Almost all Jewish settlements in Galicia carried out such intensive initiatives,, first of all to provide the Jewish merchant and working man with cheap and accessible credit.

The Zionist organization in Lemberg started this initiative in Eastern Galicia, where, at the initiative of the Zionist organization at that time, in 1913, under the leadership of Dr. Brody, a central Credit Union was created, which opened its branches in a whole network of cities.

In Sokal as well, the local committee of the Zionist organization, with Dr. David Kindler at its head, began an initiative, to open an account in the Lemberg 'Credit Bank' and for this purpose a larger fund was gathered. Regrettably, the outbreak of the First World War in the year 1914 disrupted this initiative. The fallen credit institution was never founded and the assembled funds became completely devalued during the time of war.

At the end of the year 1918 – when the bloody World War ended and Galicia became a part of the independent Polish state, which replaced the fallen and wrecked Austrian monarchy, the social activists in Sokal made a great effort to once again build up the ruined Jewish business positions. The situation of the Jewish merchants was particularly severe, who because of the scarcity of credit, were not in a position to source the needed merchandise.

With the help of the central 'Joint' in Warsaw, which began to direct a Jewish credit-cooperative, the Sokal activists of the general Zionist organization together with a group of energetic merchants, decided to found a cooperative banking institution for Jewish merchants. Under the leadership of the well-known merchants Babad, Markus Kiehl, Yitzhak Kiehl and Ber'l Levin a larger sum of money was raised, and therefore the 'Joint' felt secure in enlarging founding capital with a sum of money that was gather in Sokal proper.

Already, in the first month of its establishment, the Merchants-Bank carried out an intensive initiative led by the merchants Babad and Kiehl, in allocating loans to its members under light conditions. The popularity of this institution grew daily, and in time, it was able to turn over the management of the bank to a separate employee, because the leadership to-date worked in the bank for free. In their place the merchant R' David Byk, who had liquidated his own business and took over the management of the Merchants Bank. With his overabundance and skillful work, R' David Byk led the Merchants Bank to the level of a true institution, which thanks to the needed activity, received recognition, and the full trust in the Jewish business circles in the city. Thanks to the continuous development of the bank the spirits rose from year-to-year, as did the reserves and contributed capital.

Apart from the previously mentioned people, a lot of effort to develop the bank was also the Bank-bookkeeper Parnes, the Secretary Leah Gleicher, and the leader of the credit promissory note department – Ber'l Levin.

The bank was able to support a variety of Jewish philanthropic and cultural institutions in Sokal from its income, such as the Hebrew School, the Ladies Committee, which was fully engaged with supporting half of the Jewish school students.

No record or memory remains of this necessary and decent Jewish institution. Along with all of Sokal Jewry, it was exterminated in its most important role in the economic position in Jewish Sokal.

## **The 'Ladies Committee' at Work**

**By Clara Kindler**

The influence of the Hitlerist régime in Germany ran into a fertile field in Poland. Several years before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Sanacja-Government in Poland still harbored the illusion that a pro-German political stance had real foundations, and could be the point of support for Poland's independence. Polish ministers traveled to Hitler's Germany and learned the work required to implement a solution to the Jewish problem.

Heavy and dark clouds began to gather on the horizon for Polish Jewry. On one side the Polish administrative authorities – recognizing the official '*owszem*'- exactly the opposite of the Polish government, used every means at their disposal to marginalize the Jews from their economic positions, and on the other side, those hungry to devour the Jews, the anti-Semitic circles developed

a vigorous anti-Jewish boycott agitation, whose goal was to uproot Jewish means of making a living, Jewish businesses.

In this atmosphere, of striving for extermination of the Jewish masses, when the anti-Semitism in Poland relentlessly grew more and more strong, Jewish community activists organized an economic self-help effort on all sides. At the same time broad community forces were activated in order to deliver help to the Jewish poor, which grew to embrace more and more people with time.



During this difficult period community activities among Sokal Jews did not fall by itself. There already was, from prior times, an active circle of Jewish women at work in Sokal, that developed a good-hearted philanthropic initiative for the good of the Jewish poor in the city.

And when the economic condition of the Jewish populace in Sokal became so fearfully grim, there was literally no hunger in a single Jewish home, those of us, active in the Ladies Committee, took account of our responsibility that lay upon us, in such a difficult situation and we decided to broaden our activity in synchronization with the new immense objectives on the plain of social work assistance.

For this purpose, we first reorganized our Ladies Circle and elected a new leadership with Mrs. Dr. Wolfram at its head. She was the oldest among us, and possessed considerable organizational skills and most important of all... a golden heart.

The central activity of ours, during these difficult times, was to arrange for food that could be distributed for the Jewish children in school, even though there was general food available, but the Jewish children did not partake for two reasons: first was the malevolent attitude of the teachers towards the Jewish children, and secondly – *Kashrut*.



מיטבת קיץ של ילדי בחי'וסופר סוקול בשנת 1937  
ידידות שולקנינדער אין סוקאל מיין אַ ווערטקעלענדיג אין יאר 1937

Page 213: A Summer Camp for School Children in Sokal in the year 1937.

It was possible to provide for each Jewish student – of which there were several hundred – a meal from the monies collected by Jews – it was a glass of hot cocoa and a large kaiser roll.

Later on, we opened a kitchen, which was set up on the yard of Bart's large wood business. There, children were able to get a tasty midday lunch. During the summer, we also would open children's summer camps.

It was Mrs. Menkes ז"ל our last leader, who showed an unusually outstanding commitment in directing this work, as well as the dedication of her soul. We collected money from the Jews that still

were able to earn a living, so that during winter, all the Jewish children got coats and warm shoes. We carried out this activity until the city was taken over by the German murderers.

During the Nazi occupation, it was not possible to carry out any sort of social initiative in the Sokal ghetto. Apart from the kitchen, which was run by the Judenrat, there were only a few Jewish families capable of sustaining themselves with a lunch for this, or that hungry Jew. But this was just a drop in the ocean, because hunger and want reigned in the Sokal ghetto.



ארוחת בוקר לילדי עניים בקייטנה בסוקל שבמגורשו של אברהם בארד  
בעתן אַרױסגעבן פרישטיק. קינדער פון אָרעמע עלטערן אויף דער זומער־קאַלאָניע איסן פּלאַץ פֿון  
אברהם באַרד אין סיקאַל. הראשונה משמאל (די צרשטע סון לינקס): די פרוי רנה מענקס זײל

Page 214: Breakfast for Poor Children in the Yard of Abraham Bard  
in Sokal. First from the Left: Mrs. Rena Menkes זײל

זכרונות ואישים

## **Memories and Personalities**

זכרונות און פערזענלעכקייטן

## What I Remember of Sokal!

By Zvi Klinger  
(Milano - Italia)

I came to Sokal from my birthplace 'zhabuzhza' and it was first, when I started to work as a bookkeeper and correspondent in the local print shop and plumbing factory there, that belonged to the firm of 'Mordechai Kiehl's Sons.' I was employed in this capacity for 7 years, until I emigrated to Italy in the year 1929.

The firm of 'Mordechai Kiehl's Sons' belonged to diligent working and talented people. The foundation for the firm was laid by R' Mordechai Kiehl years ago, and he developed it from there, exporting his products to such buyers from all over Poland and other European countries and even to America. Thanks to the newest machines, and mother manufacturing methods, which enabled mass-production, he practically had no competition.



במשרד של פירמה קיהל (אין ביוראָ פון דער פירמה קיהל)  
ע"י שולחן הכתיבה יושב (ביים שרייבטיש זיצט): דוד קיהל — ע"י הטלפון עומד (ביים טעלעפאָן  
שטייט): יצחק קיהל — ע"י מכונת-הכתיבה יושבת (ביי דער ערייב־מאַשין זיצט): אירח פינקל

Page 217:

In the Office of the Kiehl Firm

Rear: David Kiehl on the Telephone

Desk: Yitzhak Kiehl

Typewriter: Ida Finkel

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In time Mordechai Kiehl gradually pulled back from the business and turned over the management and the business to his sons who continued on to run the business in the old fashion.

Mordechai Kiehl came from Western-Galicia and was a grandson to the Rabbi of Lezhensk. He had accumulated much knowledge and was a highly educated and very aware person – even too modern for a city like Sokal. He would be called ‘*Der Mazur.*’ During a weekday once, when he had a Yahrzeit he prayed at the *Bet HaMedrash*. Several boys – among them Abraham’tzeh Kisnuk – threw wet rags at him, when he was leading services from the front. From that time on, he instructed his grandchildren never to pray in the *Bet HaMedrash*. Since that time, he became a worshiper at the *Strelsk Kloyz*.

His son Yitzhak helped him a great deal in the business. Apart from him, Mordechai Kiehl had three sons: Moshe – the eldest, who lived in Lezhensk – Yaakov, who fell as a casualty in 1915 during the First World War, and Yudl David, who also served in the Austrian army during the First World War, and was taken prisoner by the Russians in Lublin. He was sent to Siberia, where as a result of the Russian Revolution, he got the chance to flee to Japan, and from there he came to America, where he already had a sister, Khulya. Apart from her, Mordechai Kiehl had a second daughter, Dvorah, the wife of Asher Weniger.

When I began to work for the Kiehl firm in the year 1922, Yudl David was still in America, and it was first in the year 1926 that he returned to Sokal. Yaakov Kiehl, who fell during the war, left behind a childless widow.

In time, because of advancing age, Mordechai Kiehl was no longer able to manage the firm, and the entire burden fell to his son Yitzhak who held his father in great esteem. In order not to awaken any feelings of being redundant, he left him to run the rubber stamp department which was a rather light duty. This caused the father’s self-worth to be strengthened, as well as his financial position in the firm.

Just as before – Mordechai Kiehl now also would help out any needy Jew, and thereby never take anything, not even making a note of the borrower’s name, relying on his honesty and trustworthiness. In Mordechai Kiehl’s house, every pauper always received a larger donation. But when he received rabbinical or a Rebbe’s grandchildren who would seek legitimacy through their pedigree, he would embarrassingly ask of them, why they do not learn a trade... after all, he personally was the grandson of a Rabbi and learned the printing trade...

In 1927 Mordechai Kiehl became seriously ill and when he felt that he was close to death, apart from me, he also permitted a good friend of his to be called, Reuben Bergloz, who was a frequent visitor to him, and he took us both as witnesses he then articulated his last will [and testament]:

‘My entire wealth’ – he said – ‘shall be equally divided among my children, thereby, that part to be allocated to my oldest son, Moshe, should be recorded in the name of his children, because only him by exception am I locking out of the inheritance, the reason being that 30 years ago, when I made

him a wedding, I turned over my entire wealth in Lezhensk to him... at that time I gave him, and left my business there and I went off to Sokal by myself, in order not to become his competitor.'

'In Sokal' – Mordechai Kiehl further declared – 'I had to start anew to build up an existence, and together with my wife we worked hard. In the year 1918, after Moshe became a widower, he immediately married with a young woman and it did not take long for all of his children from his first wife had to leave the home...accordingly, they are spread all over the entire world... and this, indeed, is the reason for which I want that not he, but only his children should obtain an inheritance.'

Weakened and agitated after this declaration he concluded his talk and lay down. He rested for a while, and finally said: 'I am not going to recite a confession, because I did not commit any of those sins... During my life, I attempted to observe the Ten Commandments, and with that, I fulfilled my obligation to God and Man.'

Immediately after this he passed away.



Yudl David had a very fine and noble wife. She came from Western Galicia. From her home, she was called Malyitz'eh Karp. When the First World War broke out and her husband went off into the Austrian army, He sustained himself in Jasla and when the Russians took control of this city, she fled along with her one and only child who regrettably died along the way. The profound dissolution and experiences during the First World War made a strong impression on her mood from what she had suffered. Her exceptional , good and fine character created an oversight and love from the entire family which drew lose to her with loyalty and good-heartedness.



In 1929, a severe misfortune befell Yitzhak Kiehl. While he was in Austria, in order to buy material for the plumbing works, he suddenly fell ill from severe case of brain disease. He was taken over to The Professor Wenkenbach hospital in Vienna, where he lay for more than 6 months. He had no luck, because a small amount of paralysis remained in hid right foot, and from that time on he limped a bit.



בעת עבודתו בבית דפוס קיהל (בעת דער ארבעט אין דער דרוקעריי קיהל):  
מימין (פון רעכטס): אהרן ראטער, זישה הורוויץ, חשכל גולדבערג

In the factory they had two directors of work: a certain Latzlsberger who was Viennese,

Page 220: During Work at the Kiehl Print Shop.  
From the right: Aharon Ratzler, Zisha Horwitz, Heschel Goldberg

who was active in the plumbing factory and Zisha Horwitz, a son of Chaim Ber Horwitz, who ran the printing operation in an outstanding fashion. Lithograph pictures and refined placards were printed there and various placards for chemical factories, for a variety of other businesses, such as - works requiring dyeing, for the mining of salt and large mills. In this regard we even competed with Meir Leib's printing operations.

The Viennese director was a drunkard; but he was a good craftsman.

Zisha Horwitz, a very sympathetic youth, had the nature to make friends with Christians, which caused his father great sorrow. He prayed in the Husiatyn Kloyz, where such important *balebatim* such as Israel Bard with his son and son-in-law, Yitzhak Birnbaum, Issachar Ber Flam his only son, Yitzhak, Shlomo Kreminer with his sons, Abusz Schwartzwald with his son Heschel and other such prominent Jewish people prayed. Meir Glazer from Tartakov also prayed there, a girl niece of the printer Meir Leib Glazer. During the High Holy Days, he would lead services from the front. He had quite a nice voice and a fine style. When he would recite 'L'David Mizmor,' by sentence, Jews stood outside by the windows of the Kloyz, who had already ended their prayers in the synagogue or the *Bet HaMedrash* and with bated breath listened to every word and wondered with what sweetness and sincerity he would recite them.



When, in the year 1940, the Soviet military apparatus took control of Sokal they turned over the management of the Kiehl businesses to two work directors: Latzlberger and Zisha Horwitz.

The fate of Yudel David and his family was tragic. In the year 1943 I met Israel Harack in New York, who miraculously saved himself from the Nazi Gehenna and he told me, that when he saw Yudel David in Lg with his wife, he convinced them that they should flee with him through the Carpathian [Mountains] across the Russian border. Sadly, they could not decide, and returned to Sokal, where in 1943 they were exterminated together with all the other Sokal Jews.

I also advised Yitzhak Kiehl, when in 1937 he came for a visit to Italy, to gradually liquidate the Sokal factory and move it to Israel. He could not decide to do the liquidation of a business, that he had helped to build up over the course of years.

But who could imagine that the life of human beings would become worthless?...here... this was our collective tragic mistake, that we could not, and did not want to believe, that such a total destruction was possible... and we paid dearly for making such a fateful mistake.

Yitzhak Kiehl was tortured by the German murderers in a terrible way. Immediately after the Germans took Sokal, they demanded of him that he become a member of the 'Judenrat,' which he refused to do. For this he was stuffed into a *Gestapo* jail, where he was terribly tortured, such that he personally begged that they should shoot him. The Germans did not want to grant him this 'favor,' to let him off so lightly. He suffered quite a bit more, until the executioners finally shot him. This was the tragic end to a dear and fine Jewish man.



Immediately after the First World War I began to look around for some sort of appropriate business. My friend Buni Unger from my *Heder* year and *Kloyz* attendance came to help me, and who noticed an ad for me in the Lemberg Tageblatt, that the two Templeman brothers were looking for a teacher for their children. He alone – told me –that he had already written to one of the Templemans and he is still waiting for an answer.

I immediately wrote to the second Templeman brother and several days later we both received invitations to come take over the work.

The Templemans lived in a village, which was called Kunin, about three kilometers distance from the train station of Dobrosyn near Żółkiew. We felt like we were in the Garden of Eden there. Our work was not difficult, because getting through the lectures with the children barely took an hour, such that we had enough free time to learn and read.

After a year of being held in this village, we parted ways. Buni Unger went over to Żółkiew and found work as a bookkeeper in a fur coat business and for a short time, I took over work in a grain export firm, and immediately afterwards began to work for the Kiehls.

Later, Buni went to Lemberg and in the year 1941 we ran into each other again in New York, where I had just arrived from Brazil. We met frequently and also later, when I traveled back to Italy after the Second World War, we remained in business contact. He died suddenly in 1960.

A nephew of his, Eliezer, a son of Israel Unger, lives in Israel today. I knew him since he was a child. Working together with him, an episode remains in my memory, which I cannot forget to this day.

In the year 1938 – when Mussolini decided to ally with Hitler יב"ש, he issued an order, that all foreign Jews must leave Italy during the next 6 months, and the termination of the order was set at March 12, 1939. In one of those bitter days Eliezer Unger came to visit me in my factory, who had stopped in Italy on his way to Israel. He came to see me a few minutes after I had an inspector from the secret police, who had come to warn me that I should not have any false hopes to be able to remain in the country even one day longer, as was designated in the government's record – and in order for me to consider how seriously this issue was being thought about, he handed me a handbook in which my name was printed.

When Eliezer arrived, I was still under the impression of what the police inspector's words implied, and I told him of my troubles, that I must leave everything behind and lose everything that I had built up and on top of this, I do not know where to go. Eliezer looked at me anew and asked: 'how can a man talk about assets, when the entire world is on fire?' I did not know what to reply, because I felt that he was right. In my heart I envied him, because he had a goal for himself, at a time when I did not know *from whence will come my succor...*

The Polish government took away my citizenship because of the fact that I had already lived for 13 years out of that country. I had communicated this to the highest tribunal in the Polish government in Warsaw, but in the meantime, the Polish consulate took away my passport and I was left with no documents, which in those times was literally a catastrophe.

The years, during which I lived in Italy were good ones. True – one lived under the rule of a dictator, but one did not sense it until 1938, especially in Northern Italy, where a large part of the population was semi-fascistic, but not with a full heart. The Italians are, by nature very good people, and they had no grasp of what anti-Semitism was. They first had to be taught, and Hitler ימ"ש had already sent them the genuine teachers.



For my coming to Italy, I had to thank the Fyvel brothers, children of R' Abraham from which the older two – Yaakov who emigrated to Vienna, and the second, Leib to Budapest. After the death of their mother in 1917, at the age of barely 43, there remained three orphans: Shmuel age 13, Meir age 10. And Joseph<sup>48</sup>, age 8.



משפחת פייבל — יושב אברהם פייבל ז"ל  
 צומדים מימין (שטייען פון רעכטס): יוסף פייבל, בר בישראל (וויינט אין ישראל), שמואל פייבל  
 גר באמעריקע (וויינט אין אַמעריקע), ליאון (לייב) פייבל ז"ל, יעקב פייבל ז"ל מינה פייבל עם בן  
 בצלאל, גרים בטילנו (וויינען אין מילאָנו), מאיר פייבל ז"ל

Page 224: **The Fyvel Family, with R' Abraham Seated.**  
 (Standing from the Right): Joseph Fyvel, in Israel, Shmuel Fyvel in  
 America, Leon (Leib) Fyvel ז"ל, Yaakov Fyvel ז"ל, Mina Fyvel with  
 Bezalel, living in Milano, Meir Fyvel ז"ל

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<sup>48</sup> Joseph Fyvel is today socially active as the secretary of the *Landsmanschaft* of the Sokal refugees in Israel.

years out of that country. I had communicated this to the highest tribunal in the Polish government in Warsaw, but in the meantime, the Polish consulate took away my passport and I was left with no documents, which in those times was literally a catastrophe.

The years, during which I lived in Italy were good ones. True – one lived under the rule of a dictator, but one did not sense it until 1938, especially in Northern Italy, where a large part of the population was semi-fascistic, but not with a full heart. The Italians are, by nature very good people, and they had no grasp of what anti-Semitism was. They first had to be taught, and Hitler ימ"ש had already sent them the genuine teachers.



For my coming to Italy, I had to thank the Fyvel brothers, children of R' Abraham from which the older two – Yaakov who emigrated to Vienna, and the second, Leib to Budapest. After the death of their mother in 1917, at the age of barely 43, there remained three orphans: Shmuel age 13, Meir age 10. And Joseph<sup>49</sup>, age 8.



משפחת פייבל — יושב יושב (זיצט): ר' אברהם פייבל ז"ל  
 צומדים מימין (שטייען פון רעכטס): יוסף פייבל, בר בישראל (זווינגט אין ישראל), שמואל פייבל  
 גר באמעריקע (זווינגט אין אמעריקע), ליאון (לייב) פייבל ז"ל, יעקב פייבל ז"ל מינה פייבל עם בנ  
 בצלאל, גרים בטילנו (זווינגט אין מילאָנו), מאיר פייבל ז"ל

Page 224: The Fyvel Family, with R' Abraham Seated.  
 (Standing from the Right): Joseph Fyvel, in Israel, Shmuel Fyvel in  
 America, Leon (Leib) Fyvel ז"ל, Yaakov Fyvel ז"ל, Mina Fyvel with  
 Bezalel, living in Milano, Meir Fyvel ז"ל

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<sup>49</sup> Joseph Fyvel is today socially active as the secretary of the *Landsmanschaft* of the Sokal refugees in Israel.

Already then – during childhood years, those three orphans were strongly tied to me and – being older than them by a few years – thought of me as an older brother. Yaakov Fyvel wrote to me from Vienna, asking that I keep an eye on his three younger brothers... I should be their teacher and show them the path to follow. The feelings of true heartfelt brotherhood tied me together strongly with the Fyvel brothers, and this bond was never weakened, despite the fact that we left Sokal while young and lived far apart. When Yaakov Fyvel, the oldest went off from us to Italy, he immediately pulled out all his brothers.

For this reason – when I saw the opportunity to again be with the Fyvel brothers, I didn't tarry for long and immediately decided to leave the position with the Kiehl firm, and in the year 1929 I emigrated to Italy. There, all the Fyvel brothers were living together with the exception of the youngest, Joseph, who came there later, after me.

Fyvel's sons which at the time left Sokal, left behind a rather large family in their hometown of over one hundred souls, both from the mother's and father's side, all of whom were exterminated in the Nazi *Gehenna*...

In Italy proper, the Fyvels suffered the severe loss of two brothers, in which one was an indirect, and the other a direct sacrifice of the accursed Nazi Régime.

Meir Fyvel was a man of quick thought and trading. Immediately after this, when the anti-Jewish directive became public, he immediately oriented himself to how dangerous the situation was, he sold his factory with the detail-business... however, on the day he was to meet with the buyer... he suddenly died.

Throughout the entire night he worked so hard, getting everything ready, in order to turn everything over to the buyer... regrettably a heart condition got him... and he was yet so young... he was barely 32 years old...always healthy and ready for work...

The second, already a direct victim of the Nazis was Leib Fyvel. I used to call him: 'The Right One' – because he had a strong understanding and a deep feeling for justice. I would say of him, that he is one of the 36 *Tzadikim*.. He would always defer to people and everything that he did was in the form of an anonymous gift... for this reason, he never wanted to talk about, or recall whom he helped.

Since he was an Argentine citizen, he was the only one who managed to work his way through remaining in Italy during the war. All of us traveled off...one first.. Another later.. But he had decided to stay. Later on, when he recognized the error of his choice, and wanted to go to Switzerland, he was informed upon by one of his employees and the Nazi border-police seized him, and sent him to Bergen-Belsen.



ליאון (לייב) פייבל במילאנו

Page 226: Leon (Leib) Fyvel  
in Milano

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הויפט פון געזעצט פון סוקאל



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לייב פייבל מיט די קינדער פון דער שארית הפליטה אין מילאנא  
צומד בפינה ע"י המגורה (שטייט אין ווינקל) (עבן) דער טאטע

Page 227: Leibl Fyvel with the Surviving Refugee Children in Milano



Meir Fyvel was a man of quick thought and trading. Immediately after this, when the anti-Jewish directive became public, he immediately oriented himself to how dangerous the situation was, he sold his factory with the detail-business... however, on the day he was to meet with the buyer... he suddenly died.

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Since he was an Argentine citizen, he was the only one who managed to work his way through remaining in Italy during the war. All of us traveled off..one first.. Another later.. But he had decided to stay. Later on, when he recognized the error of his choice, and wanted to go to Switzerland, he was informed upon by one of his employees and the Nazi border-police seized him, and sent him to Bergen-Belsen.

To this day, I cannot grasp where he got the strength to withstand the gruesome torture in the German death-camp.

After the war, when we once again would meet in Italy and I wanted to extract details from him about his survival and tortures in the *Gehenna* of Bergen-Belsen, he never answered and he would not mention the years of frightful torture. They knocked out all of the teeth in his mouth and immediately after the liberation you could see the marks of the hard blows with which the German murderers did not spare in Bergen-Belsen. The lingering sickness condition, complicated skillful operations rescued his exhausted body... in the year 1953 – on the 11 Day of Tammuz he died.

Leib'1 Fyvel ז"ל received much recognition heaped on him in Milan, thanks to his completely sacrificial and social action for the good of the Jewish refugees from the neighboring countries, who became concentrated in the Italian camps. In Milan, he organized a kitchen for Jewish orphans, for which he looked after with body and soul. The children came to so love him that they did not want to start eating first, until Leib came and sat to eat with them together.

He also did not forget his *landsleit* in Sokal and later in Israel and to the greatest extent possible, he supported everyone from Sokal who was in need, until he found out that his physical condition was not the best.

And when he participated in an initiative after the war on behalf of Israel's good, his readiness to help in any activity, despite his bad physical condition, had no bounds.

All of us suffered strongly at the loss of our dear Leib Fyvel ל"ו... but most of all, his passing broke his oldest brother Yaakov, whom we could not console after such a severe misfortune...



And suddenly on December 12, 1966 we also lost... Yaakov Fyvel ל"ו who died that day... We lost such a dear, gentle Jewish man... we now feel like orphaned children... because he was always our universal director and thanks to his spiritual influence and his moral strength we held together...

Regrettably, I cannot write about him, because in a letter, that the deceased left behind, he explicitly articulated his wish, that after he death he should stay there, an unfamiliar point just like it is unknown all the tortured and killed Sokal martyrs... And were I not bound by this last will from the deceased Yaakov Fyvel ל"ו, I would have enough to tell about his good deeds only for the last five years, during which time we were together.

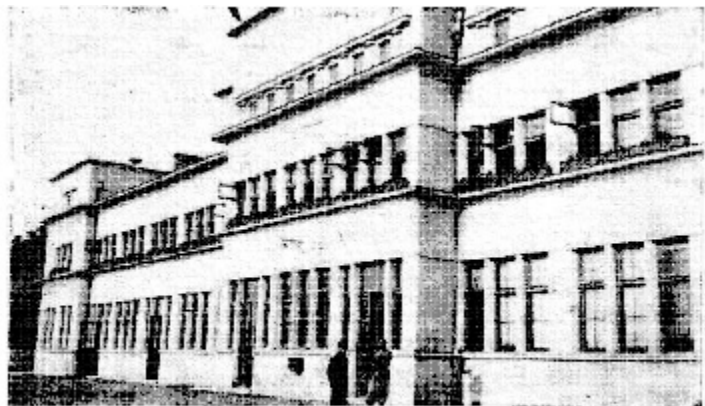
All these good deeds the Fyvel brothers learned and inherited from their mother Rachel (Rokh'chek) ר"ע. She was a true *Tzaddik* in female form. Poor people in Sokal, that lived in want and didn't have anything with which to prepare for Sabbath, every Thursday or Friday, lend 2 or 3 crowns, that she had gotten back on Monday... On Friday, she would again lend the 2 or 3 crowns to the same Jewish man... these little loans she would distribute generously and with elegant anonymity, such that the borrower never felt belittled.

When an impoverished Jewish man did not appear before her once... she sent her oldest son Yankl'eh to his home... to find out why and for what reason the Jewish man did not come to take the loan. And when Yekl'eh, during such a visit to this poor Jew, came to understand that the latter simply was a shamed to borrow money for the Sabbath, so e no longer asked anything, but just left the 2 crowns, which his mother gave him every such time... there was also an instance when Yekk'leh sometimes found that the man lay sick in bed, – at that time his mother would cook up a hearty soup, which Yekl'eh then carried back to the ill person.

It was in this fashion that Yaakov Fyvel ל"ו grew up under the influence of his refined mother of rare good will...

The last five years, since I had returned from America, and took up residence in Italy, we lived as neighbors, and this permitted us to have much time full of memories of our childhood. He was a good friend and brother to me.

Now he is no longer here... I feel a great emptiness about me... regrettably the loss is irreparable...



די באַר־שטאָנצֿ אין סוקאל

הונדערטער סוקאל

A pity, a pity for whom we lost...

## The Home of My Father

By Dr. Y. Efrat (Menkes)



די משפחה פיש (די עלטערן פון דער טרוי רנה מענקעס פאָר זייער וויז אין סיקאַל  
יזשבים מיטן :  
זוסף פיש, בכור דבת האשתו חיה" — עומד שלום (פרידריך פיש, היה סגן מנהל הדואר בסוקל  
זיצן פון דעכטס : זוסף פיש, זיין טרוי היה און אין דער מיטן זייער אייניקל דאָנת  
עס עטייט שלום (פרידעריק) פיש, בעזענן סגן מנהל פון דער פאָסט אין סיקאַל

Page 230: The Fish Family (Family of Mrs. Rena Menkes in Front of their House in Sokal. Sitting from the Right: Joseph Fish, his granddaughter Dina, and his wife Chaya. Friedrich Fish was the Vice Principal of the post (office) in Sokal.

The Menkes and Fish families, even if they were not from Sokal going back many generations, with their setting up of their true homes there, changed into *bona fide* residents, and became a part of the fabric of the populace.



ד"ר אפרים מנקס ז"ל



רנה מנקס ז"ל

Page 231: Dr. Ephraim Menkes (left), Rena Menkes ז"ל (איינער)

My grandfather, Joseph Fish, was born in the village of Uhvin in the vicinity of Radekhiv -Lopatyn in the year 1844 to his father Jerucham Fish, who was a Jew of that village and a Belz *Hasid*, and was one of those who could absorb *Hasidism* thoroughly and according to its precepts: faithful to this tradition, he sent his sons to the nearby city of Lopatyn to be inculcated with Torah in the local Yeshiva. Joseph understood from when he grew up, to continue in his father's ways, and earned a living from directing the management of parcels surrounding what was an important city at that time – Brody; it was in this period that his sons and daughters were born, the oldest of them was Rivka Leah (Rena) who afterwards married Dr. Ephraim Menkes. My grandfather, the wife of Joseph Fish, Chaya (Carla) of the Mann family was born in the town of Mosty-Wielki: She was part of a traditional, but advanced home and both her secular and parochial education of their sons and daughters were looked after by her parents. Accordingly, she was thoroughly knowledgeable in worldwide literature and especially the German language. In the bookcases in the home of my grandparents you could find one next to another, traditional and classical German books on Judaism, Goethe, Schiller, Heine and others. A number of years before the First World War, the Fish family moved into the Sokal district, after my grandfather got management of the properties of the Duke (?) Radzowski in the villages of Wislawica and Mianowica. Much trouble befell the family during the days of the First World War, and we were miraculously saved from the hands of Ukrainian murderers, in 1918, thanks to the nobility of soul and strength of heart of the priest of Wislawica, Father Doydowyc. My grandfather then decided to move his domicile to Sokal and took possession of a small house on the corner of Wicucynskovo - Szaszkivica, and he lived there to the end of his life; together with this, he continued to manage land estates until quite an advanced age. My grandfather was a strong man, one of the farmers that were highly regarded in the Sokal province; he was alert to inventions affecting his craft, and was a savvy agriculturist as a result of his work for himself, because the non-traditional studies were limited to only a few simple lessons by the '*dyak*<sup>50</sup>' in the city of Lopatyn, where they learned to read and write in Polish and German. 'Old Fish' as they nicknamed him in Sokal and its vicinity, was one of the first in the area to make use of chemical

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Instructor or teacher.

additives, in reaping and threshing, from machines (that came before tractors) and on top of this he was endowed with a highly experienced sense about agriculture, because of which he was respected by the owners of other parcels of land, Jews and non-Jews, who came to seek his advice, with regard to a variety of issues. All of this did not distance him from his Judaic studies, the source of his knowledge; in the evenings, especially during the winter, when he was not tired from his hard work

he would review what he had learned in the *Talmud*, *Medrash* and *Ayn Yaakov*, revealing hidden meanings and create his own innovative ideas. My grandfather's home had a great influence on me, in which were sustained traditional leaders that enchanted me so much. I would travel from time-to-time with my grandfather while I was still a child, to the estate in Wislawica, and I did work based on his expertise. He was able, at a distance to discern a wheat field from rye, barley or other food on stalks; this was my grandfather who showed me, perhaps without meaning to, to select the direction of agriculture that I then followed as a way of life.

Joseph Fish was blessed with a long life and passed away at the age of 89 in 1933. And how different this was from the fate of my grandmother, who was murdered by the Nazis, together with many, many of our townsfolk in one of the aktionen that they carried out in the ghetto of Sokal.



My father, Dr. Ephraim Menkes was born in the city of Sambor, born to R' Yaakov Menkes, who was an established merchant, owned a flour mill, and was the head of the community committee for many years and was a '*mitnaged*' in his general outlook. Like all the sons of Yaakov Menkes, my father also studied at the local gymnasium and afterwards continued with the study of Law at the University of Lvov. Like many of the members of his generation, he absorbed much culture that was German, Austrian and Polish, that were plated on the plain of traditional education that was given to him during childhood. As a student at the gymnasium and the university, he was influenced by the liberal left-wing cadres and he had a strong ardor for the Polish Socialist Party P. P. S., though he was never taken in as a member. During the First World War, he fought as an officer in the army of Kaiser Franz-Jozef on the Russian front and Italian, and was twice wounded in battle.

After the Polish-Russian war, our family settled down in Sokal, and it was here that my father fell under the spell of the Zionist ideal, with which he was convinced was right. This change found expression in his concerns in relation to my mother, regarding my Jewish education, and since it was common that parents would do everything regarding the foundations of faith, even my Jewish education was rather marginal, including even the lessons in Talmud that I received from the '*Melamed*' Rabbi Leibusz 'Krystynopoler' (Zitzer). One day when active members of the 'Shomrei' came to ask of my parents for their consent to have me join their movement, my father agreed with no reservations. Since he had already been capture by the Zionist ideal, he did not shrink back from it ever, but rather deepened his roots even more and more. And the movement of our city in this respect was not trivial, which was special considering its Judaism, which kept guard even at that time, on its fundamental posture, literally as if it was orchestrated by the leading thinker of Galician Judaism, S. Y. Agnon. The Jewish atmosphere and orientation of Sokal was a return of the soul to

reign over the heart, if you were easy-going under its influence; this is what happened to my father, who loved the Jews of this city in their joy and in their sorrow. Instead of donating to international causes, he switched to become a follower of Keren HaYesod and dedicated his spare time to community Zionist endeavors. The Polish socialist had been transformed into a follower of the 'HaShomer Ha 'Tza'ir' movement, that bore to patronymic (Ofieka) of the *Shomrei* branch, and he carried it to the end of his life. He was known as the 'Father of the *Shomrim*' even outside the boundaries of our city. Our house was open to the members of the movement, and a lodging place for guests from the Senior Leadership, or just plain members of the movement that were visiting in Sokal. My father dogged our efforts, helped to overcome various and sundry difficulties, would present us to the government and even visit our summer camps, in order to come in direct contact with the youth, and also be faithful to his own credo, freed of the confines of his home, family and school.

He found an interest in Jewish folklore, and loved to hear stories suffused with Jewish experience from the common folk; He took pride in his Jewishness in his relation to non-Jews, and for this he gained their respect, no doubt to this orientation. And I remember very well how he once brought a new seal to his office on which his first name 'Ephraim' on its whole face, to replace the old seal which only showed the first letter, 'Aleph.' As to the question regarding the reason for the change, he replied: 'So that they know I am not ashamed of my Hebrew name, rather I am proud of it.'

And today, as I pass my memories of that period before me, it is not possible for me to avoid praise for my father and mother, to whom I was an only son, and there is no doubt that they etched ideas into my back, and despite this, consented to my chosen path, the path of a pioneering *Halutz*, whose presence was proclaimed on all the visible walls in its own name in the eyes of these people, such as medicine, law and other outlets.



My mother, Rivka Leah (Rena) was a personality that ran deep, with a refined soul, faithful and compromising. She inherited the writing of Joseph Fish and his special virtues: love of nature, love of the people, proper leadership and organization. She completed her formal studies at the gymnasium in Brody and the University of Lvov and in addition she acquired the drama skills in the spirit of the great actress Adina Simashko.

Of the many branches of community activity, she stuck with those that had the means to lighten the burden on people, and to permanently assist with an open door to people of the city. She encountered the poverty of people face-to-face when the principal of the municipal school for girls asked her to provide from her skills and crafts, organization of various cultural initiatives among the students, who in large part were Jewish, and on recognizing the economic circumstances of many of these girls, her soul was ignited to the point that she decided to abandon that she was asked to undertake, and dedicate herself only to the social help among the Jewish society. She knew no rest when she found out that almost a third of the Jewish children in the city are malnourished, and from that time on, she dedicated all of her time to provide food for the poor of the city, both evident and hidden, especially the children. She was always full of energy for finding new sources she required: flower

days, *Tzedakah* parties, donations, and reaching out to donating local institutions. The goods consisted of clothing, additional food, organized activities for the very small poor children, and many other undertakings.

After my father died, on the eve of the Second World War, she began making preparations for *aliyah* to *The Land* but did not make it, because the War surprised her since she was staying with relatives in Lvov for a longer time; she remained there until that bitter and terrifying day. She was murdered by the Nazi troops. Her last letter, which reached The Land by way of the Red Cross was sent in 1942.

## **And I Will Remember These!...**

**By Y. HaLevi**  
(Tel-Aviv)

I made myself a guest in Sokal for two years, and I still dream about those days, the 'times' that I had there. At the beginning of the month of Iyyar 5684 [1924] my feet trod for the first time in Sokal in the early morning hours. I was apparently taken aback by surroundings that were alien to me, after a trip of a day and a night from the city of my birth, Horidnika. The difference in the atmosphere of the two cities could be felt not only in the ambience, but also in the way of life and the order in which events took place. The purpose of my coming here was of the sort 'exile yourself to a place of Torah.' But this was a willing exile, and in the course of time that was rather short, it was transformed into a second manifestation of my birthplace. I have to emphasize at the beginning of what I have to say, that the bonds of retention literally pleased me to a great degree. The causes that compelled this to happen were the people who received me, not only with open arms, but with the affection that comes from an understanding heart. I was smothered with boundless love and an endless commitment. Today; now that forty years have passed since I looked to this pleasant childhood era, it is almost difficult to convey in simple words what the heart feels and the poverty of language in which to express in writing that which I received, and that which I felt in those days. Nevertheless, I will attempt to establish by eye a proper monument of memory...

However the decree of forgetfulness has fallen in connection with those who are no longer with us, but not on all of them, and even if many years have passed. I think that I am not exaggerating if I will say that I cannot and I do not belong to those who want to forget...

In the home of my uncle R' Israel Rapaport I found, as it is said, a parents' home despite the fact that he was persistent that on Sunday, I should communicate with my home in detail about my condition, on the circumstances and accomplishments in my studies, etc.

In the meantime, I reached the age of thirteen, and I was entered under the tutelage of R' Abraham Yaakov, *melamed* to study with him for one 'time period.' There, I found a class of students my age, all of them alert and vibrant, who accepted me quickly and made me as one of their own. As was the custom in those days, new clothes were tailored for me by Shlomo'li the Tailor for my Bar-

Mitzvah day, and a black hat was bought for me from R' Mordechai Kiehl. And in order to make the hat fit my small head, they put a piece of a carton that reduced the empty space. They then bought the material for a kapote from R' Issachar son of Flam, and sent me to R' Sholom Rentzelmakher to draw a Star of David on it, along with the letters of my name. My aunt Juta Leah knitted on my behalf out of silk thread out of love and good intention. In honor of the occasion I received the prayer book '*Nehora Mealya*' with a summary of '*Derekh HaChaim,*' of the elders of the Rabbi of Lithuania. The writing on my *Tefillin* was given to the hands of the scribe (*sofer stam*) R' Moshe of Kitov which my father ordered for me, and sent them by mail to me. Despite the fact that I did not travel home during the 'recess' between the times, but rather, I made an effort to remain for the High Holy Days in Sokal in order to absorb the air of prayer in the *Great Bet HaMedrash*. And all that is incorporated into the holidays...

In the meantime, my uncle decided that it was incumbent upon me to study with R' Chaim Shabtai's that was known in the city as a Sage, and not known merely as a '*melamed.*' But he only takes two students, and he teaches them literally from morning to night. As a partner, they matched me up with Dov Berisz Rapaport, the son of Leibusz, a grandson of Moshe Rapaport. The content of our study was not longer than would be for a class populated by many students. In those days for many nights we would sit in the *Bet HaMedrash* literally by the light of a candle, because this was before electricity existed in the city the donated, R' Yaakov Yossi would distribute these candles for study and in order that I not be left in want of light, regarding his good deed, the mother of my aunt who was nicknamed Blimeh'leh, would give him a generous portion of candles as was needed for a guest to the *Bet HaMedrash*, and the students who were veterans at the *Bet HaMedrash* knew Blimeh'leh's handwriting, and the students knew they could turn to her to obtain a suitable evening meal, doing so anonymously and not being compelled by any custom. She regularly sent meat, fish and Challahs to her married children in honor of the Sabbath.

When we would be returning from Sabbath prayer to go home, it was customary to first enter [her home] to wish her '*Shabbat Shalom.*' In front of my eyes floats the noble, and upright image with her head covered by a silk kerchief. During the week, she would usually be shopping for the Sabbath, and to serve the buyers of finished products, because on the Sabbath, not only did she shed her weekly garments, but there was a thread of goodness pulled over her face. Blimeh'h came originally from Uhniv, the daughter of the Rabbi *The Great* Moshe Levi Margulies. Her brother was the Rabbi of Krasnobrod and as a Belz *Hasid*, would be frequently invited to visit his sister's home while traveling, and I was able to sense the deep feelings of affection and observance of respect that she would show him.

Opposite her, her husband R' Simcha Kohen Rapaport appeared 'miserly,' (a sign of this could be recognized with the recitation reserved for the '*Kohanim*' but the truth of the matter was he was gifted with a healthy sense of humor, and a faithful commitment to those around him. I recall, on one of the evenings in which the spirit moved him, I would say he told me, with a joy that bordered on being fresh: when his grandmother Ethli v'g traveled to his wedding, she suddenly started to dance in the wagon, clapping her hands out of her joy at being privileged to participate in the wedding of her grandson and to see that both the groom and the bride had shaved their heads...' The Rapaport



family became related to the tree of R' Chaim *HaKohen*, the *Bet Din Senior* in Lvov and a street was named after him in Lvov.

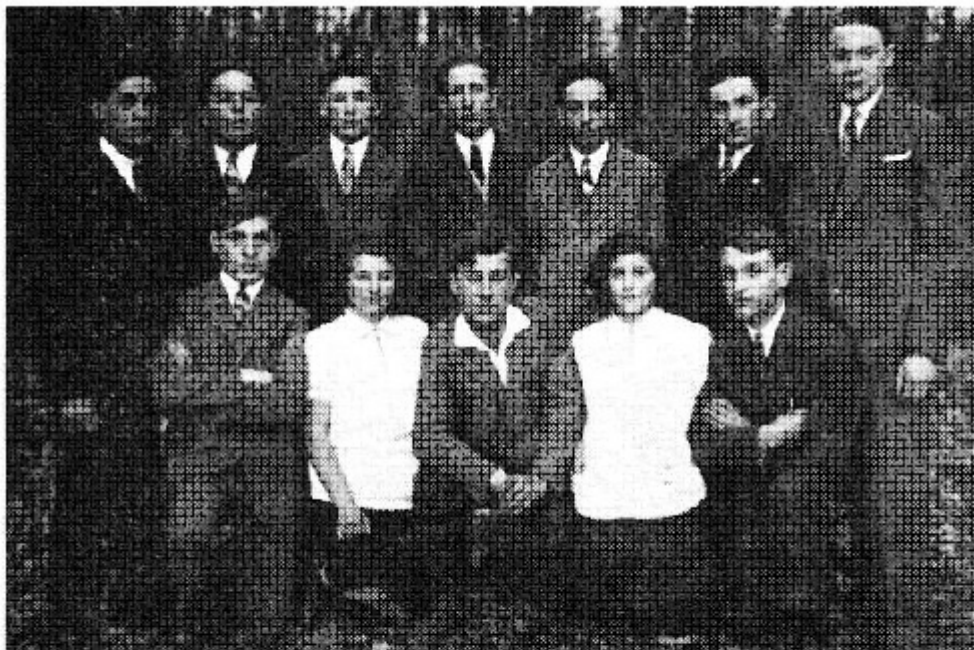
My uncle married my aunt Jutta Leah, the daughter of R' Elimelech Ashkenazi ז"ל from Horodnoko, a descendant of the Sage Zvi the Rabbi from Lithuania known throughout the Rabbinic world. When he came to our town, while still young, he continued to study at the home of his father-in-law and the home of his older sister-in-law he is our father ז"ל until he was ordained as a rabbi.

Very frequently, he diligently studied his texts until late into the night. He attempted to master secular subjects in the same way. After a few years passed by, when he ran the business in partnership with his father, he became fluent in Polish completely. As an activist, he was a member of the community council together with his friend R' Meir Leib Glazer, and headed by R' Bezalel Szmutzer. There was no shortage of an exchange of sharp words among these 'judges' and especially in regard to the question of the Rabbi there was a difference of opinions. And the *Hasidim* of Belz, who comprised the majority in the *Bet HaMedrash*, did not always respect the sitting Rabbi, despite the fact that he too was a member of the Rokeach family... An instance occurred that the Rabbi, while in a state of agitation said the *Shammes* Yaakov Yossi the easiest among the easy, and he received the following reply: And if you are correct, the bowl of the scales should serve as proof. Let us turn to the students of the *Bet HaMedrash*, among whom are found young men with broad and thorough knowledge of the sea of *Talmud* and the writings of *Poskim*. Of the excellent ones among them, I recall Leib Itamar's (Unger) that generated much respect in our behalf. This gentleman makes me think that he served in the rabbinate in one of the cities of Galicia. Shimshon Sh. Who was added to our study group was thoroughly versed both in secular subjects and published sayings in the Warsaw '*Jude*.' After a few years went by, he married a daughter of one of the Warsaw Rabbis, a true inheritance of a woman, and by so doing, seized an esteemed place among the Warsaw rabbinate royalty. I stayed in touch with him even after I had left Sokal. I had the opportunity to be in his ambience during the summer months in the Carpathian Mountains, and I was pleased to see him take pleasure from the glory of nature, its beauty, and a special affection became known to me from Yaakov Glazer the son of Meir Leib, who was a frequent guest on the Sabbath in order to follow up on my study progress. His outward appearance was somewhat strange in comparison to the other *Bet HaMedrash* students, with his beard made part of his clothing: Long below and short above, more modern. Among those who tested me we had R' Fogelman periodically, the father-in-law of R' Moshe פ"ר<sup>51</sup> the father-in-law of R' Moshe Nahum, the son-in-law of Eliezer Gandz and others. It is not possible for me to leave out R' Pesach Muster the son-in-law of Shlomo Zuckerman and R' Ephraim Krisnapoler that were taken to be Sages. The spot where they prayed was beside the tables at the northern wall of the *Bet HaMedrash*, the Belz fortress. Occasionally they would turn to me with a question as to how could my heart not be filled if I do not travel to Belz once, to circulate in the shadow of the ADMo"R R' Issachar ז"ל, there, they argued, among observant and God-fearing Jews, possessed of great Torah knowledge, who come there from time to time, and perhaps the spirit of modesty will pass over me and I will not be able to hold on well that I am among the students of the *Bet Hamedrash*, filling myself full of *Shas* and *Poskim*, and I felt that they wanted to convince me

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<sup>51</sup> A Rabbi with certain specific expertise.

and put on me that I belong to the 'souls of Esau' meaning that those native to this area that hadn't been drawn to Belz, much less Lezhensk, Czortkow etc.



קבוצת חלוצים בסוקל לפני עלייתם לארץ-ישראל  
 א גרופע חלוצים אין סוקאל פאר זייער עליה קיין ארץ-ישראל  
 בשורה ראשונה השניה מימין (אין דער ערשטער ריי די צווייטע פון לעכטס):  
 יונה סעלר ובעלה משה ברי (גרים היום בחבצלת) ורחל סעלר גרה בקבוצת שילר

**Page 237: A Group of Sokal Halutzim Before Making Aliyah**

Second from the Right in the First Row: Jonah Meller and her Husband Moshe Beri (living today in Havatzelet) and Rachel Meller (living in the Schiller kibbutz

At the outset, I did not take their offer until on one Friday night of the *parsha* of *Khukat*, that my uncle decided that I should join him and spend the Sabbath in Belz. We got to Belz and entered an inn where we left our belongings and from there we turned to face the *Rebbe's* courtyard. Since the Head Gabbai, R' Aharon Yehoshua was a member of our family, I had a feeling of being home, and on the same day we were received by the ADMo'R. I was moved by his esteeming appearance and his sparse look at the outset. However, when it came to my turn and I held out my note (*kvittel*) whose contents began with good health and success in learning... I was answered by a pleasant appearance of affection and right then and there I was surprised by his familial attitude towards me, because he turned to my uncle and said: who watches this young man at the time he goes to bather in the Bug River, and other sort of things that touched on matters of daily protocol. In a like manner, he

reminded me that thirty years ago, my grandfather, the Rabbi of Horodnoko visited him, and the two of them played around with Torah expressions, and he revealed that there was a family connection between us, the closeness of family stemming from the House of Belz and also connected genealogically to the tree of the Sage Zvi. During the time the table was being set, I was notified of a place to stand on the pedestal of the first window. At the time he blessed the wine, he threw me a look that was enough to cause me an especially pleasant feeling. When I returned to Sokal I decided to relate my deep impression, and the sum of the impression was I left with a pardon that reached the level of 'and they were joyous with trembling.' Beside the tables of the *Bet HaMedrash* there were young men sitting and learning, whose appearance gave testimony that they were members of 'Tze irei Mizrahi' and standing out among them were Yaakov Z"K, Moshe Anker, Polack, Tziler and others. Yaakov Z"K made *aliyah* to *The Land* and succeeded to make an impact in the 'Torah v'Avodah' movement.

And a bit at a time, this concept rooted itself in the Jewish street, and many young men and women joined the ranks of those to be trained for aliyah to The Land, but to my pain only very few were privileged to make it. On one of the Sabbaths, it became known that Dr. Shimon Federbush was preparing to deliver a speech in the *Bet HaMedrash*. When it came to the following Saturday morning, at a very early hour before services at the *Bet HaMedrash*, we were surprised to see that the window panes had been removed from their places and cold and wind reigned in the midst of the building. My brother took an interest in what had happened, and here was my uncle's answer. From Friday on, *parsha VaYekhi* 5685 [1925] boors that had dressed themselves to appear as *Hasidim* incited several riots threatening that they will take down the windows of the *Bet HaMedrash* as well as several menorahs. On the following morning everything was in its place, and order was restored. Years afterwards I visited Sokal in the year 5697 [1937] after living in *The Land* for three years and I found many changes. The concept of a national Zionist movement was buried in the streets of the city. Even I was received courteously, despite being a student of the University of Jerusalem. I was very surprised when the father of David R' Simcha R"l let me sit on his permanent place in the Great Synagogue.

## **When I Remind Myself of Zhabuzhza...**

**By Zvi Klinger**  
(Milano – Italia)

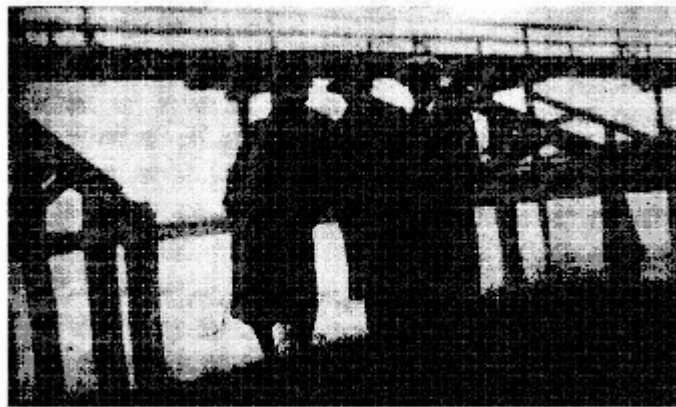
Zhabuzhza – in Polish 'Za Bugam,' – in Yiddish it was called 'Under the Bug' – and was a suburb of Sokal with over 2000 residents, of which approximately 70% were Ukrainians, about 30% were Polish and barely a prayer quorum of Jews. Despite the proximity of Sokal, the entire region of Zhabuzhza had the character of an isolated singularity – and even though the residents there were in the administrative, economic and cultural activities, and tightly bound to the city of Sokal and the one independent institution was a *volksschule* there – they nevertheless ran a separate and personal life.

During the First and Second World Wars Zhabuzhza had an important strategic meaning. In the month of July 1914 the Austrian soldiers dug fortress hills on the hilltop beside the small church diagonally across from the entrance to the large bridge over the Bug. Sokal was separated from Zhabuzhza by two bridges:: one, the larger one. And a half kilometer away, a second which was smaller. Every time when Sokal was in the midst of battle between opposing battle sites, passing from the hands of one protagonist to the other – both bridges were damaged and later rebuilt anew.

A separate important role was played by the Bug River during the last World War in the year 1939, when Soviet Russia agreed to the fact with Hitler-Germany , that Poland was to be divided between their two countries. At that time, Zhabuzhza fell to the Germans and Sokal remained in Soviet hands, and as a result, the Bug River became the boundary between these two ‘allies.’

In the year 1945 – when the Soviet Army, rich with victory and had driven the German soldiers from Polish territory, the new Poland was established, [including our territory of Zhabuzhza, which was allocated to the Hrubieszow province which fell into the Polish state, with the city of Sokal belonging to Soviet Russia at the beginning. In this regard, the Bug River became the boundary between Soviet Russia and Poland.

This condition did not last for a long time. Several years later – it was the peasants frm the surrounding villages – had to pay 10 Kreuzer for use of the bridge. For many years, Yoss’l Klahr held the lease on the bridge. Near the ‘rogatka’ the appointed oversight of the profinators (the craftsmen that held the profination-concession) to make sure that the wagons on the way to Sokal were not carrying any alcohol from the neighboring *gorzelnias*. I remember such overseers: Abusz Shenker and the two brothers: Meir and Shlomo’leh Blekher. Apart from this, these two brothers had a leasing business. From time-to-time they would cover the top with a tin roof and when it came to elections to the city council or the community, they threw their--political weight back-and-forth, and therefore one never knew to which side they belonged and which party they supported.



די קליינע הילבערע בריק איבערן בייד בוג  
 גשריץ קען על נהר בוג  
 צומרים מיטן (שטייגן טון רעכטס): שמואל זענדור, סענדול העסקי הישראל טריבונלית

Page 240: The Small Wooden Bridge Over the Bug.

Another completely different set of Jewish leases was set up for the parcels that lay in the vicinity of Sokal. Such a large parcel was set up in Zhabuzhza, which belonged to the local Christian prefecture and encompassed a variety of waterways, inherited from pious Christians.

Two Jewish lessors remain in my memory, who every time when the time came to set a new lessor from a Zhabuzhza prefecture territory land parcel, one would push through the price, not paying

any fee to the lease held by on the church parcel. One of them was Lejzor Gantz and the second Ephraim Lawrence. Each of them, when the opportunity came along to acquire the control, directed the business in a different way. For example, Lejzor Gantz never held a leadership role and only he personally or his son Abraham, or even his son-in-law would come into the yard every day. All three, however, did not know a great deal about working land and not being facile with the Ukrainian languages hard for them to establish themselves with the field workers, which caused the economy to suffer a great deal.

By contrast, Ephraim Lawrence, when he acquire a leased parcel in Zhabuzhza, he always retained a director, at one time it was a certain Mott'yeh Sinkaver and another time a Jew from Stanislaw, Moshe Yaakov Fingerhut. Ephraim Lawrence himself understood very well how to manage an agricultural parcel, and being facile with the Ukrainian language he knew how to get along with the workers. Together with his son Aharon, he conducted a masterful administration, and acquired a deep respect from all those involved in tending the parcel.

Ephraim Lawrence – a very refined Jewish man, worshiped in the Strelsk *Kloyz*, where a separate group of Jews prayed. Braunstein of the mill also prayed there always wearing a tall fine cylindrical hat on his head. The Fasses with their sons and sons-in-law, for the most part landowners and good lessors, the Kharka's who were fine and interesting people, Mordechai Kiel of the plumbing factory and printing operation with his son-in-law Asher Weniger, Zalman Hoffner with his children, a very prominent member of the *balebatim* and other Jews who were from the *balebatim*.

Other *Hasidic* Jews prayed there such as Jonah Tzippor (I do not remember his real family name), and his nickname was based on it. The meaning of his first name 'Jonah' means a bird... Herschel'eh Unger prayed there, who was also called Herschel'eh Mizishe's the *Dayan*, as well as Zalman Makh, who had a franchise of every first Sabbath of the New Month to lead the prayer service. Even though he was not a healthy man and blessing the new moth strained him a great deal, he did not want to give up this franchise. I later heard, that he blessed the new moth this way for many years... I no longer heard him because I transferred myself to the Husiatyn *Kloyz*.

Such a precious soul remains in my memory from my childhood, which was Joseph Weniger ז"ל, who envied me when I – being a kohen – took part in the *Dukhan*, (priestly blessing). I was a Bar-Mitzvah boy at the time and he was barely 9 years old and he would approach me with such a deep feeling, saying the words: 'I so envy you, that you have the privilege to bless Jews and wish them well... I only wish I could do that... 'how fortunate would I feel...' Already then, his heart grew strong with the need to wish everyone well. And, indeed, this decent feeling manifested itself in a full measure in the later years of his life. One time we met each other in Italy. Another time, in America and also in Israel.. The impulse and readiness to offer help to every needy person was always evident. Regrettably, he is now in the Other World. He died in Rome on November 30, 1965... he was afterwards laid to rest in Tel-Aviv.

How sorry we are for our loss...



About 50 meters further west from the courtyard, lived Shlomo ,who operated a saloon. I never knew his family name, because I called him simply 'fetter Shlomo' and his wife [I called] *moomeh* Bluma. Both were my godparents. The peasants called him 'Shlomka.' He held onto the saloon until 1915. During this time, the Austrian military again took possession of Sokal after bloody battles around Zhabuzhza during which time he was struck by an enemy bullet and after severe suffering, he died. His wife Bluma, died immediately after him during a cholera epidemic. My sister died from that very same epidemic,

Shlomo's son-in-law, Leib Rodelheim, a Sage, was a very decent Jewish man, who had three daughters and a little boy named Fish'ehleh, a very weak child and born with a hunchback. Despite all the attempts by the father, Fish'ehleh had no interest in learning and also had no strength. For this reason Leib Rodelheim allowed two younger daughters, Leah'chah and Gittl, and only the oldest Zema became a seamstress. The two daughter did well in their studies and knew how to read a page of the *Gemara* with *Tosafot* better than most boys, who impatiently sat on the benches of the *Bet HaMedrash*.

During the First World War Leib served in the Austrian military and took part in the battles on the Italian front, from which he returned sick and broken. During this entire time, from the beginning of his military service, nourished himself only from dry bread or zweiback and fruit, but did this, because he did not want to consume *treyf* (unkosher) food.

The concession for running the saloon and tobacco sales which during this entire time was done by his wife Baylah – were taken over by the Polish authorities after the fall down of the Austrian monarchy – and the Rodelheim family was left with no means to earn a living. Leib bought a cow, from which he did extract a living, and lived in great deprivation. Every day, at 6 o'clock in the morning he would lead out the cow to pasture and while the cow was grazing, he would recite the entire text of the Psalms. After noon when he again went out to pasture the cow, he would study Medrash and recite '*Shaarei Tzion*' or simply look into a book. But he could do all of this in the summer, when pasturing was free for everyone. During winter days he no longer had anything with which to feed his cow. I remember – that already by the first months of spring, the poor cow was barely able to stand on its feet.

Rodelheim's oldest daughter married, but his younger two girls sat and learned. Later, when the Soviets occupied Zhabuzhza, Leib was sent off to Siberia... he took along his ailing son, hunchbacked Fish'ehleh. When I met up with them at the home of R' Yitzhak Kreminer in the year 1950 in Montreal (Canada) a nephew that had just returned from Siberia, he told that somewhere or another in Siberia ran into Leib Rodelheim with his son, in a frightful condition. They were both lying in the snow at the time, wrapped in a prayer shawl, sick and swollen from hunger. Regrettably – as Kreminer's nephew told me – he could do nothing for them, because he, himself, was at that time a prisoner.

This was the way two pure souls were caused to die... for the heart aches from what the ear hears.



Across from the saloon immediately at the edge of Konotopy *Gasse* Yeshaya Sztoger lived with his wife Reizh'eh and their three sons. R' Yeshaya was a *Hasid* from the *Strelsk Kloyz*, a gentle, pious man, who never said a word to his wife... But when he needed something from his wife, he would go over to his son Joseph saying: 'Yoss'l... say to Reizh'eh that I am hungry.' This son of his was called Yoss'l Reizh'eh's and not Joseph 'Shaya's,' The inspection business was run by Reizh'eh alone without Yeshaya's help. She would buy merchandise in the city and by herself carry the packages on her back. It was only later when Yoss'l grew a bit, he would on occasion help her out.



Shaul Tzigman the soap maker lived on the way to the *Military Gasse*. He had two children: a son, Chanoch and a daughter Pesha. Chanoch used to work at his father's place in the soap factory, and as you understand, he could not compete with the Szargels, the soap makers. But he did make a living from this. Both of them, father and son would hitch a horse to a little wagon, and transport soap into the city. In this process they would also sell pieces of soap to the neighboring peasantry. In the year 1915 Chanoch was mobilized into the [Austrian?] military and was sent to the Italian front, where he was captured and imprisoned, from which he first came home in the year 1919. He had mastered the Italian language well and he taught all of his friends to speak Italian.

Tzigman's daughter Pesha married Yaakov Bareisz, a son of Chaim Bareisz, who is today a Rabbi in Zurich, in Switzerland.



An elderly couple lived at the beginning of the *Military Gasse*; They were called Tchop and his wife called Die Tchop'echeh. I cannot remember exactly what their last name was. I only remember that they had children in America, from whom they received a monthly stipend, which allowed them to live with some dignity and without worry, who was employed. I would read the letters, that would arrive for them from America. Old Man Tchop would then relate a letter to me which said: 'read only what is written in English in this letter... English... he would say...



Yoss'l Auerbach lived immediately at the start of the *Belz Gasse*, which led to the train station. His wife's name was Esther and they had 4 children: Avreimi'tzeh, Azriel, Sarah and Naphtali, the last being called 'Toli.' During the First World War, when the Austrian soldiers occupied Zhabuzhza, Avreimi'tzeh was lightly wounded and immediately after the wound healed, he was taken into the military in the year 1917. After the end of the war both sons came back healthy and alive. Avreimi'tzeh immediately married and Azriel went back to work for Mozhanczyk Meir Meller, where he had learned the trade even before the war. The youngest, Naphtali, worked for Meir Leib Glazer in his printing works as an apprentice. The father Joseph Auerbach worked as a day laborer in the factory, but later on, when he got sick and could no longer work, his wife Esther became the bread-winner. She would buy a little bit of material for sewing notions and take it to the neighboring

villages, where she made barter deals with the peasants. The entire way – back and forth – to the villages, she would go on foot and drag her sack of material on her back. From this peculiarity she made a living and supported her entire family. In the middle of this Azriel got married in Radzhikhov, but he wasn't much of a help to his parents just as they didn't have from the oldest son, Avreimi'tzeh.

Esther never complained and on top of that she supported her father Velvel Gruber, who in 1914 had arrived from America on a visit to Zhabuzhza to his daughter and because of the outbreak of the War, could not travel back. He became completely dependent on his daughter Esther, because he had no assets in Zhabuzhza.



Sholom Zilber, a son of Hersch Gittelman, lived on the Belz *Gasse*. His mother, a widow, lived with him, whom the Jews of Zhabuzhza called 'Bobbeh.' While we were even still children, we used to listen with great pleasure to her telling about the revolution in Hungary in 1848, when the Cossacks entered Hungary, in order to help the Austrian régime to put down the revolution. She would also tell stories about her wedding to Hersch Gittl'eh's when she was 13 years old – and her husband was 14 years old, and how the two of them played together like children. As to the question – how old are you? – she never gave any sort of an answer. Without a doubt, in the year 1914 she was over 90 years old. Sholom Zilber held his mother in esteem and he treated her like a good and loyal son. His wife, Royza Kandel was from Vitkev and he had three sons with her and two daughters. Sholom made his living from a notions store and from distributing milk in the city with the help of his three sons. The sons would gather up the milk very early in the morning from the surrounding peasants, fill the tin cans and with a hand-operated wagon, and take it to their regular customers in the city. In the year 1908, the oldest son Itchek emigrated to America and after him, the other two sons followed. Yeke'leh and Chanoch, the first in 1910, and the second in 1911 also to America. One daughter – Krein'chek married a certain young man from Stoyanov and both of them, after the First World War traveled off to America. The oldest daughter Sarah'chek also married someone from Stoyanov, a certain Aharon Leimzider, and remained in the house of her parents in Zhabuzhza. In the First World War, when the Austrians were fighting the Russians on the Zhabuzhza fields, Sholom Zilber was severely wounded, while standing with his prayer shawl and phylacteries on, and was praying. He immediately died from being hit by a bullet. Temporarily, he was buried in the garden, because it was not possible to give him a proper Jewish burial in Sokal, which was still in Russian hands. The deceased lay this way for about 2 weeks in the garden, until it was decided to move the deceased to Varenzh to bury him in a proper place. I was then 14 ½ years old and it was therefore no wonder that the Austrian officer, to whom I went to obtain permission to transfer the deceased to Varenzh and to give is the use of a horse and wagon – he refused me with the explanation that the entire area is still experiencing strong battle action.

However, suddenly Sholom's son-in-law Aharon Leimzider came home, who served in an Austrian regiment, which was roundly beaten by the Russians in their first encounter in the vicinity of Zhabuzhza, and Aharon hid himself, in order not to be taken prisoner by the Russians, and immediately, as soon as he found out that the Austrians had retaken Zhabuzhza, he came home and



presented himself to his military division. All he asked, was permission to inter his deceased father-in-law in a proper Jewish grave in the Sokal cemetery. Notwithstanding the fact that the entire vicinity around Sokal was still being hit by Russian artillery fire, Aharon Leimzider transported the deceased to the final resting place in Sokal and gave him a proper Jewish burial.

There was a young man named Itchek Kandel who belonged to the Zilber family, a nephew of Royza Zilber, her sister's son. When this sister emigrated to America with her 4 children, they sent her son Itchek from the ship back to Zhabuzhza, because he had trachoma in his eyes and for this reason remained with his aunt Royza and began to get his eyes healed. In the meantime, the First World War broke out, and Itchek was mobilized into the Austrian army, where he was taken prisoner in the Serbian campaign, and where he remained until 1920, after which, he returned to his home in Zhabuzhza.

Now he had the possibility to emigrate to America, where he lives today with his family in Baltimore.

Also Aharon Leimzider came back from the Italian front intact, despite the fact that he lay in trenches and took part in many bloody battles. He immediately resumed his pre-war work and later on, with partners, he ran a good and prosperous egg business. With the outbreak of the Second World War, when the Holocaust began and the Nazi murderers began to implement their bloody and cruel extermination initiative, Aharon Leimzider was killed with almost his entire family. Only one little girl of his, Rosalie managed to save herself. She hid herself at the premises of a neighboring peasant. She afterwards married Joseph Wilder a son of Sarah Schwartzwald-Wilder and went to America. Sarah Schwartzwald and her brothers and parents lived for a period of time in Zhabuzhza. They leased a small parcel in the Sokal vicinity. Apart from one grandson and Sarah's son, they were all killed, as I previously mentioned.



The Gruber family also lived on the Belz Gasse. That is Leibusz Gruber, a brother of Esther Auerbach and a son of Velvel Gruber who as a reservist was immediately after the outbreak of the First World War, was called to duty in the Austrian military, and seeing as we had not heard anything from him for 10 years, they were certain he had been a war casualty. His wife Malia exhausted herself caring for their 3 children, two girls and a little boy, Abraham'tzieh. When he got older and began to work in the ironmongery of Wolf Byk, he lightened up somewhat, because the son had received full compensation from his employer.

Suddenly – on a nice summer day Leibusz Gruber appeared on a street in Zhabuzhza... with a firm soldierly pace he marched with a small wooden box on his back... he had come from Siberia, where during the entire 10 years he lived in a Russian prison.



Across over by the Grubers, more to the west – Moshe Yaakov Fingerhut lived, whom I have previously mentioned in connection with Ephraim Lawrence. After the First World War the Polish

government gave all the war veterans and landowners the possibility of buying ground that had been parceled out and to pay the price in instalments. Moshe Yaakov bought himself several marg of land, from which he made a living and could live in peace. However, he became sick with a breathing disorder, and after a year of difficult suffering he died. He orphaned seven children, 4 sons and 3 daughters. The daughter(s?) Tauba-Yossef, who after the first World War traveled to America with her children, to her husband. Later on, all of her children died except the youngest son David - 'Dusza' remained alive, who was rescued from the Nazi Gehenna by a miracle, today lives with his wife and two children in Germany.

Yekl Sinkaver lived with Moshe Yaakov, a son of Motkeh Sinkaver, whjom I also previously mentioned in connection with the courtyard of Zhabuzhza. He married Leib Rodelheim's oldest daughter, Zema. Yekl Sinkaver immediately moved to Lemberg after the wedding, where he worked for Fingerhut's sons, who ran a rice business. During one of the German murder *aktionen* against Lemberg Jewry, he was killed with his family, together with all of the Fingerhut brothers, with their wives and children.



Here... this is a full accounting of all the Jews from Zhabuzhza...

These I will remember, and I will pour my soul out for them!



פרידל זיל סוקל  
 אברהם שיפןבויער וזשעוה ולעסע, בתו של יחזקעל שזרגל

Page 248: A Sokal Suburb  
 Abraham Schiffenbauer and his Wife Zlata,  
 daughter of Yehoshua Szargel.

# The Rebbe R' Shmuel Rokeach זצ"ל

By Menashe Unger

(New York)

The *Rebbe* R' Mendl'eh of Vizhnitz, who never spoke a Torah lesson at his *Tisch*, and in his first years refused to take any *kvitlach*, had two sons and one daughter.

The first born was the Rebbe R' Boruch'l, who took the place in Vizhnitz. The second son was R' Yaakov Yitzhak David<sup>52</sup>, who went off to Vizhnitz as a young man. He left no children, and the *Rebbe* R' Boruch'l had to give *Halitza*<sup>53</sup> to his sister-in-law.

R' Yaakov Yitzhak David was a son-in-law of *Rebbe* Meshullam Zisha of Tlomacz, the father of *Rebbe* R' Mordechai of Krystynopol, and is mentioned in the book '*Tiferet Yisrael*.'

The only daughter of Rebbe R' Mendl'eh, Sarah'leh, was the *Rebbetzin* of Rabbi R' Shmuel Rokeach of Sokal. She passed away on the second day of *Shavuot* 5675 [1915].

Rabbi R' Shmuel of Sokal was a son of the *Rebbe* of Belz, R' Yehoshua'leh Rokeach. He was born in the year 5611[1851] and in the year 5647[1887] he was taken as the Rabbi in Sokal.

In the year 5654[1894] after his father passed away, the Belz *Rebbe* R' Yehoshua, he became the *Rebbe* in Sokal. He took only a small contingent of Belz *Hasidim* with him, because most of the *Hasidim* traveled to his brother Issachar David who remained as the *Rebbe* of Belz.

The *Rebbe* of Sokal, R' Shmuel was a formidable Torah Sage and was a *Teacher* of the *Direction of Study*. Many young people who wanted to become Rabbis or *Dayanim*, took the *Direction of Study* from him. He passed away on the second day of Sukkot 5672[1912] in Sokal. His son succeeded him in his place, R' Sholom Rokeach k"mz.

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<sup>52</sup> There is a possible error here, since this seems to be R' Issachar David.

<sup>53</sup> *Halitza* is an ancient biblical rite absolving an eligible man who was related to a woman (in this case a brother) from marrying a widow who had no children.

# The Gaon Rabbi R' Shimshon Sztokhammer זצ"ל

By Melech Neustadt<sup>54</sup>

He was born in the year 5662 (1902) in Sokal (Eastern-Galicia) to poor parents. His father was a *shokhet*, a *melamed* and a *Belz Hasid*. For his Bar-Mitzvah talk, young Shimshon put together a responsa about actual issues. He received his Rabbinic ordination at the age of 17 from well-known Galician Rabbis. Later on, he presented himself in Lemberg to take the government examination for the rabbinate.



הרב ר' שמשון שטוקהאמער — חבר ועד הרבנים בהארצה ב.ריקשה—תלת'אופנים  
 התחברות העסקים בניסו הארצה  
 דער רב ר' שמשון שטוקהאמער, מיטגליד פון ועד הרבנים אין הארצע אין דער „ריקשה“ —  
 דרייידליקער ראווער (דאס הויפט-אויסגאבע-אין געשא הארצע)

Page 250: The Rabbi R' Shimshon Sztokhammer, a member of the Rabbinical Council in Warsaw, in a carriage - thrice the Chief of Religious Deliberation in Warsaw.

Belz *Hasidim* were angry with him over this, and their anger grew more intense, when he joined 'Agudat Yisrael.' He married the daughter of the Warsaw Rabbi – Wilczyk – who worked as an employee of the congregation. In Warsaw, he joined the Editorship of 'Tageblatt,' the daily

<sup>54</sup>

Excerpted from his book 'The Destruction and Rebellion of the Jews in Warsaw.' PP 688-680.

newspaper of 'Agudat Yisrael,' and he quickly took over the society position as a very talented publicist. In the course of ten years, he also became a weekly contributor, publishing articles with publicity in them, and was the only one among the rabbis in Poland, who regularly took part in the daily press and therefore had the possibility to directly influence the religious life of Polish Jewry. He was the man to be trusted by the Advisory group of Torah Sages in the editorship of the 'Tageblatt' and his objective was to provide oversight that published ideas should not stray outside of the boundaries of a religious paper. Also, working with the newspaper, he presented Torah Study and especially devoted himself to his favorite subject which were questions and answers. Not paying attention to his intense business involvement, he prepared several books for publication. In 1934, he was elected to be the Secretary of *Halakhah* by the Chief Rabbinate of Warsaw. He quickly became popular for his answers to even the most complex questions and Torah laws. He excelled especially in the organization the defense initiative against the anti-Semitic law project, to forbid Jewish ritual slaughter, – he was the leading activist in this undertaking. It was that conflict, which marked the beginning a renewal of the strengthening of anti-Semitism in Poland – under the direct influence of Nazi Germany – which was one of the dramatic events of Jewish life, and it united in the defense struggle among all the branches and parties of Polish Jewry.

During the war, he initiated an initiative to deal with the women whose husband's whereabouts were unknown, and he looked after having the Jewish servicemen going into the military, to give their wived conditional divorces and he exerted himself to help the wives of those mobilized. During the gruesome times of the German occupation he was among the active rabbis, who took an important place in public life. He represented the rabbis in the 'Judenrat,' which existed in Warsaw illegally, and he received the task to organize the entirety of religious activity in the underground ghetto. He was actively involved in all the activities of the 'Judenrat' and kept up contact with the 'Joint' and their independent Jewish help work, from the capabilities of religious opportunity. He was active in the 'Ezrat HaRabbanim' committee, who strained themselves to provide material help to many rabbis and sages from Warsaw and from the province and who were temporarily spared from the forced labor camps. It was with intense commitment that they worked for the good of the Warsaw Jews while they lived and after they died, assuring them of a proper Jewish burial.

After the ghetto uprising in May 1943 the Germans sent him to the Budzyn concentration camp, in the vicinity of Lublin, together with about 800 Jewish Warsaw Jews. There was a fighter plan factory in this camp. The Jews crammed in there conducted themselves with considerable respect for the rabbis (also the Rabbi Kelmisz Szapiro and Rabbi Posner were crammed in there) and made an attempt to get light work. In May 1944, the Jewish National Committee found ways to get in contact with him. He was among thee Jews that the Germans took out of the Budzyn camp to Plaszow and Wielicki. A telegram from Lublin on January 18, 1945 advised us that he was murdered by the Germans. (Dr. Hallel Zeidman writes in the 'Morgen Zhurnal' of July 20, 1947, that he was wounded in February 1944 during a bombardment of the transport, that was taking the Jews from the Budzyn camp, to the west, and died and 3 days before the liberation. Someone saved from Budzyn means that it was a mistake: a) the Jews of the Budzyn camp were not transferred in February, but later; b) it appears that he saw Rabbi Sztokhammer in the new place not wounded). His family was killed in the Warsaw ghetto, even before he was sent off to the Budzyn camp.

## Rabbi Shimshon Sztokhammer ד"ר ש"ש

By Abraham Zemba<sup>55</sup>

Rabbi Shimshon Sztokhammer is well-known to the orthodox world in Poland. He came from Sokal, studied in Yeshivas and had his rabbinic ordination from great Galician Rabbis. He was very young when he came to Warsaw, where with his entire ardor, he threw himself into community work for Torah and strengthening of The Faith. In the central [office] of 'Agudat Yisrael' in Warsaw, he worked scrupulously in the division for the Strengthening of the Faith. He wrote fiery articles in the entire [Jewish] orthodox press and was a constant worker in the 'Yiddishn Tageblatt.' For his scrupulous work he received recognition and was taken in as a member of the Warsaw Rabbinical Council, where he was one of the youngest rabbis.

He held his position as a Rabbi in Warsaw up to the last minute of the Holocaust, Passover 5703[1943]. He was able to hide himself after every transport and *selektion* from the camp up to the last minute. During the most difficult months of the first *selektion* together with the *Gaon R'* Menachem Zemba k'mz and to be separated for life, Rabbi Shapiro t'yhka, today in his activities as he carried out rabbinical functions, and even endangering their lives in sustaining Yeshiva and Torah students. Also in general community living he participated actively. On one occasion, he sat in on a conspiracy meeting while getting ready for the Warsaw uprising.

On Passover 5703[1943], he was captured with his whole family and sent to Lublin. From there he was sent to Budzyn. The Torah students and Jewish intelligentsia grouped themselves around him there as well, who hear words of solace from him, words by which to bolster one's self and to feel secure.

His conduct and how he held himself elicited the greatest esteem and sense of honor. The seventh *kaiyuta*, the so-called rabbinic *kaiyuta*, where he lived together with Rabbi Shapiro, to long life for him, and Rabbi Yitzhak Zemba and an array of Torah students was an item to be discussed all over the land. In the evening, people streamed into the *kaiyuta* after they had finished their working day, who craved after a bit of spiritual warmth and they found it there. There were sets of phylacteries there, several books, and most essential, the warm Jewish words of solace. Many who had become passive in their observance of *Yiddishkeit* and *mitzvot*, were motivated, in this warm set of surroundings and under his influence, to the roots of their original Judaism.

At the time of the first evacuation of the Eastern-European Jewish camps he was sent to Wieliczka and from there to Germany. At the time of the last evacuation, with the sorrowful but known so-called 'Tyrol Transports,' he was severely wounded in a bomb attack two days before the liberation. Not being able to handle a transport, eye witnesses tell that a cruel German S.S. man a'nh on the sixth day of Iyyar shot him near Schwarzenfeld, where he was laid to rest in a grave.

May God Avenge His Blood!

ת נ צ ב ה

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35 An Excerpt from the Yiddish periodical 'Dos Yiddish Vort' – edited by the author in the year 1946 in the Fernwald D.P. camp.

## אברהם יעקב ז"ק ז"ל

By Y. F.



אברהם יעקב ז"ק ז"ל

Page 254: Abraham Yaakov Z"K, ז"ל

He was born in Sokal in 1905. He was a scion of an extensively branched rabbinical family related to the ADM"oRs of Belz. From his earliest childhood years, he worked in the movement of the religious Labor Party – ‘*HaPoel HaMizrahi*.’ He was one of the founders of *Tze ‘Irei Mizrahi*’ in Sokal.

He made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel in the year 1926 and was a founder of the kibbutz ‘Yehoshua’ on the land of Salbagdi in Petakh-Tikva. He founded the first religious settlement ‘Sdeh-Yaakov’ in the Jezereel Valley, and was counted among the fighters in international institutions for purposes of establishing a legitimate base for the creation of independent religious settlements.

During his entire life, he dedicated himself to issues of settlement and agriculture. He was active in the erection of settlements for new arrivals and devoted himself to the basis of industry and agriculture. He filled positions in the leadership of the international religious movement, for settlement and agriculture, as a member of record keeping, and the active committee, the settlements in the agricultural sector, and the director of the section that dealt with along with his administrative work, he revealed an issue in the quandaries of the movement. He conveyed his thinking both orally and in writing. Regarding matters pertaining to religion in the settlements. During the rule of The Mandate, he was the *Mukhtar* of the village. He served as an officer of *HaPoel HaMizrahi* in a number of Zionist Congresses. From time-to-time he wrote columns in ‘*HaTzofeh*’ and notes on questions related to settlements.

He died suddenly in the year 5721[1961] in Tel-Aviv and was brought to his final resting place in the cemetery of settlement of Sdeh Yaakov. His sudden death put a heavy mourning mood on the religious settlements as well as the midst of his friends in the city and village.

At his funeral that took place in Sdeh Yaakov, the heads of the religious settlement movement took part. There were administrative officers, people from the Organization of Émigrés from Sokal, and a large assemble of many people. He left a highly branched family behind him, a son, two daughters and grandchildren.

## Leoniah (Leib) Fyvel

By Y. F.

This is a brother to the active participant and secretary of the *landsmanschaft* of the Jews from Sokal in Israel. Sh. Joseph Fyvel – held Leoniah Fyvel ל"ו to be a close and warm contact with his *landsleit* [sic: in Italy].

Being in Milano (Italy) – thanks to his humanitarian activities, Leoniah attained a high level of social community importance and recognition. A general sorrow befell Milano Jewry, when he passed away in 1953 after difficult suffering.

To get a sense of the respect accorded to this Sokal Jew, Leoniah Fyvel in Milano after his passing, it is enough to quote a few Hebrew words from the eulogy, which during the burial were delivered by the head of the Jewish community of Milan:

‘ There are not enough words to express all the virtues of the man lying before us, I can only say: He was a great man, and our loss is a great one.’



לייב פייבל ז"ל

The engineer Israel Kalk gave a detailed and comprehensive characterization of the deceased Leoniah Fyvel ל"ו in the community newspaper in Milano:

Page 255: Leib Fyvel ל"ו

We transcribe a few of the words in his article, which appeared in the newspaper previously mentioned, together with a description of the deceased Leoniah Fyvel's persona:

He was born in 1900 in Sokal. He was a young man when he left his home.

He settled in Argentina, and there he succeeded – thanks to his organizational skills and diligence– he attained economic independence. Out of longing for his family, he returned to Europe and took up residence in Milano, in the year 1932, acting as a founder along with his brothers a successful confectionery.



Not like the example of many emigrating Jews who think that distancing themselves from Jewish life will lead to a lightening of their social burden – he always remained connected to his source and roots and proved at every opportunity what his connection to his people was like.



לייב פייבל (משמאל – פון לינקס) בשיחה עם יהודי סוקל בעת ביקורו בשנת 1933

Page 256: Leib Fyvel (on the Left) in Conversation with a Sokal Jew during his visit in 1933.

And during that time when thousands of Jews came to Italy, fleeing the Nazi's dark pursuit, without the opportunity to make money and to live, – Leonis Fyvel gave all his energy to the work of getting help, while it is true that he was not alone in doing so, others also felt a need to offer assistance, but he stood apart from the others – (richer people than himself) because of the nature of his work. To him, the refugees were not poor people needing help, but brethren – as understood metaphorically – that we are obligated to share with them that which we have.

Italian hereditary laws forced his brethren to leave Italy and find a new home in another place. Leoniah was able to stay, because he was a declared Argentinian, and begins a daily activity for the good of the refugees, and in this he found solace for his loneliness.

He founded a restaurant together with his friends, in which all Jewish refugees could get two meals a day at no cost, and he looked after obtaining and bringing the required food, required clothing

(frequently he would take them from his own store) medicines for the sick, and educational materials for students. And when the Fascists came and rounded up the men, putting these refugees in a concentration camp, Leoniah took on the responsibility to worry over the women and children that were left behind in Milano.



לייב פיבל (טשמאל — מן לינקס) ובן דוד מאיר ליפערמן (במרכז מיטין — מן רעכטס)  
בעת ביקורו בסוקל בשנת 1933

Page 257: Leib Fyvel (On the Left) and His Cousin Liperman during his visit to Sokal in 1933.

For those children that traveled with their parents to the concentration camp, he organized rows of assistance in the form of packages. He was personally prepared to close up the packages and personally bring them to the Post Office. All of this was done quietly and with now overt demonstrations.

When the Nazis seized Northern Italy, he too was taken to prison and after several weeks he was taken to the Bergen-Belsen camp.

Over the course of 15 months he suffered hunger and excessive and punishing torture, and was ready to consign himself to the gas chambers, but this time good fortune stood at his right hand and the speed of the States troops<sup>56</sup> saved his life.

After his return to Italy, very sick, he lay in the hospitals for years,— there he needed to undergo difficult operations as well as in the recuperation facilities, and he suffered without complaint.

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<sup>56</sup> A probable reference to the *Armia Krajowa* (the underground Polish Army).

His final wish was only to get his body a little stronger in order to be able to travel to Israel, and to hug his brothers and their children. But he did not make it. On the night between 23-24 June, 1953 after a difficult operation he stopped living – and it is possible to surmise that only – he stopped suffering.

My dear friend! You lived your life that was cut short before its time, you lived like a *Tzaddik*, simply and modestly, up to the end, you fulfilled and discharged your responsibilities as a man and a Jew. Together with all your comrades, and those in Italy who admire you, and in other parts of world, bow our heads in your memory.

Your fate did not permit you to realize your desire to travel to Israel, and because of that, your friends and admirers and all those that received succor from your care, want to facilitate this trip for the youngsters that loved so much, and they established a '*Keren Yesod Fyvel*' as a trip to Israel prize, for the benefit of the students at the Milano Jewish School.



לייב פייבל (עומר ע"י הדלת) בטוסד לילדים יהודיים שארגן במילאנו  
לייב פייבל (שטייט נעבן דער סיר אין יידישן קינדער־היים וועלכן ער האט געגרינדעט אין מילאנא)

Page 258: Leib Fyvel (Standing by the Door) at the Jewish Children's Home that he organized in Milano.

## Dr. Joseph Weniger ז"ל

By Michael Landau  
(Tel-Aviv)



ד"ר יוסף וניגר ז"ל

Page 259: Dr. Joseph Weniger

The death of Dr. Weniger was not only a blow to his wife, his family, to those who knew him, to his friends, but also to every person that places value on how people should relate to one another, which seems to be acutely missing in our circle. Dr. Weniger died at a relatively young age, only 61 years old, an age at which it would have been possible for him to continue his life and work for yet a longer period of time. But his death did not come suddenly. His death came as a result of his battle with a very bad malignancy. That battle went on for close to three years, and the man was not willing to accept his bitter fate, that in the end, shortened his life. The shock of his death has not yet passed, despite the fact that it is human nature to forget and calm down after 'Shiva,' and the 'Shloshim.'

Dr. Weniger was born in the town of Sokal which is in Galicia, in 1904, to parents who were Enlightened and progressive, in an atmosphere of a Jewish *shtetl* in which families were true friends with one another, worrying together in bad times, and participating in happiness during joyous times. From childhood on, the boy showed himself to be exceptionally talented in study, and his parents oriented him more to secular studies rather than Holy Writ.

While still young, he already demonstrated a complete mastery of his tradition, stood out from the circle of his friends in skill in his anticipated actions in which he excelled for his entire fruitful life.

Along with this, he did not forget the strength of his roots, and he was among the founders of 'HaShomer' in his home city, and for many years was its living spirit. A whole generation was educated and inhaled a love for the Land of Israel, but first and foremost, a love of Israel.

After completing his syllabus at gymnasium, Weniger went on to the University of Lvov where he received the title of Doctor of Philosophy with excellence, and he decided to select the area of teaching that was very near to his heart.

He thought an honor to him that his first steps in education he did in his birthplace in which he grew up, and worked a great deal in general, but especially in the gymnasium where he was educated.

He excelled also at being a professor of Polish language and literature, to the extent that everyone talked about him.

But, along with all this, the ties he had to his people and the Zionist movement were not sundered, he responded to all its callings, and participated – as much as possible – in its endeavors, and carried his identity as a Jew most high.

He married a woman from a family that were very old friends – scions of Sokal – and a great love that was continuous existed between them for all the 33 years they were married. There was nothing that he thought of to be a large sacrifice in order to please his wife, who understood his spirit and held him in esteem.

As time went by, and this was a number of years before the outbreak of the Second World War, hatred of the Jews grew stronger in Poland. And it did not skip over the place where Dr. Weniger worked, and penetrated into the curricula of the school where he taught, and the atmosphere there also became difficult to tolerate.

Dr. Weniger caught on immediately to the implications, and he left his teaching position in order to be selected as the vice-principal of the Polish Tourist Group 'Orbis' and after he excelled here too in a government institution, he was offered the position of principal in this institution, but only on condition that he change his religion. Dr. Weniger answered, as you can understand, as proper for a proud Jew, and so they let him go from his position.

Dr. Weniger left Poland, and after trials and tribulations of the trip, he reached The Land at the outbreak of the Second World War, a time when he was full of plans, self-confidence, saturated with love of his people and the Birthplace, and was ready for all things in order to be able to extend a helping hand. After several intermediate stations, he found himself back at the tourist branch and was immediately placed among the heads of the airline company 'El-Al', and was appointed an officer of the Western Europe Division, and his residence was to be in Rome.

During the time he did this work, he succeeded in creating intimate contacts with senior positions from the economic life of the Italian country who esteemed him greatly and because of this he extended a great deal of help to our fledgling nation. During hard times – meaning financial hardship – for the 'El-Al' company, he was even able to secure loans at favorable conditions from banks, and he saved his group from a financial disaster.

Also in this period he did not forget his friends and those whom he knew. His home, his pocket and his heart were opened to all who turned to him for help. It seemed like the man did not live an ordinary normal life – but rather his life was dedicated to the needs of those around him.

In this same chapter of his time, Dr. Weniger also worked for the good of the General Labor Institution and in its name, he organized tours to the United States put together by Israeli workers. There too, he immediately acquired and bound himself into bonds of camaraderie with people in high positions and among them was Arthur Goldberg, the appointee in place for the United States in the United Nations, who at the time was serving as an advisor of the labor organizations in America.

It is important here to note that because of his excellent work, Dr. Weniger earned a recognition for this excellence from the Italian government, for the work in bringing the two nations together, a matter of considerable rarity, in the case of two nations wary of each other in the near east.

In the end, Dr. Weniger insisted to be returned to Israel, from which he had been away for many years, and because of the many ties he had there, he was appointed to be the Israeli director of ‘El-Al.’

In Tel-Aviv, he began to organize his ordinary and personal life, together with all his friends and those who knew him to come to his [final rest] and inheritance – however, no one gave him such permission. He fell sick to an incurable disease, and was plucked from us while still at the height of his powers.

We lost a miraculous man. He drew his life into everything from its content to its implementation, but fell short of completion. The man was well-rounded in character and commitment, in his powerful will to serve the friends he knew, and to give them all that was in his ability to do, in order to minimize suffering and to enhance love and well-being. His elevated form will not vanish from our hearts, may his soul be bound up in the bond of life.

## **Regarding the Character of Naphtali Shimoni (Tauba)**

**By Dr. Y. Efrat (Minkes)**

(Things Said at the Thirtieth Day After His Passing)

I knew Naphtali, or how among friends we called him ‘*Tulak*,’ for more than forty years, when he was a pupil in the fifth grade in the gymnasium in our city of Sokal. This era – the beginning years of the decade of the twenties, was a time of much hope for the Jewish people. The First World War, which had taken place in this part of Europe, had now come to an end. It was on the grounds of this



שמעוני טאובע ד"ר

Page 262: Shimon'i Tauba ז"ל

territory that he was born and educated, and the mighty and noble form of Naphtali-Tulak Tauba-Shimoni took form. He was a son of Galician Judaism, which in the forms of the national and geographic experts served as a meeting place of [many] cultures: traditional Judaism rooted in its *Hasidim*, its protagonists [the *Mitnagdim*] and its Enlightened members; Western culture in its good and progressive appearance, whose influence is still strong on our parents, and even on us, the youth; the romanticism of the Polish poets, and the realism of those who wrote with high vision, these things we absorbed within the walls of the classic gymnasium. And on all of

these was the grad spirit and optimistic hope which made the hearts of the Jews beat after the Balfour Declaration.

Naphtali came to us from a small village, Libcza, in which he lived out his early childhood with his parents who owned a small parcel of land beside the village. They were followers of the traditions of the Enlightenment, which along with their standing as landowners, observed their position as Jews, even though they did not give into wearing traditional Jewish garb. The proud house on its land, the agricultural produce of the fields, the corn in plenty, hid their impressions in the sadness of Naphtali's noble soul.

Upon his arrival in Sokal at the age of eleven, he became a gymnasium student, and it was not only in his seat, but being taught in a foreign language, and taught world culture, but also in movement of life, in the Hebrew language that is renewed and taught with zest by most of the young people in an evening school. When he was a lad of fifteen the central positioning of the group of boys of his age that was driven mostly organized, and even led in accordance with its ways, it was the movement of '*HaShomer Ha'Tzair*' in our city. Nevertheless it was Tulak the 15-year old and the boys of his age that were the ones who pulled the movement along, and it was after that the ones older than them joined; by then he had found one of the nobler courses of his soul: the absence of empty ambition, egotism, and an independent mode of thought that listened to and assessed the real situation – And so he had forsaken these things in favor of doing things for the good of the public as a purpose. It was he who made the effort, and organized – but the fruits of his effort he turned over to the lesser skilled hands of those older than him, who did not have the privilege of being among the first, but he had assessed them as being more advanced.

He was in charge of assessing the effectiveness in regards to workers and people, he always gave constructive criticism, without being grudging. Both in the gymnasium and in the movement, he was a loyal comrade and friend, always willing to help with heart and soul, and he remained this way for his entire life.

Years went by when a calamity befell the Zionist movement, waves of descent after the fourth *aliyah*; the youth that had taken control had found themselves without a direction and objective.

Naphtali's family situation, by now having lost his father, did not open up many possibilities. He began his studies at the University of Lvov. But even under these conditions he did not give up on the fulfilment of a Zionist goal in the future: and so, he trained himself to be a Hebrew teacher and with the acceptance of his parallel studies in the faculty of philosophy, he excelled in the seminar for Hebrew teachers, 'Pedagogues of Hebrew,' for the purpose of preparing himself for an appointment in teaching and education, in the Diaspora and in *The Land*. And when he completed his syllabus of training, and served a number of years as a teacher in the *Tarbut* school in Pinsk, he decided to investigate the possibilities of taking himself to the land of his dreams.

He was older than me by a few years, and our paths during this period diverged. This was in the year 1939, and I am an administrator in *Emek Bet-She'an*, when I received a letter from him regarding a visit he was planning to come to our *Kibbutz*. From that time on, it changed the outlook he had on life. I cannot forget the image of happiness on his face that characteristic laugh, the good one, and full of his graciousness, when the train stopped at the station of the *Emek*. Tulak came to us for a day, but he delayed his departure one day, and then another day. Something stirred within him anew: it was the atmosphere of the town in which he was born, the education he received in the pioneering movement, the agricultural mark that despite suppression always remained at the absolute center of his desire. He did not spend hours in the administrative offices, but each and every morning he went to work sowing and harvesting, picking corn, he had found his new world.

However, his position called him back, and here, at the end of his tour in *The Land*, the second fateful thing in his life occurred: he was hit by an Arab assassin's bullet close to Jerusalem. This was the last bullet fired during the events of 1936/39. While he was in the hospital, the Second World War broke out.

Pursuing his dream, he filled various positions in teaching and education, but in general education and the role of principal in schools, once again, he was unable to satisfy himself completely. We met more often from that time on when he came to *The Land*, and on one of these occasions he again revealed to me a secret of his soul and the essence of his desire. On one of the days that lay between the end of the Second World War and the War of Independence, Naphtali came to visit us in *Kiryat-Chaim* and just as was the case during his first visit, in *Nir-David*, he conveyed his desire to see my workplace as described in '*HaZera*.' After I showed him how they were planting a large parcel, he said: 'In truth all of this is important and interesting, but do you know what it is that I am missing from the time I was to be found in the *Sharon* and in the *Shfeyla*? I want to see – and he says the following in Polish: *Wielki łan pszenicy* – a very large stand of wheat. And he was able to satisfy himself because there were many fields in the valley on the other side of the *Kishon*, but Tulak was not satisfied only by seeing the fields.

Tulak went to the courses for teachers of nature and agriculture in the circular school in the Galilee, and upended the teaching of farming in the school, in which he taught them, and led them in a subject that he loved. He added to this by graduating in Mikve Yisrael in a set period of time and he even transformed an agriculture course in which he did not participate by doing the direction temporarily. In the final period of his life, he received the position of director of the farm in *Afehl*, and afterwards the farm in *Nir Aviv* for the entire town.



Naphtali did not have formal training in nature and agriculture. He reached this state of knowledge as if he had returned to himself and his world in order that the humanist assessors that opened his mind, and because of this he had a romantic approach to plant growth that he nurtured, that he could not have obtained from any formal study of natural science, which would have been inadequate for his needs.

Naphtali was a closed character, a rare combination of a realist and a romantic; of understanding, a nobility of soul, and a straight heart. He had an optimism and sense of caring for a newborn, and above all a love for the community about him, loyalty to a friend and a state of readiness to give help to a friend and comrade.

## Aryeh Fass ז"ל

By Dr. Y. Efrat (Menkes)

(Things Said in Mikve Yisrael at the Thirtieth Day After His Passing<sup>57</sup>)



אריה פאס ז"ל

Page 264: Aryeh Fass ז"ל

With the death of Aryeh Fass ז"ל, we the residents of Sokal have been left without one of highest and noblest of our personalities. He was recognized in the *'HaShomer Ha'Tzair'* youth movement, by his family and in the Polish High School in our city.

Aryeh Fass was a scion of one of the better-known and respected families in our city. He came from the Fass family who in the liberal conditions of the Austrian monarchy proved that under the proper conditions suited to this, a Jew is entitled to stand tall and his tendencies need not be only to merchandising and various municipal matters; that is to say that millennia of exile has not destroyed the spark for nature and working the land; to begin with it is not Jews who came up with the phrase 'how pleasant is this tree' from the Torah and Jewish tradition. Rather they did engage in agriculture, but Jews in all 248 of their bones, were rooted in the traditions of their fathers, in their dress, and in their way of life.

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<sup>57</sup>

Author's Footnote: Passed away in the Month of Tishrei 5727

After the First World War, there were not many men from the Fass clan who engaged in farming in the traditional way, but at all times they would continue their love for plant life and its beauty; they were famous for beauty, to matured plants around them, and from this vantage point they were a 'light unto the nations' to the gentiles in our city.

In the area of human interaction, the sons of R' Netanel Fass rose high: the youngest among the, Aryeh, took the top place among the ten who could inherit that spot. Out of the entire family, and there ere five brothers and five sisters, Aryeh was the only one who selected the study of nature to be is prime interest in gymnasium. We recognized in him and in our studies, that he was one of the better teachers in biology in *The Land*. He chose this direction because of his deep love of nature, growing plants and living things. Everything that he did was because of his gratitude to the natural world. Nature was no only a subject to him, he was its second manifestation.

Honesty and conscience were a part of the man. The important thing with him was satisfaction with himself, and not only on his popularity with other people. He knew of no compromise with what his conscience dictated to him. As a member of 'HaShomer Ha 'Tzair 'a movement in its beginning days which was a movement of far-reaching romantic-nationalism, and the core of its desire was to create a new [kind of] Jewish man, better, and freed from they used to call the 'distortion of the Diaspora personality' a man who stood straight, to his full height and proud, and Aryeh Fass did not reconcile himself to the concept of Socialist Zionism. He saw a compromise in it, and compromises were alien to him – they did not align with his personality. We, who learned from him, felt deep inside ourselves that he was not feeling inner completeness with himself; and a day came when he left us. At the start, we thought that he left us in the same manner as many others, out of convenience and an aversion to the need to fulfil the pioneering direction that the movement demanded of its members. But we quickly came to see that this was not his purpose. He was the only one of the older group of the Jewish gymnasium students to be in a position to study law, medicine, and a variety of humanity subjects, yet he turned to the study of nature; not the study of nature for itself, but because he saw in it a place where he could work the land, in all of the extensive vacation periods between the years of study, he went out to work, initially as a laborer, but with the passage of time, as a professional expert, regarding garden vegetables that were grown in the parcels beside our city. It became clear to us that it was not out of a search for an easier way of life that he left, when he, as it were 'abandoned' his former way of work.

During this period, he did not close himself up within himself only, he was one of those who did not speak a lot, [because] he had a lot to do, and to give to the community by way of the realization of his work, and the like. Rather, we find him at the center of the Zionist youth movement 'Akhuza,' in which he was one of its founders, in the center in Lvov during his period of study there, and afterwards. And even in this role, he was not one of the leaders who had no work to do. He was single in energy, organizer and leader of the training farm in the village of Signiuvka that was beside Lvov and it was to it that he dedicated his energy and skill; its basis was as a farm for learning agriculture.

It was one of the few in the decade of the thirties, because most of the training camps in Galicia and Poland, abandoned working the land limiting themselves to studying the design, despite the fact that

their members were doing physical work. This was in plowing and similar work. Fass stuck to his work for years, in the meantime many changed jobs at the time he remained on his position, and he did not manage to make *aliyah* before the outbreak of the Second World War, but he was not spared the suffering and nightmare of the German occupation; when the Holocaust ended, he was the only remaining scion spared from his large family. He got to us a number of years after the war. An office for a nature teacher had opened up, and we supported his nomination here. I will not forget our first encounter beside the gate of Holon, and the news that an appropriate position was waiting for him in this school; his reaction was characteristic of him: 'this is a great privilege, more than that, this was always a dream [of mine] to work in this place in which the beginning of the rise of the Jewish nation began, but how can I do this if my Hebrew is not reliable, and after all, to direct planting in the earth, and especially in an agricultural school, it has to be fluent here, and all of this is still strange to me.' He did not say these words out of a worry for his value, and thought as if in simple language, but rather in terms of responsibility for the gardens should he not be able to convey to his students what he needs to give them from the point of view of completeness. The absence of biology teachers settled his positive reply; And as soon as he was convinced he dedicated himself to work with all his energy, and within a month, he managed to get himself appointed to a position. For the benefit of his direction, I would like to recall one piece of work, which perhaps is very fitting for those who remember it to this day. This was in his first year here and in *Mikve Yisrael* not for work, it was not a room for nature [study] or trainees who would be worth such a designation. Not all of these deterred Fass, and here the windows of the teacher's room filled with bottles, plates, pipes and in them a tower of the upcoming new teacher, giving a sample lesson as to what will be taught in the classroom. It was Fass who injected life into the study of nature in this school, and there is no one to do that which he does.

Aryeh Fass left us before his time. The preservation of a man of thoughtful knowledge not that the forces of a natural life will form a limit [to his influence] only to his natural life, if his legacy is implemented after his death in the thinking of all that remain after him. People continue to make of themselves a model and example among all of humanity itself. We are all innocent, the members of his family, his friends. Those who knew him and his students, in our thoughts, and Aryeh Fass will remain and live with us as a model and example.

## David Byk

By Dr. David Kindler



דוד בייק ז"ל

Page 268: David Byk ז"ל

He was born in Sokal to a prominent merchant family. His father Sholom had three other brothers in Sokal, who were also merchants.

The great-grandparents of David Byk already were residents of Sokal and played an important role in the Jewish community life there, and one of them – R' Isaac Byk was the head of the community there from 1909 to 1913.

David got a fundamental traditional Jewish upbringing. He

first studied in *Heder*, and later on in the Sokal Yeshiva. He received education in secular studies at home.

During the Russo-Japanese war, a group of immigrants came to Sokal from Russia, among which was the Zionist Yitzhak Bloch, who immediately began to spread out a broad propaganda for the Hebrew language and became active as the first Hebrew teacher in Sokal. The acquaintance with him had a great influence on the young David Byk. Under his influence, David Byk became thoroughly imbued with Zionist concepts, and he even began to write articles for the Lemberg '*Tageblatt*.' and with the entirety of his youthful ardor, he began to lead an active information activity for the benefit of the Zionist ideal among the young orthodox circles and in a short time, he had the chance to create a Zionist organization in Sokal, of which he was the first President.

Since we mentioned this in another place, as early as 1907, David Byk carried out the first organized fund raising activity and he sold a meaningful amount of the equivalent amount of today's 20 shekels. With his exceptional skill he now strengthened his propaganda-related activity among the Yeshiva students, as well as throughout all of Jewish youth in general. During all the years up to the outbreak of the First World War, he stood in the center of the Zionist movement in Sokal.

During the elections to the Austrian parliament in the years 1907 and 1911 he worked with the Zionist election initiative in the Sokal election district, and thanks to his oratorical and organizational skills, he had a large influence in shifting popularity from the Zionist cohorts on the Jewish street. With his energetic and totally committed heart, during the election to the Parliament in the year 1911, he was able to get a Zionist candidate in the Sokal district elected, Dr. Rapaport got the most votes in the city of Sokal proper.

During all the time of the First World War David Byk first settled in Vienna, and afterwards in Holland.

David Byk returned to Sokal in 1920 after the First World War, and immediately involves himself in social community work. At that time, a substantive Zionist updraft took place, and in the ranks of those former Zionist activists, the understanding first strengthened itself for the need to rebuild that which was destroyed during the war. , economic positions for this purpose were established self-help institutions especially in the area of credit management. The Zionist leaders in Sokal also established a Merchant's Bank with David Dyk as the director at the head. Thanks to his masterful and straightforward and committed leadership of the bank, this institution which we describe in detail in a different place – was a weighty factor in the reconstruction efforts on the Jewish street in Sokal.

Under the direction of David Byk, the Merchant's Bank acquired the full trust of all Jewish economic circles in the city.

During the entire period – from 1920 up to the Holocaust, David Byk took an active part and excelled in his commitment to all Zionist initiatives, especially those for the good of the Zionist Funds K.K.L. and '*Keren HaYesod*', and also for the Hebrew school.

In the year 1941 – when the German murderers carried out their first execution initiative in Sokal against the Jewish population, they took over – ostensibly to be sent away to labor – a larger number of Jews and gathered them together in the market place, where they carried out a *selektion*, and a group of about 180 Jews, mostly from the young intelligentsia, led them off in the direction of the Tartak Road and underneath the way at an array of already prepared graves, shot them all.

David Byk ד"ר ביך, was in the first row of those earmarked for death among the Sokal Jews, who were now walking for the last time on their hometown city streets to a death by murder... His bookkeeper at the Merchant's Bank was walking beside him, The *Mizrachi* activist *Parnas* and afterwards the Lawyer, Dr. Gruder.

In the second row were the lawyer Dr. Shmuel Fass, the gymnasium-professor Yitzhak Fass, and their brother-in-law the goods lessor Fass.

In the third row the lawyer Dr. Leon Honig and his brother Yaakov Honig a gymnasium professor, went on his final way, as well as the gymnasium professor Dr. Isidore Koch.

The wife and daughter of Dr. Byk were exterminated in the year 1943 – during the liquidation of the Sokal Ghetto.

Dear...gentle Jews of Sokal... in pain and torture breathed their last breath.

Honor their memory!

## **Engineer Schwartz**

He ran the disaster office in Sokal which he took over from engineer Werber. As an employee of the state he refrained from open attendance at community meetings. However, he ran his house in the traditional Jewish spirit and he would spend lavishly in support of a Jewish national purposes.

The engineer's wife was active in the Jewish Women's Committee in Sokal.

In the last community elections in the year 1936, he was elected as the chairman of community management in Sokal, and thanks to his need-driven and fully sacrificial activity, earned the sympathy and recognition of the Jewish populace in the city.

His earnings consisted of running orderly finances, in the community budget, and he specifically placed a great deal of emphasis and care about it, since he held that the community officers should be regularly paid every month. He also made an effort to take responsibility for order and sanitation in the community institutions.

During the war, Engineer Schwartz remained in Sokal and organized a public kitchen for Jewish workers, who worked for the Germans. In this kitchen, food was provided for Jews who lacked food and had no money and no goods to sell. He also provided the initiative and oversight to institute vegetable gardens.

In the month of October 1942 the organs of the *Gestapo* threatened Engineer Schwartz, forcing him to take over the leadership of the *Judenrat*. During the entire time that he served, in a very straightforward manner and filled his difficult objectives at great personal risk to his own life, and at every opportunity he made the effort to help his hapless brethren.

Because of a betrayal by an informer, he together with his daughter sat for a while in *Gestapo* hands. In the month of May 1943 during the liquidation of the Sokal ghetto, Engineer Schwartz was executed along with his wife and daughter.

Honor His Memory!

## **Zigmunt Leider**

He was born in Sokal. After finishing dental school in Berlin, in the year 1910 he began to practice as an independent dentist in Sokal.

His refined character and his exceptional decency created general sympathy towards him by both the Jewish and non-Jewish populace in the city. Quietly, and in his work he took into account in the practice with the financial wherewithal of the patients. He treated the poor free of charge. For many long years, he was the only dentist practically in the entire Sokal district.

He was the first donor in the case of every philanthropic initiative. He also spent a great deal to foster Jewish National objectives.

Sadly, he was executed in the Sokal ghetto during the *aktion* of May 1943. Before the liquidation of the ghetto, he was warned by a Christian friend of his – that he should save himself... He passed this warning along to Dr. Kindler, who thanks to him, was able to call on the Jews in the Sokal ghetto to flee.

Sadly, he was tortured together with his wife and his entire family.

A dear man...a decent Jew...fell in *Sanctification of the Name*...

Honor His Memory!

## Yidd'l Grossman

A. Becker (Buenos Aires)

My earliest recollection of Yidd'l Grossman goes back to the *Heder* of his uncle Shim'eleh ן"ג, a teacher of *Gemara* on Tartakov, where I studied as a young boy.

This was precisely after the First World War and Yidd'l Grossman, not having any [living] parents, came from the *shtetl* Wiskow to his uncle to live with him.

My very first look at him already made an exceptional impression on me. He had a sympathetic shaven face, with small black curls, with a part combed at an angle, with a large cap on his head.

It didn't take a very long time and the entire *shtetl* began to murmur, that Yidd'l Grossman, a relative of Shim'eleh the Melamed, was a blatant atheist, a 'Zionist' following 'Shabtai Zvi.' These rumors emanated from the *Bet HaMedrash* where Yidd'l Grossman began to frequent, the place where the youth of Sokal would concentrate themselves and there he carried out his explanatory work.

He gave the young men books to read, that they drank in like thirsty people take in water, first secretly, holding their books under their *Gemara* volumes – later on, they left the *Bt HaMedrash* entirely and began to read Hebrew and Yiddish books openly.

The path of struggle was very difficult for Yidd'l. The *Hasidim* with the Rabbi of the city at their head, fought stubbornly for keeping the current way of life, not to deviate so much as a 'end of the letter 'Yud' from this way, the way traveled by their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers. The *Hasidim* harassed their children that had become Zionists, and would beat them with rods, denying them food, driving them out of their houses, insulting and abusing them.

Their greatest anger – they let out on Yidd'l's head. In him they saw the one principally responsible, the 'igniter of the fire, as they used to say – that had surrounded and captured the entire *shtetl*.'

But he faithfully carried out his sacred calling, that he had assumed voluntarily, fearing no one and nothing.



יודל גרוסמן עם קבוצת תלמידות  
יודל גרוסמן ביום א' גרוסמן ילדתיים

Page 273: Yidd'l Grossman With A Group of Girl Students.

After he had fulfilled his mission in Tartakov, where he had brought up an entire generation in this new spirit, and having – as he *Hasidim* would say – ‘upended’ the entire city – he went over to Sokal to continue this work.



In the Hebrew school there, he worked as a teacher and there as well, did not miss attending important public meetings, election meetings, or for other causes, where he was one of the prominent speakers.

In that period, he divided his time between Tartakov and Sokal, because from Friday afternoon until Sunday morning he would be with his family in Tartakov and during that time, he participated in the Zionist work going on there.

The work as a teacher and speaker, as an organizer and fighter, severely affected his health. In the fire of the struggle, his lungs became infected. It happened more than one time, that after a stormy election meeting, in which he appeared as a speaker, he would come home and immediately have a dismaying outburst of blood.

After several such attacks, the doctors forbade him to give speeches and in general to work as a teacher, but Yidd'l did not obey these warnings, and in general to work as a teacher and already not so often, he would allow himself to be heard, from time-to-time, in public.

As lightly as he spoke, so did he lightly write. He would edit the needed requests of the Zionist Organization and the Hebrew School. He also wrote texts for stage scenes for school children. He



would even write countless private letters on behalf of widows, *Agunot*<sup>58</sup> to relatives across the sea about help. He would seldom do the writing personally, thankfully he enjoyed dictating to a second party, and he would often ask of me to act as his secretary, which I eagerly did, doing this in Tartakov as well as sharing a room for a three-year period.

Yidd'l Grossman, that wondrous teacher and leader of the younger generation in both neighboring cities, Tartakov and Sokal – was executed along with his son in *המלשארשת*, killed by the German murderers in the year 1941.

Let these lines of mine, those of a pupil and a friend of Yidd'l Grossman serve as an eternal light to his sacred memory.

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<sup>58</sup> Plural of *Agunah*, a descriptor attached to a married woman whose husband had an unknown or ambiguous status. An *Agunah* could not be properly divorced, or re-marry.

השואה

# The Holocaust

דער חורבן

# Pages About the Torture and Execution of the Jewish Settlement in Sokal

By Moshe Maltz  
(New York)

- 1 -

## Sokal Under Soviet Rule

On September 1, 1939 Hitler א"י attacked Poland. The *blitzkrieg* against Poland by Germany had begun. The principal attack against the Polish Army lasted for three weeks, and in the middle of September 1939 all of Western Poland was occupied by Hitler's troops. The remnants of the Polish armed forces still put up resistance, in their attempts to keep the entire length of the front line along the rivers around Warsaw. But by September 17, 1939 the Polish government fled to Rumania. Poland lay in ruins.

At the same time. A large part of the Soviet Army was mobilized, which entered Poland ostensibly to protect Soviet interest; In fact, following the Agreement in the Hitler-Stalin Pact a new, fourth division of Poland took place. Half of the country of Poland fell to Hitler's Germany, and the other half to Soviet Russia.

Simultaneous with the carving up of Poland, the body of Polish Jewry was cut in half. Part of them fell under Hitler's rule and part under the rule of Stalin. The Bug River became the boundary of the sundered halves of the Polish country from the northeastern side. Our Sokal remained in Soviet hands.



Page 277: Moshe Maltz

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In the month of October 1939, on the Day of Yom Kippur, the first divisions of the Red Army appeared. Immediately after this Jewish refugees appeared from the section occupied by the German, from the western Polish locations, especially from neighboring towns, such as: Belz, Krisitanopol, Varenzh<sup>59</sup> and the surrounding villages. The *Rebbe* of Belz arrived in Sokal, with the members of his family on *Shemini Atzeret*, with the last train which was still running from Belz. The *balebatim* of Sokal received the homeless refugees with a hearty desire and warm brotherly feelings, who were immediately settled down in all the study houses, synagogues and in private homes. The problem of the refugees was not a light matter. Creating residences, sourcing food, money for the most critical items demanded a broad and many-branched support and help action, a general community effort on the part of the Sokal Jews.

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<sup>59</sup>

Shown as Varyazh on modern maps.

A municipal Help-Committee was indeed immediately established, which immediately carried out fund-raising and from these gathered funds a public kitchen was established, where the refugees were given warm food to eat.

A much more strenuous burden stood before the Jewish Help-Committee, when it was not only refugees that were streaming into Sokal, who lost their homes, but those not willing to live under Nazi rule. Now hordes of Jews, driven out of their homes, driven by the German murderers to the East to the new Soviet border, to the Bug River, on whose right side lay the city of Sokal.

On a rainy, cold November day in 1939 – we suddenly heard whimpering sounds in Sokal, which came to us from the border, from the train bridge over the Bug [River]. The Jews of Sokal immediately set themselves off in that direction, from which this wailing emanated. A frightening picture materialized before their eyes. The bridge was full of Jews being driven by members of the *Gestapo* in the direction to Sokal. At the end of the bridge barely a few steps from ground, which belonged to Sokal the Russian border patrol pushed back the hapless Jews to the German hangmen. This frightening game went on for several hours with these starved Jews trembling from the cold. These were the remnants of the 1500 Jews, that the Germans had captured in Chelm and Hrubieszow and were driving them to the Soviet border. On foot, over stones and mud, without food or drink... this nightmarish journey had taken three days... woe unto the person who did not have the strength to continue on further, and had stopped for a moment to catch his breath... a bullet from a revolver put an end to the life of such an exhausted Jew.

There were barely 300 left of the Jews driven from Chelm and Hrubieszow out of the 1500, who managed to reach the bridge over the Bug near Sokal. They were barely able to stand on their feet by exerting their last bit of their energy... on the other side of the bridge stood Soviet soldiers, who blocked their way and let no one in.

It was only at night, in the dark, several Jews still felt they had the energy to spring from the bridge and by swimming, they barely were able to reach the other side of the river. They had hoped that in the hands of the Soviets, there would be an end to their misery... the local Polish thieves sensed an opportunity to rob... when these few exhausted Jews came out of the water on the Soviet side, they encountered a peasant robber band, who stole their clothing, and afterwards through them back into the depths of the Bug.

Only very few manage to have the luck of reaching Sokal... in a frightful condition..sick...exhausted. The Jews of Sokal took them in like they were their own brethren, saw to it that they had lodging, and created ways for them to support themselves for this very difficult time for all Jews in Sokal.

– 3 –

It proved difficult for the Sokal Jews to struggle for themselves under the Soviet régime. To begin with, all of the important administrative positions in the city were staffed with people from the underworld, who found various ways to take advantage of otherwise peaceable *balebatim*. On top

of this, Jewish businesses were nationalized and in the process cut off every commercial business which was the principal source of the Jewish ways of making a living in the city. The obvious forms of making a living were stopped. Jewish shops were closed and every other way of making a living was restricted.

When a few poor Jews took to selling merchandise, they were immediately arrested and put on trial. For selling a sack of flour or a strip of leather for a pair of shoes, you could be sentenced for 8 to 10 years of hard labor in the faraway places in Soviet Russia. Among such 'lawbreakers' the following Sokal Jews were sentenced: Reuben Zaks, Chaim'chah Zilber, and Aharon Lipa the butcher's son. Not one of them returned from Russia.

Adding to this came the issue of carrying the right passport. Every resident – beginning at age 14 had to take out a Russian passport. All those significant participants of nationalist undertakings, all the Zionist and Bundist activists received passports with a special paragraph – a warning, that the owner of such a passport belongs to the category of 'undesirable elements' who were not permitted to live close to the border. Accordingly, these 'politically incorrect elements' were compelled to leave Sokal and look for a place to live on a parcel of land which was approximately several hundred kilometers from the border-city.

Also, the refugees from other cities, that had found refuge in Sokal, had to register for the military, where they had to declare whether they wish to remain in Soviet Russia, or they want to emigrate to America, to the Land of Israel – or if they want to, they would be returned to their previous residences now occupied by the Germans. Almost all of the refugees expressed the desire to emigrate and only a small percentage agreed to remain under Soviet rule.

The result of this registration was, that on a rather nice May night of a Friday before the Sabbath in the year 1940 – special divisions of the N. K. V. D. Troops fell upon the houses and drove out all those who had not taken out any passports, and taken to ready-prepared freight trucks. They were allowed to take along only the most necessary things...and do it fast... fast through the dark streets to the train station, where there were already placed freight cars for cattle. Two... three days went by until about 40 wagons of this type were loaded with refugees... it was only then that the locomotive began to move from its spot... To where?... one knew that this direction leads to Siberia, to the 'white bears.'

Those refugees that had indicated that they want to live in Soviet Russia, got passports with an order to leave Sokal for a distance of several kilometers away from the city.

On the first day of *Shavuot* the N. K. V. D. troops besieged the house of the *Rebbe* of Belz, in order to take him away. It was with the greatest of effort that the Jews worked with the forces of the government to delay this initiative for a few days. After *Shavuot* the *Rebbe* of Belz with his entire family left Sokal.

## II

## In the Nazi Gehenna

– 4 –

On June 22, 1941, the war broke out between Germany and Russia. The German troops crossed over the Bug and captured the city of Sokal. The first of the German troops stopped at the residence of Yeshaya the wagon-driver, with the complaint that from there, they were being shot at. They immediately dragged 3 Jews out of that dwelling, put them up against the wall and shot them. Muni Polack, Zalman the wagon driver and the son-in-law of Sholom Leibuniss – these were the first three innocent Jews that were martyred by German cruelty in Sokal.

The Ukrainian residents of the city received the Germans with flowers, and hung both German and Ukrainian flags from their windows. A silence reigned in the Jewish dwellings, saturated with fear and terror. Not a single Jew dared to show himself in the street.

The Ukrainian Czarnecki became the Burgomaster of the city, who immediately organized a Ukrainian militia, which wrote itself in such a bloody manner into the history of Sokal Jewry.

In their wild hatred of Jews, the Ukrainians sensed the odor of blood and plunder. On June 30, 1941 the Ukrainian militia fell upon the Jewish houses dragged whomever they found outside. Old and young... everyone driven to the Targowica.<sup>60</sup> There, a *selektion* was carried out, during which time approximately 400 Jews were selected, mostly from the city's Jewish intelligentsia, merchants, manual laborers, and plain ordinary young Jews deemed to be physically fit. The S. S. Murderers led all of them outside of the city, near the large brick factory...they were all shot there.

At the outset, in Sokal no one knew to what location these 400 Jews were taken... nobody could conceive that they met such a tragic end. Jews permitted themselves to be gulled and believed that these hapless brethren of theirs were led off to do work... This is the way the matter was discussed in the city. As a result, the parents of the seized young men, and the wives of the taken adult men carried out a collection of money among themselves, and designated two women, who had the objective to find out the traces of these confiscated Jews. These two women immediately set out on the road. They looked in Ludomir, in Luck, and many other working places in Volhynia. You understand that they came back with nothing. From a variety of places, Christians came to Sokal, *Aperists*,<sup>61</sup> who told that they, as it were, actually saw the Sokal Jews who were dragged out of town somewhere in a camp, in a completely thought out and created location... and they had managed to fool the money out of the confused womenfolk and clothing, that is to say, which had been prepared for their menfolk. This shameless deception went on for a longer time. The unfortunate widows sold off everything they had... because they still took solace and hoped that their men would, in the end, come back home... until they found out the truth, that the 400 Jews that were dragged away were executed by the murderous Germans.

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<sup>60</sup> A marketplace of sorts.

<sup>61</sup> Indeterminate sect of Christians.

This is the way the German rule began in Sokal. The first martyrs were Jews. The Germans sicced the wild animals on the defenseless Jews. Ukrainian peasant bands came from all of the surrounding villages, who robbed the Jewish businesses and became read servants of the Nazi régime. Insulting, abusing, and inciteful anti-Jewish agitation were a daily occurrence. The windows of the Jewish businesses that had been robbed were full of provocative material against Jews, with pictures of Hitler ״״ and criminal followers in his complicity. The present Ukrainian *balebatim* of the city now permitted themselves to be served by Jewish servants.

The Germans ordered that in Sokal, a *Judenrat* consisting of 7 Jews be created with a president [e.g. leader]... they should have their own employees and a Jewish militia to support them. The objective of the *Judenrat* was to carry out exactly all the demands and decrees regarding the Jews, and especially the provision of *Jewish* laborers, to take away monies from the Jews for the German rulers... money under a variety of reasons, such as penalties, contributions, and just plain bribes. The also had to be concerned about all the lusts of the German rulers would be immediately fulfilled. They were especially interested in owning Jewish coats and other expensive things, which belonged to the Jewish populace.

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The first of the decrees contained an order that every Jew aged 10 and over had to wear, on their right hand, a white armband with a blue Star of David on it. And afterwards came other decrees: Jews are not allowed to wear any sort of beard, – Jews were forbidden to wear hats, Jews were not to go on the sidewalks, – the Jews are not to distance themselves from the city more than half way...

Every day, the *Judenrat* had to provide every German, Ukrainian or Pole a set number of Jews to do labor, to the degree that each of them demanded. The *Judenrat* also had to provide 100 Jews each day to the municipal government for work... to clean the streets.. These Jewish street sweepers posed a frightening image... exhausted, beaten, elderly Jews, among them many orthodox people with their bards shorn off, municipal caps... with long brooms in their hands... they swept the streets... for hours sweeping the same streets... back and forth... the passing Christians used to laugh and make sport of them.

– 6 –

In the month of November 1941the Germans opened a labor office in Sokal at the location of the new pharmacy, where Ukrainians were employed. All Jews from 14 to 60 years o age were compelled to register in this labor office, in order to receive identification cards with a photograph. With such an identification card, Jews were forced to present themselves every week in the labor office and had to make themselves legitimate with a work card, that one is employed in one form of work or another. Anyone who was unemployed, was sent to a labor camp.

This decree elicited a frightful panic among the Sokal Jews. One tore one's self to get work st any price, one searched out Christians that they knew and begged for mercy to get some sort of work. Such Christian employers showed their 'good hearts' and employed these Jews as servants in their home-based workplaces...in their businesses or factories. The Jews were considered to be very lucky

if and got work in a German institution. Jews did the hardest labor... people stood for hours in the row in front of the labor office. Hunger, frost and cold did not frighten anyone away.

Very few of the children could barely carry the yoke of torture and suffering. In a matter of a few hours, the troubles and pain of this work aged these children by years... it was a fright, a true nightmare to gaze at these small creatures who, with stubborn patience and superhuman strength from who knows where – waited in the row ... maybe they will be lucky enough and they will get work...

The Ukrainian bosses sat in the labor office, and with shameless pride made fun and laughed at these unfortunate Jews.

An important mission of the *Judenrat* was to provide furniture for the ruling Germans, jewelry and other valuable items. To meet this objective, the *Judenrat* levied a requirement on the better off Jews to give up a variety of valuable items, which were then gathered together in a special storage location, in order, at every needed opportunity, to sate the appetites of the German murderers. The Jews lived with no alternative but to turn over everything they had to the whatever was demanded of them. They lived in an illusion that anyone who strengthened the hand of the *Judenrat*, those would be the people to hold onto life.

The *Judenrat* also needed money...for contributions, for payoffs for bribing the release of Jews from Ukrainian and German hands, for itself, for the Jewish militia, and a variety of low-life individuals... large and small, Jewish and non-Jewish. To serve this purpose, the Sokal *Judenrat* kept a permanent assessment committee, whose purpose was to tax all Sokal Jews in accordance with their assets, if such a person even still existed. Woe betide the Jew who did not want to, or could not pay, the requested sum of money, that the committee had decided upon. Jewish militants, in these cases, would show up at the home of such a Jew, uncover all the valuables, that was found in those premises, and they were confiscated and taken off to the storage facility of the *Judenrat*.

The writer of these lines on one occasion assisted the Sokal *Judenrat* a collection of Jews, in front of whom the vice-president of the *Judenrat* and the chairman of the assessment committee laid out a list of things, such as material, leather, fur coats, jewelry, furniture, and other things... other rare items, which the *Judenrat* was compelled to appeal for on behalf of the German hangmen. Wailing and crying did not help, even when one had given away one's last belongings. The storage facility of the Sokal *Judenrat* had always be packed full of good and valuable things, in order to sate the appetites of the German murderers. Members of the *Gestapo* did not have any great sympathy for the *Judenrat* and from time-to-time, they would break into their storage facility in order to familiarize themselves with the assets robbed from the Jews.

The overseer of the storage facility from the *Judenrat*, once gave the *Gestapo* handkerchiefs, which wee not pleasing to the eyes of the German murderers. He was led away to the camp at Janowa, where he was tortured to death.



But despite these harsh conditions, that the Sokal Jews had to struggle with in order to hold on for dear life, they continued to believe that by filling the appetites of the Germans, they will hold on, despite the terror, despite the harassment, and daily bloody martyrdoms, until the war would end.

– 7 –

It was first, on November 11, 1941 when the United States declared war against Hitler-Germany, was a sea change for the Jews of Sokal – as well as for all of Polish Jewry.

After the great speech, in which he promised the total annihilation of the Jewish people, the harassment of the Jewish population became intensified in occupied Poland, and therefore with it, in Sokal.

On the Sabbath day of December 27, 1941 the *Judenrat* there received an order, that all Jews must take off their coats, fur hats and gloves...it was a severe winter at that time and the Jews needed to be provide their warm clothing to the German soldiers, who were suffering from the cold on the Russian front... and in order to have an assurance that this coat-*aktion* would be carried out successfully, the Gestapo arrested several prominent Jews as hostages... the Jewish militia, on that Sabbath day, ran around from house to house and informed the Jewish residents of this latest decree, and to immediately shed their winter coats. The Sokal Jews understood what they were being threatened with, and carried their overcoats to the *Judenrat* with the greatest speed. A parallel list was prepared in the *Judenrat*. No Jew could avoid compliance with this decree. During these cold days, the Jews themselves had to make do with their summer clothing.

Spiritually broken, now the Jews of Sokal looked with fear to the future. The Germans intensified the efforts to also break the Jews physically. Until now, the Jews in Sokal received a daily ration of 35 deko<sup>62</sup> of bread per person...forget about other foodstuffs, which were distributed in minuscule portions. The older Jews literally died from hunger and the cold. The number of Jews, who were still able to earn something, grew smaller each and every day.

In such a hopeless situation when confusion and apathy reigned the Sokal Jews, a few were found, refined *balebatim*, who in this tragic situation began to organize help for their poor and hungry brethren... and there were many Jews hungry without a morsel of bread... these were the well-situated citizens of a prior day.

From meager payments a fund was established from which a public kitchen was supported, which was opened in the house of Hersch Zaks and run by Engineer Schwartz and his wife, Zinger.

Merchants and well-to-do people of a former day, now stood in line by the public kitchen and waited for he small portion of soup... the frightening length of the hungry Sokal Jews even moved the hearts of most Christians, among whom there could be found such people stealthily provided grain to the public kitchen.

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<sup>62</sup> Obsolescent measure of weight, probably a small amount.

The cold, the hunger, the constant bribing of the Gestapo-hangmen, by the Jewish militia and not infrequently by local Jewish informers, all of this weakened the spiritual and physical resilience of the Jewish populace in Sokal. From day-to-day the feeling of insecurity and fear grew... and signs began to appear that even more difficult times were on their way. There was sporadic shooting and killing of innocent Jews, systematic repressions for the most insignificant, so-called infractions, – these were harbingers of an intensified German régime policy towards the Jews... a beginning of the relocation-*aktion*, whose objective was to carry out a complete extermination of the Jewish populace in Sokal.

– 8 –

A fright and terror befell the Jewish population in Sokal, when the German murderers seized 5 Jews on February 24, 1942, and led them to the outskirts of the city and shot them there. These 5 martyrs were: Israel, the son of Yeke'leh the wagon driver, Dr. Knopf, Blind Yeke'leh, the butcher and his child daughter (he was seized as he was slaughtering a calf) – and Zal'keh Ring.

This miscarriage of justice further broke the spirits of the Sokal Jews, especially since at the same time, rumors circulated that all Jewish boys from the city have to be deported to camps in the vicinity of Zlotow, where the Germans had erected the most terrible death factories. It was generally known that strong and healthy people could not last there more than 10 – and weaker people at most 5 weeks.

Unfortunately, these were not just plain rumors. A fright and chaotic hastiness took hold of the Sokal Jews. when, on Friday evening, February 27, 1942 they noted that on the women's gallery near the new pharmacy, there were military freight trucks manned by German and Ukrainian military troops. The immediately found out that the German hangmen had ordered the *Judenrat* to immediately, without delay, present them with 500 Jews.

With gifts, with the most expensive items, with fur and leather material, with gold and money – the *Judenrat* was able to work out with the *Gestapo* organization that they would be satisfied with 200 martyrs. The *Judenrat* had to turn over 200 hundred Jews to the German murderers to face a certain death.. At night, the *Judenrat* sent out Jewish and Ukrainian militiamen to Tartakov, a neighboring location, where they took 50 Jewish boys... after this, they fell upon the surrounding villages and dragged out the entire Jewish youth from there.

And when they returned to Sokal with this plunder and it appeared that they were still missing the contingent of 200 martyrs, the commander of the *Judenrat* ordered that the kidnaping of Jewish children should continue in Sokal itself. Following a list provided by the *Judenrat*, the Jewish-Ukrainian militiamen fell upon Jewish dwellings and dragged out innocent Jewish children and led them to the *Judenrat*. And if by chance, someone on the list did not happen to be home, the militiamen took the father, the mother or sisters, as hostages... these people were first let go when their son or a brother appeared at the *Judenrat*.

The fathers of those boys seized in the surrounding villages came along, bringing packages with food for the journey of their children.

When all of the 200 boys were already to be found at the gathering place, they were loaded onto the freight trucks, and went off in an unknown direction. Everyone knew that the children were being taken to a labor camp. Those Sokal Jews who happened to be on the street at the time saw the freight trucks passing by with the 200 boys, and they added that it was frightening to look at the sight, how the Ukrainian militiamen that went along with the transport, would murderously beat the innocent boys with the butts of their rifles... they were commanded to sing... under the hail of beatings the boys began to sing the *Hatikvah* with the melody from *Lamentations*... as if they felt that this was their final journey...

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A feeling of insecurity now took hold of the exhausted ones among the Sokal Jews. Fear of the night... of being suddenly dragged out of bed gave them no rest.

In addition to the insecurity and fear, other frightening conditions descended, that the Jews of Sokal had to struggle with, in order to stay alive. The cold, the overcrowding and the unheated dwellings... the lack of foodstuffs...not eating regularly... it was possible to get something warm twice a day... in the morning a bit of black coffee... at midday a watered-down soup with a small piece of black bread...

The Ukrainian militiamen drove the starved and exhausted Jews to the work of clearing the snow in the streets and in the process, beat them murderously...woe unto anyone who became sick and did not have the strength to go out to work! The fate of such a Jew was sealed... the Ukrainians shot him,, and if there was an occasion where a Ukrainian wanted to learn how to shoot, he set up a Jew as a target, and then shot at him.

On March 10, 1942, the Germans prepared themselves once again to seize young Jewish boys in Sokal. The *Judenrat* used money and a variety of valuables to quell the appetite of the German bandits, which this time went away, not carrying out the decree against Jewish children. In this case, the *Judenrat* employed a great deal of energy using a variety of methods and means, in order to help out the Jewish children living there. A special *aktion* was organized to accomplish this task, in which almost all of the Sokal Jews participated. A fund was created from monthly pay, that made it possible to provide the Jewish children in the camps with the most critical items. Every two weeks, a transport left Sokal with bread, sugar and other foodstuffs, which Dr. Polack took with him along with gifts for the German and Ukrainian masters, that reigned in the camps. When Dr. Polack would return from such a trip, he always conveyed regards to the parents from their children. Under 4 eyes, the writer of these lines was told terrifying details of the *Gehenna*, in which the Sokal Jewish children exhausted themselves.

– 10 –

The constant fear that the fathers and mothers of Sokal endured about the fate of their children – is difficult to convey simply with words. Nobody believed that a time would come when these hapless Jewish children could be rescued. And yet, they seized on every spark of hope... they believed in every promise to rescue the children, they were prepared to give away everything they had to accomplish this purpose. They even underwent a tragic and gruesome separation-*aktion*. Dr. Falk

encountered a person, that put forth a devilish transaction. For a large sum of money, this intermediary took responsibility to extract 40 Jewish Sokal children from the camp, under the condition that the *Judenrat* would present 40 other Jewish boys to go into the camp. The parents of the 40 boys, who exhausted themselves in the camp, did not sit around for a long time, and immediately collected the required money, and thereby, the Sokal *Judenrat* took on the objective to carry out the condition of providing 40 other boys.

In the middle of the night, Jewish and Ukrainian militiamen dragged out 40 Jewish boys from their homes, who, immediately the next day, were sent off to the labor camp, that had from previous times already contained Jewish boys from Sokal.

The terrifying transaction was consummated. On April 26, 1942 none of the freed Sokal boys returned. On the way, one boy died, a second returned who had gone insane. All were sick with advanced cases of tuberculosis, and starved.

The parents of the freshly taken and deported boys, upon seeing the frightful state of the boys that did return, fell upon the members of the *Judenrat* with complaints and curses, who didn't expect anything, and freshly and in secret did a deal with the second set of parents whose children were recently deported. A new 'separation-*aktion*' was negotiated. This time, as well, the parents sold off the last of their few things, in order to provide for the payoff money, to as fast as possible get their children out of that *Gehenna*.... and when they paid the *Judenrat* the agreed to sum of money, the *Judenrat* again by night, sent the Jewish and Ukrainian militiamen with the objective of dragging out the required number of children from Jewish homes... Approximately 30 boys were driven out of their beds this time. The other day, the president of the *Judenrat* personally went on the road together with the seized children, with two Jewish militiamen and the collected money, in order to buy off the Germans.

This time the crazy transaction was not consummated... the Germans took the money and the transport of the boys... they held up the president of the Sokal *Judenrat* with his two militiamen. It was only a few weeks later, after the intervention of the Sokal *Gestapo* that the president of the *Judenrat* and the two militiamen were freed.

When they came back to Sokal, they described heart-rending scenes in the *Judenrat*. Jews were suspicious of the responsible Jewish members of the *Judenrat*, believing that they had appropriated the payoff money gathered for the Germans, for themselves.

The contact with the camps was cut off. The Jewish Sokal boys no longer returned.

– 11 –

At the end of Mach 1942, news came to Sokal that in Lemberg and in Zolkiew the Germans seized Jews and led them out in an unknown direction. Letters came from Zolkiew Jews with questions, as to whether anything is known of the fate of their brethren.

The searches did not last long. The sorrowful news became immediately known... the Polish train employees revealed the secret, that the Germans had constructed a gas chamber in Belzec... and all the transports containing Jews are being sent to Belzec... that in these death-chambers, Jews are asphyxiated and murdered. According to these witness reports it is possible that, on a daily basis, between 5 and 10 transports of Jews arrived at Belzec through Rawa-Ruska.

This news elicited an indescribable panic. The fear of being relocated to Belzec created a chaotic situation, that grew more intense with each passing day... and on top of this there was hunger...cold... crowding in residences...a nightmare... it was terrifying to live under such circumstances.

Days and nights went by like this. For the time being without larger *aktionen* of murder, without relocations. Here and there, a Jew was seized, or even more Jews seized and sent to the labor camps or shot on the spot... these were daily occurrences, to which Jews became accustomed.

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Heavy clouds appeared over the Sokal horizon. The *Gestapo* demanded a statistical accounting from the *Judenrat*, as to how many Jews, men, women and children live in Sokal. This demand made a very heavy impression on the Jews of Sokal. The tragic transactions with the Jewish children was forgotten. The sorrowful news from other cities made a strong impression, news about relocation-aktionen in a whole row of ghettos, the destruction of and the extermination of entire Jewish settlements. The news that an extermination-*aktion* against Jewish children had been going on in Lemberg for 14 days already cast a terror over the city.

From day-to-day, life in Sokal became more and more difficult. An indescribable fear befell the Jews, when the *Gestapo* Commandant of Lemberg appeared in their city. Every time the *Judenrat* obtained some information that the executioner from Lemberg has to come into Sokal, he approached the Jews with a demand that they not show themselves in the streets during the presence of this German murderer. Decent ways of making a living in the city were cut off. This was part of the objective of the German rulers to break the Jews both spiritually and physically. To accomplish this, first of all, it is necessary to weaken the Jews, exhaust them, starve them... for this reason all of the proper Jewish businesses in Sokal were closed down... the Germans and Ukrainians took over all of the Jewish businesses. In the meantime, the Jews survived on the pitiful remnants of what they had, which they had prepared after the last days before the outbreak of the war. The Sokal Jews sold off the last of what they had, in order to provide food for themselves...to pay off the *Judenrat* the demanded payoffs for the various contributions, and to bribe the German murderers and their Ukrainian accomplices.

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Together with the collective destruction of the economic destruction of Sokal Jewry, the German murderers hacked apart valuable cultural and socio-community activity on the Jewish street. Synagogues were closed, unions, and philanthropic institutions.

It was to this end that the Germans imposed on the Jewish population in Sokal – as well as in all other cities in Poland – a *Judenrat*. It often had its own police and a special Jewish post, which was active in the location of the *Judenrat*.

A special plague and a means to torture and morally break the Jews, was forced labor. Every day, the Sokal *Judenrat* had to provide 150 Jewish girls for the purpose of straightening out the planting of the municipalities. Young, innocent Jewish girls with their thinned out little fingers smoothed out every blade of grass. They would have to spend hours like this on their knees...not being permitted to straighten out their limbs... and all of this work was irrelevant and not needed... This work was used to inflict pain on Jewish children, and specifically to lower morale. How these neat Jewish daughters were shamed, when young Ukrainian gentile ladies drove by, that used to come to Sokal from the surrounding villages and made sport and laughed at these girls.

Everything that belonged to Jews was treated as abandoned matter. Excepted were the contributions, payoffs and ‘gifts,’ that the *Judenrat* would collect for the German murderers, so that the latter, together with their Ukrainian partners sought opportunities to rob Jewish assets.

A Jewish informant told the *Gestapo* that the silverware of the *Rebbe* of Belz had been hidden somewhere in Sokal. The *Gestapo* people arrested the following Jews: R’ Yaakov Yosheh the *Shammes*, R’ Lejzor *Melamed* and the little David, because they had to know where the *Rebbe*’s silver is to be found. It did not help them to reveal this secret, and show the place in the synagogue where these silver items had been stored. The German murderers took away the silver and shot the three Jews.

Another example of German wickedness and cruelty took place involving the children of Risha the lady Baker. She ran the only bakery in Sokal, a secret one, you understand, that was illegal. She bought off the Ukrainian police who knew of this with weekly payments. She also fell victim to being informed on. On one morning, the members of the *Gestapo* fell upon the bakery, took away the lady baker and her two daughters who worked there, and then closed and bricked up the entire house. Several days later, the news arrived that Risha the lady Baker with her two assistants were tortured in the *Gestapo*.

A terrifying rampage was carried out by the German executioners in Sokal in the month of June 1942. On the way from the Bug River, on the parcel that belonged to Hrubieszow, the German Army formations arranged a sort of gathering place for cattle that were designated to be slaughtered, beside the train station. The Sokal *Judenrat* was ordered to send 30 Jews to this location every day, whose task was to pasture these cattle. For a month’s time, 30 Jews would go out every day from Sokal in the morning to perform this work. Every day these exhausted, beaten and bloodied Jews would return to Sokal. This work lasted for 30 days, until one nice clear day, the German military troops went to the edge of the Bug together with the cattle and the 30 Sokal Jews, who had gone out to work that morning...there was no sign of life on them...probably somewhere on the way, they were shot. Among these 30 martyrs was R’ Sender, the son of the *Shokhet* of Dobrowow, a well known scholar in Sokal.

The *Rebbe* of Kristianopol lived in the house of the Rabbi of Sokal. Every Sabbath, Jews would come together to be with him for prayer. At this time, it was the sole remaining *minyán* in the city. On Saturday August 15, 1942 in the morning, rumors suddenly spread that members of the Gestapo had appeared on the Synagogue Street. It was with lightning speed that this became known even in the most remote corners of the city, and everyone ran to hide themselves in all manner of hiding places.

The Sokal Jews laid for more than an hour in their hiding places. At that time, the members of the Gestapo rode up in a freight truck to the home of the Rabbi of Sokal, where they were praying. All thirty-one worshipers, wrapped in their prayer shawls, were driven out of the house and were taken by freight truck to the Gestapo. There the 31 Jews were stripped down to their underwear and immediately led off to the Tartakov Road, where they were all shot. According to what was subsequently told by a Ukrainian militiaman, who was present at the terrifying bloody murder-*aktion*, that among the 31 martyrs who so tragically surrendered their sacred souls at that time, was the youngest son of the Rabbi of Sokal. He had the temerity, as related to us by the previously mentioned militiaman – to approach the German executioners with these words: ‘The entire German people will pay for our innocent blood... your end is near! As revenge, the German murderers chose not to shoot this dear, courageous Jew, but murdered him with an ordinary axe...

The next day, Sunday, a young Ukrainian lad brought a number of eyeglasses to Shmuel’tcheh the watchmaker for repair, which he found at that place, were the terrifying execution of 31 martyrs from Sokal was carried out

In the second half of 1942 the signs became clearer that the German executioners are making preparations to mass-slaughter all the Jews of Sokal. On an order from the *Gestapo*, all working Jews had to register in the *Judenrat*, and turn over their work cards, in order to get a stamp. As previously, the Jews of Sokal, in a mass, sought work. They believed that the work would protect them from harm, torture and relocation.

A significant amount of money was paid to be assigned to work...to any work... by Christian businesses, the post office by the train, by the *Judenrat*... People came in masses to the registration... and everyone saw a salvation in each stamp in the work card. People plainly believed that the stamp had magical power... it was especially so when the first ones receiving a stamp was the leader of the *Judenrat*, and his appointees, as did the Jews in the post office and the train station, those working at the mill and brick factory... and you understand that it also applied to the many who paid well for it.

There was a pressured common feeling that reigned in the Jewish homes of Sokal. Even the Christian neighbors could foresee the tragic end of Sokal Jewry. They knew from prior experience that such a stamp-*aktion* was a harbinger of a relocation... of a mass slaughter.

Suddenly the Christians stopped buying domestic goods from the Jews. In the eyes of the Christian populace, the fate of the Jews was already sealed. They knew that after the relocation that very likely all of the assets of the Jews were going to fall into their hands. A Christian entered the store of the writer of these lines, and simply demanded that I should give him part of the furniture that he saw in my residence... because: 'in any event you are not going to remain alive'... saying this to me with no shame at all.

Those who were not able to get a stamp, began to think about hiding places... in cellars... in attics... and also began to dig underground bunkers. Many Jews went over to Christians who knew them, in order to get past the critical time... The Christians were given the best and most expensive things from the house. The sense of insecurity and aggravation grew day-by-day. One waited in fear and trembling as to what the next day would bring.

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Sadly, everything that was foreseen became a reality. The German murderers took to the Sokal Jews with their full anger unleashed. First they murdered the Jews in the surrounding towns. From Poruck Jewish boys came running and told that German and Ukrainian militiamen dragged all the Jews out of their homes. Old and young, and drove them into the forest, where open pits stood ready. They were pitilessly shot by the German murderers and tossed into the mass grave that had been prepared. The same fate met

the Jews of the villages that bordered on Poruck. Only a few young boys managed to flee and to save themselves from this slaughter. They brought this news to Sokal about the relocation-*aktion* in their *shtetl*.

A similar mass murder took place against the Jews of Volodymyr-Volynsky.

It was on December 16, 1942 that the German executioners turned to implement a mass murder of Jewish Sokal. There were wagons at the ready beside the train station that were especially outfitted to transport people to the gas chambers.

It is difficult to describe the pandemonium that broke out that evening, when the news spread that the wagons had already arrived...the Jews of Sokal knew that the arrival of a larger number of wagons signifies a preparation for a murder-*aktion*... to a relocation... to another relocation... this is the end — death...

Overly frightened...confused Jews ran all over the streets looking for places to hide. Jews who worked, and had stamped work cards felt themselves more secure. They took their families along to their workplaces... the members of the *Judenrat*, all employed in the *Judenrat*, as well as the Jewish militiamen, wrote in very large letters on the doors of their houses: 'Here lives an employee of the *Judenrat*.' These words were meant to protect the residents of the dwelling from death. They believed that at least.

The night of December 16 to December 17, 1942 was a frightening nightmare for the Sokal Jews. The insecurity... the fear of the coming morning robbed everyone of their sleep,



On Thursday December 17, 1942 (6<sup>th</sup> of Tishri 5702), at five o'clock in the morning, the murder-*aktion* began in our city. Uniformed *Gestapo* staff and wildly incited Ukrainian militiamen in their black uniforms, accompanied by Jewish militiamen – surrounded the city and ordered that no Jew should attempt to sneak out. Anyone who attempted to flee, and was captured, was immediately shot on the spot.

In the city itself, the *Gestapo* staff with the help of the Ukrainians, dragged the Jews from their houses, chased sick people, women and children, all driven to the collection pont on the marketplace, near the court house... there, everyone was compelled to kneel with a head bent low an wait for the dark, bitter end...

The German murderers did not even examine those that had working card identification...young and old... skilled and unskilled for work, were driven out of their homes. There were a few isolated Jews who previously for a great deal of money received an assurance from a German robber that during the *aktion*, they will not be taken... The Nazi murderers did not keep their word... it was in this fashion that the watchmaker, Ephraim Windler, fashioned a gold ring for the *Gestapo* overseer and he was the last one assured that during the relocation-*aktion* inn Sokal, he and his family will not be taken. The watchmaker had trusted the German scum and now did not conceal himself. When the *aktion* started, the watchmaker and his family were among the first, who were seized and driven to the marketplace. There, Ephraim Wildner espied his 'protector' and he reminded him of his word and promise... instead of an answer the perverted German murderer took out his revolver and shot the poor watchmaker.

There were Jews who fell into the hands of the *Gestapo* even though hiding among Christians. There were those among the Christians who called the *Gestapo* on their own, and disclosed where the Jews were hiding.

2000 Jews – on that one day, the bloody Thursday of December 17, 1942 were driven together from all of Sokal. At about one o'clock in the afternoon these seized Jews were driven to the train station. Starved...exhausted...they went on their last journey through the emptied Sokal streets... whoever did not have the strength to go on and stopped along the way, was shot there. Among this driven horde, was a woman with a baby nursing at her breast. The German criminals shot this woman...the child was still alive and continued to suckle her breast...

Arriving at the train station, all the Jews were crammed in 80 to a wagon... the windows and doors of these wagons were blocked off with barbed wire. It was strictly forbidden to provide the thirsty Jews in the wagons with even a drop of water.

– 17 –

On the dark horizon of that period in time. Of cruelty and wickedness, the bright rays of light that showed humanity and a good heart were...very seldom seen... barely single rays of this kind... but signs nevertheless, that the roots of decent human behavior had not completely dried out.

Such an exception was the Austrian *Oberleutnant* Kroyfa the leader of a work camp for Jews near 'Mosty' Wielki.' who with danger to his life used every opportunity to rescue Jews. Always, when

anywhere in the area of his camp there was a relocation-*aktion* with a *selektion*, at the critical moment, he would try his best it intervene with the *Gestapo* and extract a number of Jews to work in his camp.

Now, like an angel, he appeared in Sokal at the last moment, when the transport with the Jews to be relocated could already be found at the train station. He received permission from the *Gestapo* to remove 50 Jews from the transport, under his presentation that they are needed for him to do work in his labor camp. This rare exceptional Austrian officer, left, taking 50 Jews not in the direction of his camp... he took them all to the Sokal *Judenrat* and ordered them to wait there until he sent for them. Among these 50 Jewish, a relative of this writer could be found, R' Itcheh Lawrence, who as a sign of thanks wanted to give the Austrian officer Kroyfa a gold watch with a gold chain. The gentle officer, however, did not take the gift. '*Halte das für dich! Ich brauche das nicht!*<sup>63</sup>' – he answered, and went away. He did not send anyone for the 50 Jews that he had led to the *Judenrat*... Regrettably, the Ukrainians told the *Gestapo* about his merciful act in setting the Jews aside. Kroypa was immediately sent to the front.

That same Thursday in the evening, the train with the seized Sokal Jews began to move from the train station, on the rail tracks leading to Belzec, with the fainting and confused Jews.

In the [train] wagons, among the overly frightened and weakened group, there were a few young men to be found, who know that no miracles will occur to rescue them from certain death... and seeing that they had nothing to lose, they were ready to do anything... for this reason only one thought enveloped them all... get off the train!... even if they were shot by a German bullet... it is still better than allowing themselves to be tortured... and at the time when the train was moving at full speed, they tore down the doors of the cars, and almost all who felt that they had a little strength left, jumped off the cars...

It is so easy to say this... they jumped from the cars being guarded by Germans, while the train was moving at full speed...many of these energetic young men were killed under the wheels of the train cars... even more fell from the bullets of the German soldiers who guarded the train cars... only single ones, with broken bones, most crawling on all fours, reached their homes.

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Immediately after this terrifying relocation-*aktion*, rumors began to spread that these German robbers are preparing to turn their city into a ghetto. Ghettos already existed in many cities and they were occupied by Germans who partly came from Poland. The Jews in these ghettos lived as if they were in prison, totally separated from the surrounding non-Jewish populace.

The German murderers brought to bear all the possible means to break the Jewish populace, whom they had fooled and swindled with the use of a *Judenrat*, with Jewish police, with their own post office, with implementing work cards, and on to of this, stamping these work cards which were 'falsified' cards given for a while the 'privilege' of working for the Germans.

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<sup>63</sup> Keep this for yourself, I have no use for it.

The truth was that these ghettos were set up only to concentrate the entire Jewish populace into a cauldron, under lock and key, guarded by an array of *Gestapo* soldiers, and fenced in with barbed wire, if not with walls, from which all roads led to a death camp — to gas chambers.

Also, our Jewish living quarters were far from exceptional. The bad news immediately turned into reality. In the fall of 1942 it was already known, that the *Judenrat* was negotiating with the arms of the *Gestapo* in regards to the area and borders of the ghetto. In reality, these were not negotiations. The *Judenrat* simply carried out the demands of the *Gestapo* and saw to it that the Jews enter the ghetto as quickly as possible. In accordance with the orders from the *Gestapo* the Jews first had to cordon off the entire length of the Schneider *Gasse* with barbed wire, and by doing so, it blocked off access to the Bug. The old marketplace and the Synagogue street belonged inside the ghetto, as did the Konotoffer *Gasse* and the Schneider *Gasse*. This ghetto prison had three gateways: one was by the Konotoffer *Gasse*, near the house of Makarakhy the Baker: after that there was a gateway at the principal entry near Fishl Tzaler's house, and finally, a gate by Metzia Laymzieder with a block by the house of Hertz Constantine.

The Jews had until October 15, 1942 to go over to this parcel. The *Judenrat* managed the allocation of living space in the ghetto. For each person, a two quarter meter parcel was allocated. Jews began to seek favors and pay bribes to obtain a better set of living quarters.

Yet another opportunity became available to the German murderers to deceive the Jews, who already harbored no illusions in connection with their tragic fate... however, despite this, a spark of hope flickered in their hearts...to endure... overcome the terrifying conditions... let it be in the ghetto... let there be overcrowding and filth... one must sustain one's self with all their might for that one befogged, and such an uncertain outcome to survive the war.

And so the Jews hauled packages and sacks full of old stuffs and household items into the ghetto... they took along a little bit of wood and a little bit of potatoes on small trays...

In the ghetto itself an outcry, a shout, an argument by who should occupy which allocated space. The Jewish militiamen became strongly involved in this... they had the objective of assuring that there would be order in the ghetto. On October 15, 1942 the gates of the ghetto were closed. The doors of the prison were pushed together. The *Judenrat* traversed the distance from Hertz Constantine's house to the dwelling of Rishi the Baker. Approximately 4000 Jews were now pressed together in such a small ghetto-area.

For all of the residents there were only 4 sources of water available. Starting as early as 4:00AM people stood in a line, in order to draw a bit of water.

Need and poverty grew day-by-day. Hunger and disease became daily occurrences. In order to save one's self from starving to death — attempts were made by a variety of means to smuggle in food, which did not belong to the light things.

It was even worse with the sick. Nobody took care of them. They lay abandoned... people with typhus in one bed with other diseased people in another bed... nobody wanted to complain that they were sick... the German healing method was already well-known in the ghetto, every sick person was shot.

One began to make preparations believing that the Germans were getting ready for a second murder-*aktion*. Already, just the rumor of a second *aktion* elicited a frightening pandemonium...to conceal one's self at any cost...to make use of anything as a hiding place...a tumult... running aimlessly around... people began to dig bunkers... practically an entire night was used, exhausting all energies, working to prepare hiding places deep in the ground.

The panic became more severe when about 1000 young boys and girls came to us from the Hrubieszow ghetto where such a bloody relocation-*aktion* had already been carried out, who along with other Hrubieszow Jews, had jumped from the overcrowded train cars, at the time that they rolled in the direction of Belzec and had the good luck not to be hit by the bullets from the Germans escorting the train. With considerable energy and exhaustion they then managed to reach the Sokal ghetto. They told gruesome details about the deportation-*aktion* in Hrubieszow.

Regrettably, these facts immediately became reality. On October 28, 1942 (7<sup>th</sup> Heshvan 5702) at six o'clock in the morning, the armed German S.S. soldiers and black-uniformed Ukrainian militiamen surrounded the entire Sokal ghetto. This was a sign that a new deportation-*aktion* was starting. A tumult arose in the ghetto...a trembling... Jews ran to hide themselves in prepared hiding places, in the bunkers and the cellars.

The Germans and Ukrainians ran through the ghetto streets like wild dogs, with help from the Jewish militiamen, they looked in every corner... from every hiding place they dragged out the totally frightened and unarmed Jews and drove them to the place near the Konotoffer *Gasse*... and from there, to the train station.

In that one day, the German executioners drove approximately 2,000 Jews to the train station. Guarded train cars already stood there... and more than 100 people were crammed into each wagon. Dr. Joseph Maltz יה"ע was among these victims, the father of the writer of these lines...along with my little daughter Lifsheh'leh יה"ע, barely 14 months old.

In the morning, after this bloody murder-*aktion*, the Jews who remained alive after this gruesome slaughter – left their caves and hideouts in trembling and anxiety... being very careful and untrusting they came out of the attics and cellars, in which they had hidden themselves...they were silent...personally not wanting to believe that they had remained alive... in a frightening silence they looked for their closest [relatives]... orphaned children ran all over the streets and cried in a heartrending fashion.

These confused Jews, who remained alive now ran to the *Judenrat* building. Maybe they will be able to obtain some fact about the fate of their nearest...about fathers ...mothers and children. One tells another of the miracles, thanks to which some managed to come out alive from yesterday's slaughter.

The writer of these lines, and his brother were among the first into the *Judenrat*. We asked what had happened to our father, a very sick man, whom the *Gestapo* staff had dragged out of bed, and literally threw onto a freight truck, in which there were already lying other victims pressed together, who were to be taken off to the train station. We were certain that our father ר"ע could not withstand the exigencies of that trip, and that he died shortly thereafter he had been loaded onto the freight truck.

When, at the *Judenrat*, we learned that all of the dead had already been taken out to the cemetery, we immediately ran there. And among the dead, who had not yet been given a formal Jewish burial, we searched for our dear father ר"ע. Regrettably we could not find him. Sima Schlager lay there... next to her body with her head shot off stood her husband R' Hersch, and wept bitterly.

We also encountered Fysheh Yuchts on the cemetery lot...he was busily engaged in giving his friend Gasthalter, the son-in-law of Schitz, a proper Jewish burial.

The death-train with its approximately 2000 Jews on it began to move out of the train station. This transport also contained the boys that had escaped from the at the slaughter at Hrubieszow and whom the *Gestapo* had seized in Sokal and were now deporting them to Belzec. They had gotten out of the hands of the Angel of Death, and had decided to tear themselves away [a second time] from the closed iron bars, from the intensely guarded freight trucks, in which people passed out from weakness, needing a drop of water...

Even before they were recaptured, they had already provisioned themselves with the necessary tools needed to break open the train car doors. When the train was stationary in Kristianopol, in order to receive a fresh load of deported Jews, these energetic young people did not delay... with their tools they hacked open the doors of the wagons and he who only had the strength leapt off. The German train escorts watched. They immediately started to fire their machine guns. The murderous bullets reached these heroic youths... only a few managed to reach Sokal... a frightening place to be, with blood all over their bodies.

They told that the Jews in the wagons understood that this was their last trip. That they are riding to their death. The young men conveyed details about this terrifying life in the wagons... about R' Mend'leh *Melamed* and about other pious Jews who each possessed a bit of drink, and drinking a 'L'Chaim,' they manifested a fully high state of morale, strengthened by their knowing and belief that soon their soul would be released, because they are going to die in *Sanctification of the Name*.

The boys who were saved told of yet another holy man, about R' David Sturm, who had a sum of money with him and divided it among the Jews who jumped from the wagons that had been hacked open.

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In the ghetto, a silence reigned after the last slaughter... a sad one... frightening. Almost all of the Jews of the ghetto had been deported or executed.

Immediately, the number of Jews began to increase, because other deportees came from the neighboring villages, such as: Tartakov, Stoyanov, and Khodorow. There were Jews who returned that during the entire summer of 1942 hid in the thick Wolhyn forests.

The German murderers deployed a variety of methods, in order to get the Jews to come out of their hiding places. For this purpose they employed false calming announcement and spread the word about, that Sokal has to become a '*Juden-Stadt*,' where all Jews will get work.

These pre-planned stories led to the fact that Jews who spent long months slogging about, and living in the most execrable conditions in the bunkers, in the forests, in hiding places with Christians, allowed themselves to be deceived and came out of their hiding places.

In this manner, the number of Jews in the ghetto grew to approximately 5000 souls. A confusion, and sense of helplessness now reigned even stronger among the exhausted, because the German orders, of detention in the manner dictated by the *Gestapo* offices it was now clear, that the Germans are getting ready for a new slaughter against the residents of the ghetto.

The German murderers began with a plunder-*aktion*.. The Jews had to turn everything over that they had accumulated to the *Gestapo*.

The nights were gruesome, and one trembled before morning, because everyone knew that a relocation – this is the deportation – this is the slaughter... death Because of this, anyone who still had the strength and means, began to build bunkers and seek new hiding places...this time better fortified and secure.

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An exceptional item of news tore through the frightening silence of the ghetto on the morning of November 22, 1942. The news went from ear to ear, that the president of the *Judenrat* had vanished along with his entire family, leaving only his old mother in the ghetto. Now no one had any doubt left, that the end was coming near... that this time the German murderers would finalize there extermination-*aktion*.

The *Gestapo* still put up a front, that nothing has happened. With false promises, it made efforts to lead the Jews astray. It ordered the election of a new president of the *Judenrat*. It was very hard to find a person willing to fill this position, who would simply be a yes-man for the *Gestapo*. Our important and refined Dr. David Kindler really did not want to take on the duties of *Judenrat* president. Engineer Schwartz also refused the position, but the *Gestapo* compelled him to fill this position.

Also, the writer of these lines, who up to this time was still in hiding in the ghetto, was convinced that the disappearance of the president of the *Judenrat* was a sign that the remaining Jews who were still alive are standing before a frightening total slaughter. I therefore decided to break out of the ghetto and find another hiding place. To my good fortune, during the first German murder-*aktion*,

I had made friends with a Christian, a rare, gentle Polish woman, Franciska Halamayova, who didn't live far from the ghetto. I discussed and established with her that when it got very hot in the Ghetto, she will hide me and my family in her house.

On the night of November 27, 1942, I and my family went out of the ghetto and set on the way to our Christian [friend]. Through barriers and abandoned buildings and shards from ruins, we reached the house of the lady Franciska. She immediately led us into a stable which stood at the side of the yard... there, in an attic-house the lady Franciska Halamayova hid us.

My brother, with whom I had retained continuous contact was left in the ghetto. I would get a letter from him that he would send to our Christian [lady] and in such a way that we received correct news about the continuing happenings in the ghetto.

It is only thanks to the news from my brother am I able to convey details about the further fate of the Jews in the ghetto, about their further tortures, and their extinction.

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The news that I received from the ghetto became worse day-by-day. As my brother wrote me – Day does not go by without executions, without shootings. The *Gestapo* man Riemann recognized Moshe Weber in the street, who was in the group of Jews that had been deported to Belzec. All the German did was ask him: 'what are you doing here?'– and not waiting for an answer he pulled out his revolver and shot him on the spot.

Abusz Wetter's daughter fled from the slaughter with her children to the *shtetl* of Mosty' and wanted to hide herself in the Sokal ghetto. The Germans seized her as she was smuggling herself in with her children, and shot them all.



פֿרָנְצִסְקָא הָלָמַיִוּוּוּ  
Page 304: Franciska  
Halamayova

Spotted typhus became a terrifying plague, that took on such dangerous forms, that on a daily basis more that 30 victims died on a daily basis.

There was an entirely too small number of Jews left in the *Hevra Kadisha*. They possessed a small wagon and a horse. On the small wagon there was a sufficiently wide box, in which there was room for 5 bodies. During the entire day, the horse dragged the small wagon containing the deceased to the cemetery. On the way back, this box was used to transport grain, which was purchased at an exorbitant price from the gentiles on the *Svatslawer Gasse* and smuggled into the ghetto interior. It was in this illegal manner that the Jews for a longer time were able to provide themselves with food.

But now, even this method of procuring food was made more difficult and complicated, because – as my brother related to me, the German

executioners strengthened their guard by using barbed wire, which surrounded the entire area of the ghetto. In general, the régime became more gruesome and more cruel. It was sufficient to be accused of committing a minor offense, and people were shot without a legal process. And so for example – when the *Gestapo* staff found out that the Orenower noblewoman had sent in a cordon of wood for the residents, they confiscated the wood, arrested choppers beat him murderously and afterwards shot him.

My brother told me about another frightening and bloody slaughter. Without any reason, the Germans seized 16 Jews in the ghetto, and led them out to the cemetery, where they had to prepare their own graves using only their hands, near which they were all made to stand. Their bodies fell into the open pit after they were shot by machine gun fire. Among these 16 victims, was the vice-president of the *Judenrat* and even the Chief of the Jewish ghetto police was not overlooked and was killed in a cruel manner.

This uncivilized behavior by the *Gestapo* bandits did not come to an end. The Jews were considered totally worthless... their lives lay in the murderous hands of the German and Ukrainian executioners.

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There also ere in the ghetto Jews, especially of the younger generation, that had heard about a resistance movement against the German authorities. They also found out that the neighboring forests, there were surviving partisan groups, that are organizing the underground to fight the German murderers. But these Jews had their doubts, not knowing if in the surrounding forests there were Russian partisans, that take in Jewish fighters with open hands, or it is being carried out by Ukrainian Bandera troops (named for their leader Bandera<sup>64</sup>), who were just as hostile towards the soviets, and also the Poles, and they especially hated Jews. For this reason, our youth decided to investigate the situation and to accomplish this three youths were sent out of the ghetto into the forest to contact the partisans, needed to manage the intake of a group of Jews into the ranks of the partisan camp.

The three emissaries returned from the forest with good news. The partisans are prepared to accept Jewish fighters. A raised combative spirit, full of hope, ready to sell their lives dearly– and so young Jews left the ghetto, who were eager to engage in battle against the cruel German enemy, in order to exact vengeance for the criminal deeds of the German executioners.

The disappointment was very frightening... how gruesome it was to discover that they had fallen into the hands of a contingent of Bandera troops, who deliberately fooled them.. they fell as victims to the gruesome and bestial nature of Ukrainian pogromists. Only two Jews of that group were able to get away and return to the ghetto. According to what they told, all their comrades were killed in the forest by terrifying means by the Ukrainian bandits.

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<sup>64</sup> Stepan Bandera (January 1, 1909 - October 15, 1959). A vicious anti-Semite with enemies on all sides of the war. In 1959, Bandera was assassinated by K.G.B. agents in Munich.



That is the way the attempt of the Jewish youth, to break out of the ghetto, ended, in order to take part in the heroic resistance movement, which was being conducted by partisans in the Wolhyn forests.

– 25 –

We remained in our attic residence with beating hearts, waiting for news from the ghetto. Monday May 24, 1943 Mrs. Halamayova came up to us and told us that in that evening, my brother Shmel'keh with his entire family, together with Dr. Kindler and his wife are coming to join us, and they will hide out together in the attic space. We waited with great impatience for my brother and Dr. Kindler. Getting out of the ghetto was no easy matter. The Ukrainian and German militia manned and intense guard by the barbed wire.

It was only first, late in the night, that steps were heard outside the stable. My brother and his entire family arrived, and Dr. Kindler, his wife and two sons. Mrs. Halamayova quickly led them to the stable, opened the door and showed them where our attic residence was, and serve as their hiding place. With our help, they all came up and in that process our group got larger.

It was quiet in the ghetto all of Wednesday. The relocation did not occur. The panic had been for naught... the fear had been for naught.

But to us, we thought of this as the silence before the storm. On Thursday, after the noon hour, already May 27, 1943 (22 Iyyar 5703), we heard an unusual sound coming from the street, the noise made by wagons. Through the cracks in the wooden wall, we saw whole columns of autos going by with German assault troops.

Barely two hours had gone by and we already heard heart-rending cries, wailing, that reached us, coming from the ghetto. We understood that the slaughter had begun.

A frightening silence reigned in our attic residence. A pain choked us... a pain... we did not shut an eye for the entire night, we stood in fear all day.

Very early in the morning, our Christian lady came up to us with some food. She confirmed that a deportation-*aktion* is being carried out in the ghetto.

We heard shooting going on all day...every shot pierced us in the heart. Frightening shouts were heard coming from the ghetto. Mixed with the frightened wailing of tortured Jews...at the same time the sound of music and singing reached us...These were the Ukrainians in Sokal celebrating their great achievement...the uprooting of the local Jewish populace. They demonstrated their glee with music and song in the streets because of the mass-murder of the Jewish populace.

As was told to us by Jews afterwards, who by some miracle stayed alive after this deportation-*aktion*, there were also Jews in the ghetto during the Thursday slaughter, who bravely resisted the German murderers. All these heroic Jews were shot on the spot.

According to the details that were relayed to us, the Thursday *aktion* excelled in its frightening cruelty. The German executioners carried out one of the bloodiest of the mass-murder *aktionen*.

With help from the Ukrainian militiamen, the members of the *Gestapo* dragged Jews out of their dwellings and hiding places, and with freight trucks, took them to a place, three kilometers out of the city, where open pits were already dug. There, the hapless Jews had to take off all their clothing, being naked, and throw everything they had into a carton, which stood near the pits. Afterwards, they were to stand themselves at the edge of the open graves. The bullets of the German machine gun fire ended the lives of the martyrs, which filled up the open mass-grave.

To fill the pits containing the Jews who were shot, the German murderers brought in Christian residents from the neighboring village of Horbakov... they later told, that after they shoveled the earth back they noted how the ground moved, probably from the convulsions of the Jews who were still struggling with the process of dying in these covered pits... The peasants had to shovel more earth onto the graves.

But this was not the end of the bloody slaughter. During the same day, Thursday, the Germans captured several hundred Jews and drove them to the cemetery... The Jews attempted to flee on the Swietozawski Road. They knew what awaited them... having nothing to lose, they attempted to save themselves in this manner... not one of these daring Jews remained alive... they were all shot.

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The follow-on news from the ghetto was gruesome. After the bloody Thursday, no Jew was seen in the streets. Whoever was not shot was hidden in a variety of hiding places... in cellars, attics, in houses with camouflaged walls... in underground bunkers. The ghetto looked like it had died...nobody dared to show themselves in the street. In the course of several weeks, the Germans and the Ukrainians ran about in the ghetto streets and searched for bunkers and other hiding places... whoever fell into their murderous hands did not remain alive... all were shot on the spot.

When the ghetto was cleaned of the tortured and dead Jews, when the *Gestapo*-murderers had gathered together the robbed Jewish assets – an open notice appeared on the walls of the houses, indicating that Sokal was '*Judenrein*.' Simultaneously, a warning was posted to the gentiles, that the hiding of a Jew will be punished by death. Along with this, it was stated that whoever would turn over a Jew to the *Gestapo* will receive a payment of 2000 zlotys and a liter of whiskey.

The entire area of the ghetto, all the houses and places were bought by the *Gestapo* and Ukrainians, who took the bricks and wood from the Jewish houses, sold them to the peasants of the neighboring villages.

Some Jews were still alive in a number of tightly packed hideouts among the peasants in the neighboring locations. They lived in fear...in terror – that the peasants not give in, and drive the Jews out of their hiding places.

Those of us in the attic dwelling had the great good fortune that we had encountered such an extraordinary, gentle, so rare to find among Christian women of that time, Mrs. Halamayova, who with her human behavior, strengthened our own condition, and held out the will to hold on, under these terrifying conditions, in which we lived.

The days stretched out in exhaustion and fear in that dark attic... every day felt as long as a year... the worms flooded us and inflicted their own torture.

Through a crack in the attic wall, our children looked at how Christian children were playing on green fields... how clear the sun shone outside.. And the scent of the blooming trees in the surrounding gardens...?

And despite this mood, we had decided not to give ourselves up, not to fall into the hands of the German murderers while we were alive. In addition to bringing along a variety of medications, Dr. Kindler also brought along vials of strong poison.

In March 1944, we heard the thrum of airplane engines, which appeared above in the skies. From a distance, once again we heard the sounds of artillery warfare.

At the beginning of June 1944 Mrs. Halamayova came upstairs to us and told us that the Germans had spoken of an increase in the number of German soldiers. It is easy enough to gauge our reaction... already on another morning, we had noted from afar German soldiers with tanks and mortars. Not far from our stall they began to dig foxholes... other soldiers drew telephone wires across the roofs of nearby houses... now we can see our tragic end for ourselves... We exhausted and suffered for so long to no end..Even Mrs. Halamayova, our protector, no longer brings food to us. It was only after the noon hour that she came entirely dissembled and was barely able to get the words out: 'Beg of God, because we are now all lost.'

Later on, she threw a German military newspaper to us, in which we found a very important bit of news, that on June 6, 1944 a second front had been opened in France, which is what we had hoped for, being in the ghetto still, with all the Jews... finally awaiting...finally lived to see! But we could not be pleased with this news right now...

When the Christian lady brought up some food that night to us, we couldn't take it in our mouths... yet we knew, we felt that our days, and perhaps even just hours of our lives, are numbered.

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For three days we lay in a condition of being beaten and apathetic resignation. Towards nightfall, Mrs. Halamayova came up to us with news, that the German soldiers are retreating from this location...a few days later we actually heard how the motors of the tanks began to run. It was clear, that the German military divisions were preparing to leave the area.

A glow of hope enveloped our hearts. We began to believe that we were destined to go on living... that we will emerge intact from this *Gehenna*.

But this good feeling did not last long. A few days had barely gone by and once again German soldiers arrived. As Mrs' Halamayova had informed us, the German military divisions had received instructions to evacuate the residents of Sokal and its vicinity, because a great battle is due to happen on the shores of the Bug.

This information confused us entirely. Where are we to go now? There was no point in thinking about staying with Mrs. Halamayova... indeed, she advised us that we should teach the children how to recite the Christian 'Paczezh' and they should flee... for our wives, she brought peasant clothing...

Suddenly – at the time we were thinking this way, and looking for a way out of our difficult condition, we heard the very strong noises of warplanes. Along with this, we heard the report of artillery fire in the area of the train station. These were Soviet Army divisions driving German troops before them... an intense battle broke out around our Sokal. Sunday, July 16, 1944 in the morning, we saw already how the German military was drawing back in greater speed in the direction of the Zabuzhzhya bridge over the Bug.

On the next day, Monday, Mrs. Halamayova came upstairs to us with the news that the Ukrainians are fleeing the city. Wednesday – July 19, 1944 before dawn, the last of the German soldiers drew back, and burned the bridge on the Babiniec behind them.. Sokal and the entire vicinity had been cleared of German soldiers.

Now, our Halamayova stood a ladder to the opening of our attic residence. One at a time, we climbed down from our hiding place.

We were free and our sufferings came to an end. We finally exited our hiding place in which we stayed for 21 months.

And our joy grew even greater, when we saw an additional three Jews, that our lady protector, the good-hearted Halamayova had hidden in her kitchen. These were: Yehoshua Krom with a wife and child (a grandson of Shmuel Tiszancis), and it was in this way that this gentle Christian woman saved 15 Jewish lives.

We now also found out that in a neighboring house, the former servant of Mrs. Linsker had hidden herself, with her two daughter.

Thanks to Mrs. Francizka Halamayova, one of those rare charitable [sic: righteous] people among the nations of the world, this handful of 15 Sokal Jews remained alive.

Now only one way remained for us... back to the ruins in our city, which was already '*Judenrein*', because all of Sokal's Jewry had been tortured and executed.



## **On the Ruins of Jewish Sokal**

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Freed miraculously, we impatiently counted the minutes when we were going to set out on the way to home. In the meantime, the road was completely blocked, because on this parcel, German mortar fire was still falling.

But our Dr. Kindler did not allow himself to be restrained, and with my brother Shmuel he went off in the direction of the city. He was drawn to the hospital, to the institution in which he had worked for so many years. He immediately wanted to know what happened to the few Jews that were hidden there during the time he was still working there.

It didn't take long that beaten and saddened they both came back and related details to us about the ruins in the ghetto. All that was left of the hospital building were bare walls... there was no trace to be found of any human life.

Despite this sad news we decided to return home. We really had no other choice. Exhausted and tired, we got on the way to re-enter our home that had been destroyed. That gentle Christian woman, Mrs. Halamayova, escorted us part of the way. Through back roads we soon drew near to the gardens near the church on the Babiniec, and from there we were able to reach our house, which stood near the post office where the Germans had set up a technical mail division. We tore down all of the barbed wire installations and all other modifications relating to the post office. Once again, we were in our own home... it is hard to believe... everything comes forwards as if in a dream.

On the second day, solitary Christians began to show themselves in the streets. Seeing us, they wondered, how is it that we remained alive. Now, we were greeted by the elderly Doctor Macienowicz and in a really hearty manner took pleasure with Dr. Kindler.

Our dwelling had been emptied of all household items. Together with my brother, we began to search among the ruins in the neighboring houses. Maybe we would find something useful for running a household.

Part of the building where the post office used to be was not wrecked. Nearby stood a cabinet in which a grenade had broken through part of a wall. We went in that direction. A frightful picture unfolded before our eyes... on a yard brick, there lay a Torah scroll... it was unwrapped and not clean... a little further there lay 17 additional Torah scrolls in a disgusting condition. We carried the Torah scrolls to our dwelling, and thereby Dr. Kindler took one Torah scroll into his home, where we prayed every Sabbath.

The house of our nearest neighbor, R' Shlomo Schuman ש"ת had remained intact. The entire house was now totally empty of anything. A deathly silence now reigns in Shlomo Schuman's saloon... it was always lively and lusty there...Until late into the night, one would hear the noise emanating from the Jewish merchants and wagon drivers. Now, only one person stood guard by the saloon-owner's house...the elderly Riczko, the drunkard, who over the course of many years had served R' Shlomo Schuman... Now he sits in the empty saloon, he mourns his balebatim, and relates that in the fifth week after the last deportation-aktion, the son-in-law of R' Schuman, Muli Rosenblatt had hidden himself in the attic along with his grandson, Shabtai... Riczko brought them food... until someone informed on them to the *Gestapo*.

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Weakened and exhausted Jews also returned from the forests. Now, we were a group of about 30 Jews that had emerged alive from the German *Gehenna*. This was now what made up the entire Jewish populace in Sokal.

WE now felt a little more secure, and along with a few other Jews I set out on the road to the area where the ghetto had stood. All around were ruins...bare walls... we are walking on sidewalks paved with the headstones from the [Jewish] cemetery.. On the walls of the wrecked buildings you can still read the anti-Semitic guidance: 'Don't buy from Jews!' We approached the gate to the ghetto... The barbed wire at the entrance had already been torn away. Only the booth that protected the Jewish militiamen stood intact.

We arrived at a frightening ruin on the Synagogue Street. Once again, bare walls, and in every corner tattered fragments of Jewish books floated around. A yard brick remained from the house of the Rabbi... however, the building of the *Bet-HaMedrash* was intact. On the wall to the entrance, hung a board with German writing: 'German Granary Storage.' There was a frightening sight inside... completely empty... and empty hall... no tables.. No benches... the *sztender* from which prayers were led was gone... there was no Holy Ark... the only thing that remained were the built-in steps leading to the Holy Ark... the built in foundation remained, on which the table stood. Four pillars remained... that is what was left of the Bet HaMedrash, where on a daily basis, a large gathering of dear and decent Jews came to pray... ... where are my comrades and friends, with whom I would meet there? Who does not remember the earnest and elevated mood that once reigned in the Synagogue Street during the High Holy Days?

There was a brook that ran in front of the building of the Bet HaMedrash, where the Jewish children used to play. The brook is now dried out... the Jewish children were exterminated.

We drew near to the Synagogue. The entry corridor was full of droppings used to fertilize the fields. In the middle stood a large weight... it was very difficult to open the door that led from the corridor into the body of the synagogue. Again, a frightening ruin... except for the Holy Ark there stood an emptied and orphaned house of worship.

We were soon at the Husiatyn *Kloyz*. The building had not be desecrated... but inside, another German storage facility for grain.

It was not possible to recognize the Konotopy place. There was no trace of the small wooden houses that stood there. The entire area was full of open pits... these were dug by the Sokal Christians and vicinity, looking for Jewish 'treasures.'

From the entire Konotopy place with its surrounding streets all that remained was an empty, pillaged area full of ruins... there was a yard brick and stones mixed together with traces of broken furniture. Here and there, one could still see signs of bunkers, where Jews had for some time hidden themselves.

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Finally, at the end, we went to the place where they had shot 400 Jews in the first days after the arrival of the *Gestapo*. The way took us through *Tartakov Gasse*. It [sic: the street] had been hacked up by the impact of grenades and it was very difficult to move around. When we first came to the field behind the brick factory, we took note of small, scattered mounds of earth, where our dear Sokal martyrs lay, who had given up their lives in the *Sanctification of the Name*.

A frightful shudder ran through our hearts... bitter weeping cause us all to break down... we were standing on the spot where our gentle Jewish folk were buried, who lived and worked hard in our Sokal settlement, which had existed for hundreds of years, and were erased and wiped out by such terrifying means.

We took leave of our tortured fathers, mother, brothers and sister after reciting '*El Moley Rachamim*,' and the *Kaddish*.



With bowed heads... with an ache in our hearts, we go back to the ruins in the city. In a sorrowful and oppressed state of mind we again reached the streets of Sokal. Again we step on the headstones that were used to flatten out the sidewalks of the street...the holy Jewish letters cry out to us... the names etched on these headstones... most that bear dates going back for hundreds of years.

It was difficult to begin building a Jewish life anew on the ruins of our home, of the settlement, where not very long ago there pulsed a full and honest *Yiddishkeit*... on a rich Jewish level.

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In November 1944, the New government of the Polish People's republic was temporarily based in Lublin (Warsaw at that time was still under German occupation), decided with the Soviet régime via an agreement regarding the repatriation of all Polish citizens, who lived in the areas under Soviet control. By virtue of the fact that Sokal fell under Soviet-Ukrainian control, now all former Polish citizens, as good Polish citizens as they were good Jews, earned the right to relocate to Poland. Our small remnant of Sokal Jews who remained alive, registered for repatriation to Poland.



Before leaving Sokal. My mother v'g and I felt that we had a sacred duty to bury my sister Chaya Dvora ש"ת, in a formal Jewish manner; she had died on 26 Elul 5702 in the attic, at the time we were

still in hiding with Mrs. Halamayova. At that time, we buried her on the yard under a tree. Now, after a search of two days, we found the location where she was buried. On March 25, 1945 we held the funeral. We went to the mass grave for the last time, where our beloved and dear ones lay, who were torn away from us before their time. We went through the one-time Jewish streets that had been erased from the earth... there were still a number of wrecked and vacant houses standing there... a deathly silence reigned, when we stopped with the casket by the synagogue... where one of us eulogized my deceased sister, and recited the *Kaddish*. At the cemetery, we laid my deceased sister, my Chaya Dvora חַיָּה דְּבֹרָה to her eternal rest, and in my personal chronicle I wrote the following at the time:

*'On the 4<sup>th</sup> of Nissan 5705 we brought our sister Chaya Dvorah חַיָּה דְּבֹרָה to be buried in a Jewish grave. Her grave is approximately five meters opposite the headstone of 12 Adar I 5695 beside Eliyahu Ze'ev ben Aharon Meir HaLevi, Eliyahu Wolf Strom.'*

It was in this fashion, that we, the pitiful remnant of survivors from Sokal took leave of our cemetery, with the graves of the Sokal martyrs.

We were still in Sokal for Passover of 1945. With difficult effort and exhaustion we were fortunate to procure matzos. We bought the pure wheat and personally ground it with a hand mill, whose stone came from a Jewish grave headstone.

After Passover we began our repatriation to Poland. Immediately after the holiday, the first group set out, consisting of a number of families. The second group to leave which, among others, contained Kindler and his family members, and the family of the writer of these lines, left Sokal on May 9, 1945. We were the last Jews of the Sokal Jewish settlement, of which no trace was left.

## **The Fate of Two Jewish Children: Miriam & Shlomit**

*To sanctify the memory of Maria (Miriam),  
Janina (Shlomit) and their mother  
Anna (Chana) Gruber, murdered in June 1943  
In the city of Sokal, in Eastern Galicia*

The suffering of Jewish children during this last period of our history was difficult and gruesome; this is because the fate of children – according to the Nazi program – in their ideology – was decided beforehand: they were all sentenced to be killed, but the enemy manifested a special tendency to cruelty, especially towards the Jewish children, – and from what we know to date, that the Hitler executioners, including also their young, and even ‘children’ (according to the elderly) of the Hitler Youth, showed a special talent for carrying out special forms of torture and acts of murder, first against domestic animals, and afterwards against Jewish children. This was meant to strengthen – the Hitler Youth, that is, – to be heartless and without a sense of being unbearable and unbeatable in battle against – the enemy!



Accordingly, we indeed find the rich repertoire of killing-methods, also those, that were specially or exclusively used against children, from their first day of birth or even after they were born (to shoot or slaughter in their mother's innards in order to kill them... those who guarded the maternity wards of Hitlerism, those who were first having to be born, was nothing more than a sport activity [to them]). (to shoot or slaughter in their mother's innards in order to kill them... those who guarded the maternity wards of Hitlerism, those who were first having to be born, was nothing more than a sport activity [to them]). (to shoot or slaughter in their mother's innards in order to kill them... those who guarded the maternity wards of Hitlerism, those who were first having to be born, was nothing more than a sport activity [to them]).



מרים ושלומית

*Page 317: Miriam and Shulamit*

I do not wish to record – in this book dedicated to the sacred memory of our martyr-heroes – a list of the German methods of murdering children; the hand does not lay itself down to write about them, and the mind is unable to grasp this! – But I must recollect here a very few, because first this can give us a picture of the deep and low levels to which the enemy sank, and of the entirely unnaturally gruesome methods which were used to kill our children in those years!

It is because of this, Hitler and his helpers – are to be reckoned as *untermenschen* with a high education! – finding the dead children who had been torn apart in two: grabbing hold of a child by the feet and smashing its head against a wall, or in the self-same polished and shining boots... and, in general, this was done in the presence of father and mother and overseen by a clutch of murder accomplices, who were eager, and acted with triumph at the chance to be able to kill a child with one blow!

We can read about this even in published books of the respectable literature that dedicate pages to the ending of the war, and for us we also heard of the various law-based actions against war criminals, of which only a small part were captured and tried in a court. Even further, these gruesome acts became daily conversation pieces among simple, average, innocent-naive people; as well as becoming interesting items for... literary reading material, created for the mood of the average

cultured citizen, whether or not young. How can this make an impression on them – these young readers, is a peripheral question, what we must answer for. If life itself has placed us in front of this harsh scene, which is in general not easy to respond to, there is a problem: do we even have an attempt to provide an answer to this question?!

Understandably – pure – factual, objectively taken – the fate of the Jewish child was more than inhumanly frightening, and does it allow for itself in general to be expressed in words, grasped and articulated, with which *people* engaged in this!

For the present day onlooker, these writings appear to be more suffocating, because here we are talking of children, who have to account for their souls only to God. They have not yet even tasted of life! And already they are going to their death? – Sentenced by whom? It is by these satanic executioners!

What is even more painful that greets the eyes – even before it is examined with the senses – the unending deep abyss, the fundamental basic difference between a murderer and a child. Here is a beast, who with his whole consciousness is bent on murder; his bloodthirsty body is seeking to inflict all manner of inhuman acts, he takes pleasure in it, he derives satisfaction from the other's suffering and death. He wishes to satisfy his lust with innovative, newly discovered methods, because he is refined, holds a degree, or either naturally, of specially chosen and become a master of it. Natural instinct is distorted by perverted 'cultural objectives,' of the twentieth century!

On the other side is a child... a Jewish child...

I believe that no child in the world is as naive as a Jewish child...

The fact of those times show us that— one can say what one wants about the grown-up Jewish person, that he is already rooted, always working and worried; fate has led him to this state...but even among these grownups there are dreamers and seekers of The Divine; dreamy and fixated on the world-to-come or rather the world that is yet to be, they pass through the real world – I would have said – with closed eyes! We have more dreamers and thinkers among we, the Jews, than any other nation...

And where does the Jewish child belong – I would say – they are all lost in dreams, thoughts, living on this world in this life together with the life of a world that does not exist, reality does not penetrate to them. Now, with time, in their mature years – under the hammer of daily life, the Jewish child comes to understand the real world, reality, and becomes a 'practical' person. And this not always for all children!

The Jewish child – was and remains dreaming in *his world*. This was the constant and so it was in those years as well!

The murderer approaches the child with his murderous intents – with prepared instruments. One might think, that the reek of his murders would carry for miles, that even that the child should come to fear him.

But somehow – the child goes to him as if he were a member of his family, asking the best of questions, and is ready to play with him..

And it goes so far, that a grown child, during the Aktion, in the last moments of everyone's death when the open pits are ready to swallow up those Jews who are shot and not shot, in a calm tone, the murderer is asked if it is necessary to take off the undershirt, or can it remain on him?!

Because the murderers – who did killed Jews, so to say, for *idealistic reasons*, also looked after assuring that nothing of Jewish belongings be lost, even not the personal clothing of the martyrs, and therefore demanded of them – before putting them to death – to undress, gather together the clothing in one place. Knot shoes together in pairs, so that no searching will be required afterwards (economy!) – and to assure they are not contaminated with the blood of killed Jews...

And the Jewish children did this, not seeing anything bad in this, not missing anything – and nothing..

That is how far the naivete of the Jewish children extended.

It is these thoughts that come to mind when one reads the letters and cards that the two young girls Miriam (Maria, aged twelve) and Shlomit (Janina, ten years old), wrote from those places, and at that time, to their father (Medical Dr. Zigmund Gruber), who at this time was to be found as a prisoner of war from the Polish army, in Rumania.

And it was typical of them [to do this], as was th case with Jewish children in general, and especially at that time.

And, permit me in connection with this to articulate a thought:

In the years between both world wars, Polish youth was – so to say – in swing! Having almost achieved almost all rights of citizenship, fought itself – and fought continuously – for a stable existence (the painful Jewish problem: making a living!) Polish Jewry began to take an important place in all (and I stress this word) areas of human culture. Whether in Poland or outside of its borders, Polish Jews began more and more to reach the first plateau. They played – not paying attention to the various limitations on the part of the Polish régime – a rat her significant role in the country itself, and in the Polish economy, culture, and even the organization of the government. And also generally in Jewish life – all over the world, certainly the Polish Jews began to continuously push themselves into the foreground. And this was just the start.

Being more talented, as the maturing generation began to manifest itself to be, this new generation which was born and grew up under 'normal' circumstances, between the two world wars, and had more opportunities to learn and get educated than either their parents or grandparents, wherever you went: to a 'plain' school, a gymnasium, or even to a university – the Jewish youth – took the first places. In competitions of the most prominent sort, Jewish children in general would take first prize, in a variety of fields, this despite the fact that – as is known, there was no special affection for Jewish children, who felt that their time had come, and studied arduously and with greater commitment, in

striving to achieve something in their lives. It was a rare period in time – when one saw such a mass move to culture, education, which we came to see in the Poland between the two world wars, and everything came to them in such a natural and simple way... With that kind of optimism and belief in the world and in their own strengths...

This youth was talented enough to achieve much in their lifetime, truly much, and they were certain in their belief that they were ready to fly... But it was rare to find any of them – until the outbreak of the war – already having ‘achieved something,’ [because] they were first getting themselves ready...

What would have emerged from this youth had they been permitted to grow up?!

Then Hitler arrived, and everything came to an end.

What remained of all the struggle and education of our young generation?

From our two girls, nothing remains except a few tens of items written in a childish handwriting to their beloved father – post cards, postcards did not even remain from other children!

And what could be expressed in such a postcard. Written in constant fear, and under control of their own mother, named Anna, who knew quite well that this card was going to pass through double censorship and every pejorative word will prevent the card from reaching its destination...

It is expressed in the correspondence – written, as you understand, in Polish, many cases in rhyme – first and foremost the great love to their father, their longing for him. They do not know, nor understand why he has been cut off from them? Indeed, why? They, with their childlike naive presentation – despite the fact that both did not lack for intelligence, having good sense and understanding, know more than one might suppose for their age, cannot understand the untamed manner of the world! Who taught them this? Who made them comfortable with this?! Because what they were taught was only about the beautiful and good, shielding the younger generation from anything bad and dangerous, ‘to be good and pious,’ this was the blessing for a little Jewish girl.

The events of the great war had not yet become known to them, and who is to tell if they did any sort of assessment about the fate of the Jew in these world events, not even in the last months of their lives, which was so suddenly and heartlessly torn apart, in the moment when they seized [so-called] ‘illegal’ Jewish lawbreakers: first the mother, and afterwards the two little girls, whose only desire was to live, all this took place after the Murderer gave his death sentence: ‘*Judenrein*’!

And so they were indeed shot and buried somewhere or another.

The mother was ‘revealed’ by a local lady Polish informer on the street, and were immediately turned over to the *Gestapo* (June 7, 1943): The two girls a bit later (28<sup>th</sup> of June).

One fate united them all: mother and child!

And how tragic: it took place at the moment that the father, who was in Rumania, made the greatest

effort , in order to extract his family from the Hitlerist *Gehenna*, The family knows about this and hoped for this reason and thought to themselves, that they were on the tip of being released.

Dr. Gruber used a variety of methods to attempt and rescue his family. Here, a medical train is traveling from Romania to Lvov to bring back Romanian wounded and he had the chance to make the acquaintance with the commandant of the train, a Romanian doctor, who promised to bring the family (as a Romanian woman who is a nurse) with this train to Romania. It travels and returns with nothing, because it was not possible – for the Romanian doctor – to enter German-occupied territory, and could not bring the train from Lvov to the nearby *shtetl* of Sokal, where the family had relocated itself from Lvov, in order to hide with the help of a committed Polish nurse.

And here, another possibility appears for smuggling people out of the Third Reich in captured Romania. A higher German officer, that works in the *Gestapo* (!) Involves himself with this matter, you understand for good money. The transaction is carried out, the German officer received the money by hand, rides off, and in between, Dr. Gruber gets informed by a delayed message from the Polish nurse, Viera Novak, that the family no longer exists...

On the address of Mrs. Novak, for the whole time, there was correspondence that went on between the divided members of the family. The gentle Polish woman had the will, being one of the few Righteous Gentiles of the World in those places, to either hide the Jews, or her name should figure in the address of their correspondence.

In this manner a Jewish family was executed: this was the fashion that the lives of two promising young girls were torn apart, who in their lived had learned a lot, a very substantial lot – apart from what they learned in school – Hebrew, music, etc. – But who taught them to distinguish a ‘cultural’ murderer from a just plain wild animal?!

Who taught them to defend themselves from this sort of a modern murderer and had a normal and even has a friendly smile for his victims?!

In pre-war times, and during the gruesome war, we held back from staining the pure children’s souls with the sole understanding about falsity and theft, about murderous killing and acts of rape. And even in the worst and last minutes of life in the Nazi *Gehenna* mothers, Jewish mother trembled over the lives of their children, as they protected them, so they should not, God forbid, know of wickedness, that reigns over the world and of gruesome death that awaits them, these innocent children. They still did not want to disrupt the childish naive world, the world of righteousness and being honest.

And so the Jewish children fell as well, as pure and innocent souls, that were not darkened even with the simple thought about terrifying fate, that awaits them from the side of the Hitlerist murderer.

## Frightening Details Regarding Ukrainian Cruelties<sup>65</sup>

It is evening, and it is dark outside.<sup>66</sup> It can be about half after four in the morning. After so much thinking and having to do this during the entire day and entire night, they fell into a deep and snoring sleep. But I can't sleep...something oppresses and bites me... I am thinking of something.. I myself do not know what.

For several minutes my mother woke up, and told me about a dream that she had. She told me, she dreamed of small cookies, flour... after this – she traveled off with the train and said her farewells and kissed me. My mother said that this was not a good omen, – during the time of the first and second *aktion* I too had that dream. 'But now – it is all the same to me, which ever way it goes, I don't want to torture myself' – 'for this entire time, I exhausted myself only for you...' 'While still in Sokal, I wanted to surrender myself... because I knew, no matter what, we would not be able to hide ourselves.' 'I only wanted to live to see the day when vengeance was taken o those who torture us in this way... but this is impossible... because... – when even if they do not find us, we will be frozen by the frost, and the lice will consume us.' – when they took your father, I cried so much... but your father did not make that much of an effort, he did not suffer so much... and after so much torture and pain, I must die... 'your father, indeed, was a *Tzaddik*...'

With these words, my mother once again fell asleep. But I could no longer fall asleep... I wanted to take a nap... but I tried in vain. A variety of thoughts rattled around in my head, and I thought about every word that my mother had said... in the end, I could not control myself, and I began to cry.

From time to time I would stick out a hand... nothing, in vain... every time I took out... I neve4r failed once. My mother would say to me: 'should the *Master of the Universe* make it possible – even though it is impossible – and I will emerge free. I will ask the doctor how do lice multiply a 1000 times at once.'

While I was thinking this way, I heard the sound of footsteps. I then hid myself and I immediately heard firm footsteps and a shout: 'Who gave you permission to sit here?'<sup>67</sup>

It was as if my heart had stopped beating... I could not breathe... I became completely confused. Someone's hand grabbed me by the jacket, with which I was covered, and began to pull on it. Not knowing what to do out of fear, I shouted: 'Mamma!'" But my mother was no longer sleeping. When they dragged me out of the cavern, my mother was already there... by herself, she was the first one to crawl out.

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<sup>65</sup> The frightening facts of Ukrainian cruelty, about which Dov Zigman had already written about in abbreviated form in his previously cited letter, he especially described more fully in a remembrance pamphlet, which this time he had written in the Polish language and sent to his uncle in America and Aunt in Haifa. This is the Yiddish translation. [– Ed.]

<sup>66</sup> Zigman begins his memoir from the time when he and his mother lay hidden in a grain silo.[– Ed.]

<sup>67</sup> Zigman quotes these words of the Ukrainians in the Ukrainian language – we provide the Yiddish translation. [– Ed].

It was frightfully dark outside, such that I could not see anyone. It was first when someone shone a flashlight that I was able to see three bandits with rifles in their hands.

– ‘*Nu* – we go’ – one of them said.

It became still. Suddenly I heard frightening wailing. The other Jewish woman and her child, who were lying on the other side of the silo, thinking that they would forget her, at no time showed any sign of life...now, only – when they began to drag her out, she began to scream and weep bitterly. The Ukrainian murderers were not expecting her crying, and forcefully yanked her out. It was from her screams that one of the Ukrainians understood some words and instantly became incited his greed.

– ‘Whatever you have to give – give it – he shouted out.

A minute didn’t go by and in his hands already he had a ring.

‘You have nothing else?’

– ‘I don’t have anything!’

– ‘and you’ – he turned to my mother – ‘you have nothing?’

– ‘I have nothing’ –

– ‘and if we find something?’

– ‘then you can do with me what you want’!

– ‘good!’

‘Now come behind the barn and we will talk.’

All of us were afraid that, behind the barn, they will kill us and we began to cry and shout as loudly as we could. Everyone of us said something, shouted and cried.

The Ukrainian commandant, a short, heavy and swarthy Vlasovite<sup>68</sup>, did not want me to wake up the people in the village, and began to speak with us in Russian.

– ‘Why are you screaming like this, and wailing?... I will tell you... the situation is as follows. A darkness fell on the Jews, as they let the Soviet partisans know about us. That is why we are searching for you... we will do nothing to you... our objective is to bring you to the leadership there,

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<sup>68</sup>

A soldier in the army of General Vlasov who had defected with his troops to Nazi Germany.[– Ed.]

and there— what they will do to you is unknown to us... I believe that they will not kill women and children... men – perhaps... but you, simply, they will arrange for you to go do work somewhere... and you will work. For now, sit on the wagon and we will ride over to the command.

Hearing such words, caused our hearts to lighten for a minute. We began to get onto the wagon. Just me – because I was barefoot and had swollen feet from the frost, could not get over to the wagon under my own power. One of the murderers took me, and carried me to the wagon. But in the manner that he carried me, it became clear that they are not taking us to their command, but to a brook.

When I was already on the wagon, I said to my mother, – If you want to, run away! I can no longer flee. It was only because of you that I tired myself out this far’ – was my mother’s reply.

– But... mother dear... I will not run away without you! And furthermore... I am barefoot, I have swollen feet, and I am unable to take three steps.’

We travel on further. The peasant, who drove the wagon, was the same one in whose home we hid, and quite likely was the one who informed on us. Three Ukrainian bandits went behind the wagon.

–‘Where are you taking us?’ – my mother asked the peasant – ‘tell me’...

– I do not know’...

We travel on further. Around us are fields covered with snow... everything around us is white. As if to make things worse, that night brought on an intense frost, such that all of us were trembling from the cold. Generally, we are at a far distance from the village, because one or two times we heard a rooster crowing in the distance.

Suddenly the wagon stopped and did not move. At first glance it was a wonder to me, as to why he would remain standing in these white fields. However, this was no time to stop and wonder. Three Ukrainians came nearer to the wagon.

– Down!’... Down! Why are you just standing there?... get down...’ they began to shout in their Ukrainian language.

Now we understood what was going to happen... we hear a scream... a wail... but what good was shouting on this open field!

– ‘Is this the company command?’ – my mother went to them and asked.

– Down! What are you standing for?... To death... an end!’ and he delivered her a blow with his rifle butt.

We alighted from the wagon and did not stop shouting and crying... we knew though that this was our last minute.



– ‘Lie down... Lie down quickly!... don’t ask a lot...’

– ‘Dear people, what did we do to you...why do you want to kill us?...

‘In what way do we keep you from proceeding... have some pity!... don’t kill us.... we fled towards you... we to want to live...’

– ‘Why are you fiddling about?!’ – one of them shouted and hit my mother with his rifle butt.

– ‘Death and an end!... you Jewish Moscovite partisans!... you betrayed our country!...’

With an ache in the heart, knowing what awaits us, we laid ourselves down on the snow. But I could not lie... even though I was certain that I would not flee. A Ukrainian hit me twice with his rifle butt, and I fell to the ground... but I stood up again. I stood and watched, how three bodies lie on the snow, like starved herring, waiting for death.

Suddenly I heard an order from the swarthy Vlasovite... his strong voice, like thunder, shook up and tore the silence of the night’s stillness.

– ‘*Konvodir*<sup>69</sup>! Raz!’ – his voice echoed back.

At that moment, a shot rang out...light flashed about and lighted the area around me. I became ice-cold... I began to tremble as if I had a fever... I became confused.

A minute did not pass before we heard a second order given... and again a shot, that tore apart the night’s stillness and lit up everything around me. Now I saw the laid out bodies on the snow... but at the same time. I heard a quiet groaning, which came from the child’s mouth... the child, who lay in the snow beside his mother... a bullet had happened to have struck the child.

The same scene was repeated in a minute. Suddenly, as I stood there disoriented, and looked to the group just as one of the Ukrainians hit me on my bare flesh... I fell to the ground.

This time, I did not attempt to stand up, even though I knew that the column had approached me. Suddenly a shot was heard... I remained frozen stock-still for a minute... I curled myself up and remained lying down. As I lay this way, I thought to myself.. I don’t feel anything here... perhaps my soul is already in heaven?...

Soon the Ukrainians began shouting again: ‘Throw them into the brook!... tear off their clothing!’

I turned myself in the direction from which I heard the voices. Two murderers came closer to the Jewish woman, who lay wounded even back from the outset, and as soon as they began to tear her clothes off, she began to act wildly, screaming to heaven, and wailing.

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<sup>69</sup> A title given to the individual leading the captured. [– Ed.]

I heard my mother's voice; that voice will forever remain in my memory to the end of my life, because these were my mother's last words: 'Have you no fear of God?! Are you going to throw us into the brook while we are still alive?'...

But the Ukrainians wanted to be rid of us as quickly as possible, and because of this, when the [other] Jewish lady did not stop screaming, they all stood around her, and one of them hit her in the head with his rifle butt. Blood spurted into my eyes... I remember nothing else. It was only early the following morning when I awoke, did I take note of the fact that I was in a hospital and my feet were wrapped in lamb's wool. ★

In a letter of March 16, 1946 to my aunt in Haifa, Dov Zigman writes at the end:

My dear aunt! In several letters I have written to you my memories of what I went through. I only communicated one fact to you, how my mother was killed. But this is not even one percent of everything that I lived through. After I fled the place by the brook, things became one hundred times worse. I was captured many times, and I fled many times.

However, it is impossible to document all of this. When I will come on a trip, I will tell you everything.

### One of the Righteous Gentiles of the World

איינע פון די חסידי אומות העולם



טעקלא לאשקיעוויטש

## Dov Zigman's Experiences in the Ukrainian Gehenna

By A. Kh.



דוב זיגמן

Pag 330: *Dov Zigman*

Dov'chek Zigman, a child of Sokal, whose father and mother were killed during the frightening Hitler-era went through all seven levels of Gehenna and by a miracle came out alive from this frightening destruction.

After the war, together with other rescued Jewish children was sent for training in Italy, not far from Milano, where he waited to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel.

At the beginning the young Dov'chek felt very much alone at the training center. A deep sorrow enveloped his soul. He had remained alone... the frightening experiences weighed heavily on his disposition and tortured his state of mind. What especially hurt him was the knowledge that he had been orphaned, that he has no one in the world. He did not yet know that he had close relatives in America and Israel.

Being in training, by happenstance he got news, that a sister of his mother, Szprinza, lived in Haifa, and in America his mother's brother Henryk Klinger [lived]. For Dov'chek, this initiated a new segment in his life. A hearty correspondence went on between him and his relatives. In a whole array of longer letters, Dov'chek portrayed the suffering and pain endured by himself and his mother during the gruesome war years. A number of these letters with these memories were written in the Polish language, and both relatives sent them to the Chairman of the Sokal *Landsmanschaft* in Israel, Dr. Kindler, noting thereby, that many letters were regrettably lost.

Dov'chek's letters to his aunt in Haifa is presented here in Yiddish translation. The letters to his uncle in America have the same content.

### **The First Letter to Dov'chek's Aunt, Szprinza in Haifa**

Written in December 1945

**Dear Aunt and Uncle!**

I did not believe my own eyes, when the telegram containing your addresses was brought to me. I was already totally without any hope, because many times, I have written to the administrative offices in other bureaus, but nobody replied. I even received one reply, that you could not be found. Since that time, I did not believe and I might one day find you. Not only you... also my uncle and aunt in America, because I also did not have their address.

I cannot document all of my experiences during the Hitler Era, because I could not write them down even in a period of an entire month. But how it came to be that I had no address, I must write down for you.

My mother always wanted to give me a note with addresses... I did not want to take it, because I never thought that one day I would be separated from my mother... I always rescued my other first, even before myself. At that time, I no longer had my father.

And it happened that when the Ukrainians took us to the brook, where they wanted to kill us, I did not even think of running away, because my feet were frozen from the frost. But – after they ordered us to lie down, and shot at me, at my mother, and others, I do not know what happened at that time... I heard some shouting in Ukrainian, and how a blow landed on someone's head... blood spurted into my eyes... what happened afterwards, I do not know... only when I woke up did I take note that I was in a stall and my feet were wrapped in lamb's wool.

That is why... I had no address.

Now I am here in Italy, 60 km. From Milano in '*Beyt Aliyat HaNoar.*' Thank heavens I am in good health. Up till this time (until I received the addresses of my relatives – Ed.) I was always sad, and lonely, because I had no person as a relative... I never even received any letters. Almost all of the children, who are here with me, have some member of their family, who is looking for them, and writes letters to them. Most have obtained certificates and traveled off to relatives. Only I have received no letters, and even didn't have any hope to ever see someone from my family again.

But now that I have received an address, I have the hope, I have, just like others, a family, actually quite close ones. Auntie dear, you do not know and cannot imagine how happy I am... not only once did I tell my friends, that I have an aunt in Palestine and an uncle in New York, but I don't know their addresses. And when my friend brought me the telegram from Haifa, he noted: 'now you have to arrange a little celebration... now that you have a reason'...

Dear Aunt! Only 53 Jews survived from our city of Sokal. Dr. Kindler and his entire family remained, and after the Soviets marched in, I was with them for the whole time. He treated me like his own son, he provided me with everything, just like he did for his own family. I traveled with them to Cracow, and from there (also by happenstance) I then traveled alone on the way to Palestine and up till now, I am in Italy.'

At the end of the letter, Dov'chek pleads that he should be answered by letter... he repeats this request many times.

## Letter to Dov'cheg Zigman's Uncle Henryk Klinger in New York written January 23, 1946

Dear Uncle!

I write a letter to you every week, just as you asked me to. In this letter, I reply to several questions that you posed to me in prior correspondence. I am replying to you in a highly abbreviated format, because otherwise I could not get all this material into 3 volumes.

First question: When was I deported from Sokal?

Dear Uncle! A week after the Germans marched in, they ordered all Jews – aged 16 to 60 years to present themselves at the Ukrainian field. My mother also went there. The Ukrainian militiamen selected 300 people, among them also my father and shot them all in the brick factory.

Six months later the first '*aktion*' took place, during which they deported 3,000 Jews to Belzec where they were [killed and] cremated.

Two months afterwards (we were already in the ghetto) the second *aktion* was carried out, during which time they seized 2,500 Jews. My mother and I were part of them. In the depths of the train car, in which they were taking us to be killed, we bored out a small opening, through which Jews began to jump out. My mother did not want to escape, but I nevertheless pleaded with her and gave her a push to get her through the opening.. Immediately after her, I too jumped. I did not suffer any physical damage. I immediately found my mother. She had a broken nose and was only semi-conscious. With a very strenuous amount of effort, I was barely able to bring my mother back into the ghetto.

All other things in the ghetto ad been plundered and we lived from whatever we could get back from the homeowner. My mother would sell these items and buy bread.

In this manner 8 months went by. At the end of May 1943, the Germans implemented the third *aktion*, but this time to make the place '*Judenfrei*,' meaning that whatever Jew they captured they killed, and in the Lemberg district there is not to remain a single Jew.

At that time, we spent 12 days in a bunker...it was the way it was, and so forth...I will tell you when I will come to visit you; now I am writing in an abbreviated form.

Because we were there for 3 days without bread or water, we were forced to go outside. We were 30 people. Fifteen went to Wolhyn... thirteen went in the direction to meet death... my mother and I went to the house structure of Paszkowski. He did not want to hide us... so we went into a corn silo. The militiamen noticed us there, and took everything from us that we happened to have. My mother was already prepared to surrender in order to be killed... I was barely able to convince her otherwise, and we went off to Wolhyn.

With God's help and luck, we were able to cross the border into Wolhyn. There were no Germans there anymore, only Ukrainians.

After 5 months, when the Soviets were far from us by about 200 km. The Ukrainian partisans, the so-called 'Banderaists' who fought for an independent Ukraine began to murder Jews, who had managed to survive in Wolhyn. This was exactly in the wintertime in the month of December. We hid ourselves in straw, but we had nothing to eat. My mother went to the village people, for whom she had sewn, and asked for a bit of bread. With us, was another Jewish lady with a boy.

In Wolhyn, almost all of the village people were sympathetic to Bandera... they therefore informed on us, and on the Eve of *Rosh Hashanah* three Banderaists came and took us in custody. But seeing that the other boy and I began to cry and scream, they said that they are taking us to the headquarters and my mother would sew there.

But instead of the headquarters, they led us to a brook... here, they ordered us to lay down, and began to shoot at us. I didn't even think of running away, because my feet were swollen from the frost and I was barefoot. But – but, after the shooting, when they began to tear off the other woman's clothes, and she began to scream, then one of the Banderaists hit her in the head with his rifle butt and blood spurted out into my eyes. Disoriented, then I began to flee... on the following morning, I woke up in a stall and my feet were wrapped in lamb's wool.

Since then, I began to wander from house to house... I had to cry and plead for pity, that I should be allowed to spend the night. I had to run away every day... three times they (the Banderaist – Ed.) Did an inspection of the entire town... but I always managed to elude them. This is how I went about for 6 months from one village to another... life itself disgusted me...

Fifty Banderaists grabbed me and walked me around for an entire 24-hour period...in the end, however, I got away from them at night.

I wandered aimlessly at that time for an entire night and it was first at four o'clock was I able to enter a house, where 'hourly students' lived. I was able to sustain myself there for 6 months, until the Soviets arrived.

This telling is about one 100,000<sup>th</sup> of an abbreviation... but you can more or less orient yourself from it. I forgot to write is that my mother was casually tossed into the brook.

With this, I end my storytelling for today.

## Frightening Details Regarding Ukrainian Cruelties<sup>70</sup>

It is evening, and it is dark outside.<sup>71</sup> It can be about half after four in the morning. After so much thinking and having to do this during the entire day and entire night, they fell into a deep and snoring sleep. But I can't sleep...something oppresses and bites me... I am thinking of something.. I myself do not know what.

For several minutes my mother woke up, and told me about a dream that she had. She told me, she dreamed of small cookies, flour... after this – she traveled off with the train and said her farewells and kissed me. My mother said that this was not a good omen, – during the time of the first and second *aktion* I too had that dream. 'But now – it is all the same to me, which ever way it goes, I don't want to torture myself' – 'for this entire time, I exhausted myself only for you...' 'While still in Sokal, I wanted to surrender myself... because I knew, no matter what, we would not be able to hide ourselves.' 'I only wanted to live to see the day when vengeance was taken o those who torture us in this way... but this is impossible... because... – when even if they do not find us, we will be frozen by the frost, and the lice will consume us.' – when they took your father, I cried so much... but your father did not make that much of an effort, he did not suffer so much... and after so much torture and pain, I must die... 'your father, indeed, was a *Tzaddik*...'

With these words, my mother once again fell asleep. But I could no longer fall asleep... I wanted to take a nap... but I tried in vain. A variety of thoughts rattled around in my head, and I thought about every word that my mother had said... in the end, I could not control myself, and I began to cry.

From time to time I would stick out a hand... nothing, in vain... every time I took out... I neve4r failed once. My mother would say to me: 'should the *Master of the Universe* make it possible – even though it is impossible – and I will emerge free. I will ask the doctor how do lice multiply a 1000 times at once.'

While I was thinking this way, I heard the sound of footsteps. I then hid myself and I immediately heard firm footsteps and a shout: 'Who gave you permission to sit here?'<sup>72</sup>

It was as if my heart had stopped beating... I could not breathe... I became completely confused. Someone's hand grabbed me by the jacket, with which I was covered, and began to pull on it. Not knowing what to do out of fear, I shouted: 'Mamma!' But my mother was no longer sleeping. When they dragged me out of the cavern, my mother was already there... by herself, she was the first one to crawl out.

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<sup>70</sup> The frightening facts of Ukrainian cruelty, about which Dov Zigman had already written about in abbreviated form in his previously cited letter, he especially described more fully in a remembrance pamphlet, which this time he had written in the Polish language and sent to his uncle in America and Aunt in Haifa. This is the Yiddish translation. [– Ed.]

<sup>71</sup> Zigman begins his memoir from the time when he and his mother lay hidden in a grain silo.[– Ed.]

<sup>72</sup> Zigman quotes these words of the Ukrainians in the Ukrainian language – we provide the Yiddish translation. [– Ed].

It was frightfully dark outside, such that I could not see anyone. It was first when someone shone a flashlight that I was able to see three bandits with rifles in their hands.

– ‘*Nu* – we go’ – one of them said.

It became still. Suddenly I heard frightening wailing. The other Jewish woman and her child, who were lying on the other side of the silo, thinking that they would forget her, at no time showed any sign of life...now, only – when they began to drag her out, she began to scream and weep bitterly. The Ukrainian murderers were not expecting her crying, and forcefully yanked her out. It was from her screams that one of the Ukrainians understood some words and instantly became incited his greed.

– ‘Whatever you have to give – give it – he shouted out.

A minute didn’t go by and in his hands already he had a ring.

‘You have nothing else?’

– ‘I don’t have anything!’

– ‘and you’ – he turned to my mother – ‘you have nothing?’

– ‘I have nothing’ –

– ‘and if we find something?’

– ‘then you can do with me what you want’!

– ‘good!’

‘Now come behind the barn and we will talk.’

All of us were afraid that, behind the barn, they will kill us and we began to cry and shout as loudly as we could. Everyone of us said something, shouted and cried.

The Ukrainian commandant, a short, heavy and swarthy Vlasovite<sup>73</sup>, did not want me to wake up the people in the village, and began to speak with us in Russian.

– ‘Why are you screaming like this, and wailing?... I will tell you... the situation is as follows. A darkness fell on the Jews, as they let the Soviet partisans know about us. That is why we are searching for you... we will do nothing to you... our objective is to bring you to the leadership there,

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<sup>73</sup>

A soldier in the army of General Vlasov who had defected with his troops to Nazi Germany.[– Ed.]



and there— what they will do to you is unknown to us... I believe that they will not kill women and children... men – perhaps... but you, simply, they will arrange for you to go do work somewhere... and you will work. For now, sit on the wagon and we will ride over to the command.

Hearing such words, caused our hearts to lighten for a minute. We began to get onto the wagon. Just me – because I was barefoot and had swollen feet from the frost, could not get over to the wagon under my own power. One of the murderers took me, and carried me to the wagon. But in the manner that he carried me, it became clear that they are not taking us to their command, but to a brook.

When I was already on the wagon, I said to my mother, – If you want to, run away! I can no longer flee. It was only because of you that I tired myself out this far’ – was my mother’s reply.

– But... mother dear... I will not run away without you! And furthermore... I am barefoot, I have swollen feet, and I am unable to take three steps.’

We travel on further. The peasant, who drove the wagon, was the same one in whose home we hid, and quite likely was the one who informed on us. Three Ukrainian bandits went behind the wagon.

–‘Where are you taking us?’ – my mother asked the peasant – ‘tell me’...

– I do not know’...

We travel on further. Around us are fields covered with snow... everything around us is white. As if to make things worse, that night brought on an intense frost, such that all of us were trembling from the cold. Generally, we are at a far distance from the village, because one or two times we heard a rooster crowing in the distance.

Suddenly the wagon stopped and did not move. At first glance it was a wonder to me, as to why he would remain standing in these white fields. However, this was no time to stop and wonder. Three Ukrainians came nearer to the wagon.

– Down!’... Down! Why are you just standing there?... get down...’ they began to shout in their Ukrainian language.

Now we understood what was going to happen... we hear a scream... a wail... but what good was shouting on this open field!

– ‘Is this the company command?’ – my mother went to them and asked.

– Down! What are you standing for?... To death... an end!’ and he delivered her a blow with his rifle butt.

We alighted from the wagon and did not stop shouting and crying... we knew though that this was our last minute.

– ‘Lie down... Lie down quickly!... don’t ask a lot...’

– ‘Dear people, what did we do to you...why do you want to kill us? ...’

‘In what way do we keep you from proceeding... have some pity!... don’t kill us.... we fled towards you... we to want to live...’

– ‘Why are you fiddling about?!’ – one of them shouted and hit my mother with his rifle butt.

– ‘Death and an end!... you Jewish Moscovite partisans!... you betrayed our country!...’

With an ache in the heart, knowing what awaits us, we laid ourselves down on the snow. But I could not lie... even though I was certain that I would not flee. A Ukrainian hit me twice with his rifle butt, and I fell to the ground... but I stood up again. I stood and watched, how three bodies lie on the snow, like starved herring, waiting for death.

Suddenly I heard an order from the swarthy Vlasovite... his strong voice, like thunder, shook up and tore the silence of the night’s stillness.

– ‘*Konvodir*<sup>74</sup>! Raz!’ – his voice echoed back.

At that moment, a shot rang out...light flashed about and lighted the area around me. I became ice-cold... I began to tremble as if I had a fever... I became confused.

A minute did not pass before we heard a second order given... and again a shot, that tore apart the night’s stillness and lit up everything around me. Now I saw the laid out bodies on the snow... but at the same time. I heard a quiet groaning, which came from the child’s mouth... the child, who lay in the snow beside his mother... a bullet had happened to have struck the child.

The same scene was repeated in a minute. Suddenly, as I stood there disoriented, and looked to the group just as one of the Ukrainians hit me on my bare flesh... I fell to the ground.

This time, I did not attempt to stand up, even though I knew that the column had approached me. Suddenly a shot was heard... I remained frozen stock-still for a minute... I curled myself up and remained lying down. As I lay this way, I thought to myself.. I don’t feel anything here... perhaps my soul is already in heaven?...

Soon the Ukrainians began shouting again: ‘Throw them into the brook!... tear off their clothing!’

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A title given to the individual leading the captured. [– Ed.]

I turned myself in the direction from which I heard the voices. Two murderers came closer to the Jewish woman, who lay wounded even back from the outset, and as soon as they began to tear her clothes off, she began to act wildly, screaming to heaven, and wailing.

I heard my mother's voice; that voice will forever remain in my memory to the end of my life, because these were my mother's last words: 'Have you no fear of God?! Are you going to throw us into the brook while we are still alive?'...

But the Ukrainians wanted to be rid of us as quickly as possible, and because of this, when the [other] Jewish lady did not stop screaming, they all stood around her, and one of them hit her in the head with his rifle butt. Blood spurted into my eyes... I remember nothing else. It was only early the following morning when I awoke, did I take note of the fact that I was in a hospital and my feet were wrapped in lamb's wool.



In a letter of March 16, 1946 to my aunt in Haifa, Dov Zigman writes at the end:

My dear aunt! In several letters I have written to you my memories of what I went through. I only communicated one fact to you, how my mother was killed. But this is not even one percent of everything that I lived through. After I fled the place by the brook, things became one hundred times worse. I was captured many times, and I fled many times.

However, it is impossible to document all of this. When I will come on a trip, I will tell you everything.

## **The Rescue of 15 Jews in an Attic Above of a Pig Sty<sup>75</sup>**

**By Y. Szmulewitz**

We ave just recently celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the great Normandy invasion, when the allied forces, at the beginning of June 1944 broke through the strong wall that the Führer called 'his fortress to Europe.' The historic undertaking has preserved memories among the Jews of that dark period; Jews that were left dangling between life and death.

This invasion is especially remembered by fifteen Jews, against whom the sword of the Angel of Death had already been drawn. Were it not for the June 6, 1944 invasion of Normandy, these Jews would have been turned to dust...one of these Jews, Moshe Maltz<sup>76</sup>, who today lives in Newark New Jersey, tells about the miraculous chapter of those days, during which the Jews were though of as no more than refuse in the eyes of the Nazis.

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<sup>75</sup> Translated from the Yiddish Newspaper, *Der Forverts* of June 27, 1964. [- Ed.]

<sup>76</sup> His memoir appears in this book. [- Ed.]

‘In connection with the allied forces in the European front – Moshe Maltz tells – I remember one episode out of a chain, of difficult suffering, that was born by 15 Jews that were a remnant of six thousand in one city, far from Normandy, which, despite this distance, indirectly saved our lives.’

The location of the 15 Jews, were those from Sokal and the vicinity around Lemberg (Lvov) in Eastern Galicia. Sokal is well-known to the Jewish immigrants in America, because in Austro-Hungary the city lay on the boundary with Poland – and Holyn<sup>77</sup> On one side – it was close to Vladimir Volynsky, and on the second side to Hrubieszow. Before the First World War, an unnumbered Jews stole across this Russian-Polish border. The Jews of Sokal at the time, established a special committee to deal with the intake of Jews into a Jewish shtetl, who had fled this boundary. All manner of assistance that they needed, was provided to such Jews and they were transported to a place that enabled them to reach ‘*The Golden Land*:’ America.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, Sokal was captured by the Soviets. As was all of Eastern Galicia. Organized Jewish life was dismantled, and practically vanished, however, the local Jews exerted themselves to continue their way of life by accommodating themselves to the new conditions, until suddenly on June 22, 1941, the substantial tidal wave of a proud Hitler force also engulfed the Jews of the *shtetl*.

Agony and suffering began immediately for the Jews of Sokal, plunder and murder, and in the end – death. The Nazis ran wild in a manner that aroused a sense of horror, in the Jews of the place. Six thousand Jews were killed, old and young...

During this slaughter that was targeted at the Jews of Sokal, only 15 were saved. There were four men, five women, and six children.

‘ We fled possessed by fluttering – Moshe Maltz now tells – hungry and without strength. We felt the presence of death on all sides. We did not even have a remnant of hope that we would remain alive. And then a miracle occurred. And after that, we were again stalked by danger, and again the great miracle occurred..’

In the end, after wandering, during which fear unceasingly escorted us, these fifteen Jews, consumed by hopelessness, reached a certain village. At night at a deliberate silence, we knocked on the door of a Christian lady, Franciska Halamayova. The woman was 58 years old at the time, and she had one daughter Halina.

– I see that you are Jews – the woman said in a delicate voice – don’t be afraid of me, I will help you. You will be with me as if you were my own flesh and blood.

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<sup>77</sup> Perhaps meaning Wolhyn

And indeed, that is how it was. Franciska Halamayova brought the 15 Jews in great silence, over whose head hovered danger, to an upper attic above a pig sty. This will be your hiding place. Perhaps a miracle will take place.

More than twenty months – Maltz tells – we fifteen Jews lay in this upper attic above the pig sty. We were asphyxiated by the heat and cold, by hunger and thirst, sick and pursued, swollen, and eating vermin that had found themselves garden of Eden for themselves with us in this upper attic above the pig sty. At the same time that we were squirreled away in our hiding place, in the spring of 1942, the war of the Germans against the Jews reached a peak of intensity. Everywhere: ghettos, hunger, *aktionen*, plagues, plunder, and murder and deportations to death camps. All around us, Jews drowned in a sea of blood and tears. Is it possible that, we the 15 Jews, consumed by fear and suffering in this upper attic, will live to see the death of these murderers?’

And so days went by, weeks and months, under continuous fear. First [the Germans] penetrated deeply into Soviet Russia, and so the danger to concealed Jews was minimal. However afterwards, at the beginning of the year 1944, when Hitler’s armies were rebuffed and retreated along the entire length of the Russian front, conditions worsened. Life for the hidden Jews became disgusting, and a great sense of hopelessness reigned over them...

When Hitler’s armies reached Eastern Galicia, the Poles fled because of the deeds of terror by the local Ukrainians. The 15 Jews that were hidden feared that their savior, the Polish woman who was so noble, will be uprooted from her house and they will remain abandoned. The retreating Nazis took over every houses in the area that were left behind by the Poles.

The Nazis were to be found in our area as well – Moshe Maltz tells – with the help of cracks in the upper attic we saw their murderous faces... we were forced to hold our breath, and we lay full of fear, our frustration was roiling and we were literally going out of our minds. Here-here, death draws nearer, what are we to do? Heavens, why do you not say anything? Take pity on us, do a miracle for us!’

Around us, the Nazis placed a huge front of cannons, airplanes and tanks. About us the armies of the murderers swarm, and in the middle, up in the attic of the pig sty, fifteen Jews flutter helplessly between life and death.

The noble lady Franciska Halamayova decided not to abandon the house. In the eyes of the hidden Jews she was like an angel, who voluntarily enters the lair of the lion, in order that she be able to save the Jews on which danger gazed. Because she did not forsake her home like the other Poles, because if so, fifteen Jews would immediately fall into the hands of the Nazi murderers who would find them, and without compunction, kill them.

At the beginning of June 1944, in the middle of the night, the gates of the town businesses were burned down, and also that of where the Jews were hiding in the upper attic. The Hitler troops brought in tanks, and additional cannons. The Jews, in the upper attic by the roof, had their souls

almost extinguished from fear... with the coming of dawn, looking through the cracks in the boards in the attic floor, they saw the Nazi soldiers digging holes, pulling telephone wires and guarding the roofs of all the roofs on their houses, surrounding them. In a short time, they will reach the pig sty where they are crouched in the thrall of terror.

During that entire day – now Maltz tells – the Christian woman did not come to us. They prepared themselves to die... but on the following morning, Mrs. Halamyova arrived. She brought us food, though through a fugitive way; everyone prayed to God, because we were all lost...

However, a wondrous miracle took place. All the houses in the village were empty. The Nazis made use of the shingles to speed up their digging. There was only one house, the house of Franciska Halamyova in which the Nazi officers holed up, and did not touch. An beside the house, there stood a watchman by the pig sty, in which fifteen Jews lay hidden, who for all this time flitted between life and death.

To our surprise, one day the noble Christian woman came ro the way up to the roof to the Jews– you are saved! – she gave us this tremendous news – the allies have opened a second front in Europe. Tonight, the entire Nazi division is leaving, they are going to France to fight the allies.’

Immediately after this, the hidden Jews, looking through the cracks that were in the attic walkway, tat the Nazis are disassembling and packing up all their equipment. ‘Already by that night – so did Maltz tell, we saw the gates opening, The Nazis left with all of their gear. In the end, we were able to breathe like free people. As you can see, we were saved by in the rear, thanks to the allied invasion of Normandy.’

Fifteen Jews that were saved by a miracle, live today in the United States and Israel. Among them are Maltz’s wife, and his son who is now a pharmacist; similarly do Maltz’s bother and two sisters. One of them, at the time was with her little girl, who today is married.

Of the fifteen Jews that hid in the upper attic of the pig sty, was also the well-know Sokal doctor David Kindler with his wife and two children. Currently, Dr. Kindler lives in Israel and he is the Chairman of the Organization of Sokal Émigrés. Yehoshua Krom was also among those hidden in the attic, who lives with his wife and children in Los Angeles.

# The Course of My Life During the German Occupation

By Safa Rotenberg  
(Of the Byk Family<sup>78</sup>)

## Sokal, Sunday June 23, 1941

This tranquil night in June was disrupted by the thunder of an artillery barrage. At first I thought these to be army drills, however I immediately heard the word 'war' from my mother, and with the coming of dawn, I saw units of the first German troops on the move into the town. I was still at an age when I could not evaluate the implications of war, and what sort of results the Jews were to get from the barbaric onslaught of the Germans. In general, it was already on the next day that I was an eye witness to how the Germans behaved toward the captured Russians, because without accounting for national loyalties, they murdered them by shooting on the area of the Catholic cemetery.

Our lives in our city underwent a complete change. Without waiting, the Germans began '*aktionen*' against students, with the aid of a Ukrainian militia that was immediately organized, they gather u' and to their first martyr s out of the city to their deaths, among them was our neighbor: Yaakov and Leon Honig, Yekhezkiel Kellner, Dov Falker and Kil. A few days after this, an order came out to all men between the age of 16-60 to assemble in the marketplace quare, and from them, they separated 400 men, most of the intelligentsia, who were killed afterwards by methods known to no one. At that time, my brother David Byk was murdered. It was forbidden for Jews to be in the street without physical evidence of their origins, this evidence was in the form of a white band on which was placed a blue Star of David. At that time, the *Judenrat* was organized which issued orders, according to the demands of the Germans, ordering that our younger people were to perform the hardest labor. Te worker received a Card of Life from the allocator of the labor. I, my younger sister aged 14 years, as well as a group of young women began to work in the brick factory. To finish them, they we brought them in wheelbarrows to be baked, and in this way we carried out work that was done by hefty male farmers. But there were only girls there from age 14-17. Our supervisor, Rota, and elderly German, compared with other people was not a bad man; he permitted us to gather turnips in the field, but this occurred only when he was in a good mood. The turnips sweetened our cheeks as if they were produce from the Garden of Eden, because hunger began to press us in a very sharp way.

After some time passed, we were driven from our house and a Ukrainian family moved in to live there. Because I was a good worker, Rota provided me with a small room in the brick factory, and I lived there with my family: my other and two sisters. My father died while I was still a baby aged three.

In view of the fact that our house was outside of the city, my mother had the opportunity to trade foodstuffs with the farmers, and because of this our condition was lightened somewhat. Generally,

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Born in Sokal on January 1, 1926.

this ideal state lasted for a short time, because the first ‘*aktion*’ burst upon us. Out of the news that reached us from other cities, we knew what the hidden danger was in an ‘*aktion*,’ because the most important thing – was a good hiding place, and truthfully, we were able to complete and hide in a camouflaged place made among the bricks. We had freedom of movement in our little room, and we held on with hands for dear life with our companion when we heard the conversations of the Germans and the expert named ‘Andres’ a *Volksdeutsche* who helped out the Germans with their searching.

The ‘*aktion*’ continued for continuous days. It was not terribly difficult to uncover the hiding places of the martyrs sent to Belzec. No man knew where they were going. There was a lack of broken hearts; many young people who believed in their life’s destiny, went to their work with a stout heart, but on the way to their work, they were seized and added to the destined mass.

The mood quieted down a little in the city, not to say that there wasn’t a day without victims. We got our bread in accordance with [meal] cards; to try and enter a market square was fraught with the danger of death.

In time, the Germans came up with a more successful plan: in order to concentrate the Jews, they established a ghetto, and they forced into it, not only residents of Sokal but also the Jews of neighborhood towns and villages. It was in this ghetto of suffering that we learned of: hunger, suffering, and typhus.

## **My Life in the Ghetto**

My work in the brick factory came to an end. A room appeared for us in the ghetto. I received permission to transfer, and began to work as a household assistant to a *Gestapo* man named; Luki. I would arrange things in an orderly fashion in his dwelling, fix his socks, shine his shoes, which from time to time were covered with blood. He was like a frightening dog. I was able to see the way they were, but I was not permitted to touch anything for him that was edible. There were arrangements of good things, but out of fear in case this was sort of a trap in order to engage me, I didn’t have the nerve to touch anything, perhaps he was testing my honesty? I was not surprised that such a thing could cost me my life. After I finished my work, I would return to the ghetto both hungry and tired.

It didn’t take long, and even here too, I ran out of work; in general it was forbidden for all Jews to leave the ghetto. A severe hunger reigned in the ghetto. Before the communal kitchen, and in front of a number of houses, long rows of hungry children stretched by, and they would put out a hand for bread and a thin soup. Because of the hunger and overcrowding, a typhus epidemic broke out. Twenty people a day, and even more than this, would give up their souls, and their corpses were flung on piles that were in wagons, and taken to a mass grave. Those that remained alive looked like mere shadows. Increased frequency of house-to-house searches in houses, and everyone that was sick that was found there was murdered right in front of their family.



To this day, I cannot forget the earthshaking sight my residence in the ghetto. A drunken Gestapo man was looking after a young, strong youth, Henek Braunstein from Lvov, who had married a young lady from Sokal named Fafa Salpeter. Henek did not comprehend what the order of the German was, and the latter too out his revolver and shot Henek in the head who immediately fell to the ground in a swoon. I stood stone-cold silent under the terrifying impression this made, and I saw how his life was ebbing away, how his body spasmed, how his lips, which a moment before moved with ease, now stilled, and how he, like a beautiful statue— was yet another victim among the victims of our ghetto.

Everyone understands that those who were alive wanted to go on living, believed in miracles, and occasionally had the ability to see people in the streets about them, whispering [prayers] for salvation that is drawing near. This news gained rapid wings and spread through the ghetto whose residence believed that in a very short time there would be an end to our suffering. But they ended up in a condition not as they believed. Suddenly a second *aktion* broke out, and with the help of the Jewish militia, this time without any difficulty, pierced the hiding places of the people. The wailing and pleading were for naught – they were sent off to Belzec in trains.

And my family and I survived this *aktion* as well, because we were hidden in a deep cellar. The head of the *Judenrat* was captured during the time of the fleeing, and he along with his family were shot. The engineer Schwartz was given this position, but since he was not able, and also did not want to carry out the order that the Germans gave him, he too was killed a short time afterwards. Before this, he had lived in our neighborhood.

The summer was marvelous, we wanted so much to live! The sun lit everything that was above ground, except us. Heavy clouds covered our sunshine, and all our hope was in vain.

After seven months of suffering in the ghetto, another ‘*aktion*’ burst upon us, which in this case left no hope for any one of us; cellars and hiding places were of no help to us this time. Every Jew, his faith condemned him to death, because this time around the city of Sokal must be ‘*Judenfrei*.’

Death that brings us down, waited for all of us. In freight trucks, the Jews were hauled out of the city, behind the brick factory, and there they were forced to take off all of their clothes, and were shot with machine guns, and they drop, while still alive but nothing else, into the deep trenches that had been dug for military purposes at the time of the Russian capture in 1939.

And once again, I hid myself along with my family in a deep place dug into the ground, and to our good fortune, the Germans did not discover us. We crouched there for three weeks, our store of food ran out, and there was practically no person to see in the ghetto, and from them it became clear that there was no way to escape to Wolhyn, where a group of laboring Jews still existed. Because the barbed wire fence was not being guarded, we still decided to get out of the ghetto at night. A Polish lady known to my mother promised to hide one of us, and my mother decided to send me to her. ‘Perhaps at least one of us will remain alive...’ my mother and sisters went out on the road on foot, facing Wolhyn. My disappointed knew no bounds when the Polish lady asked me whether I had a

lot of money, and when she received a negative reply from me, told me to get out of her house. I decided also to head for Wolhyn not having the faintest idea of how to get there. At night, I returned to the ghetto, I tied the small package to me, and at the night after next, took off on my way out of the ghetto. I did not know I what direction I should go. I knocked on the door of the house of people I knew, Poles – a teacher of mine in the past who lived in Wolowka. They fed me and showed me the way that leads through the forest. I made fast time at night, and hid during the Day, and in this way – after several days of wandering – and only with God’s help for certain – I reached the town of Poritzk in Wolhyn. There was still a residual number of Jewish men and women working there. They spoke very sparsely to me, because everyone that joined them was a trap for them, and accordingly was boundlessly happy that I ran into my mother and sisters, hidden in a granary. No one took care of them, so it was up to me – as a rescue between all of them – to decide things. After many arguments, I was accepted into a group, and my sister also got work from the farmers. One herded cows while the second knitted overcoats. My mother was with me. We almost never saw the Germans, and issues were handled by the Ukrainians who were eager to establish their own state. They organized a wing called ‘*Banderovtsii*’ with Bandera at their head, and we, the small number of Jews worked for them. Their attitude towards us was like the attitude of the Germans, and I was a witness to it:

On one night they murdered twenty Polish families close by, and compelled the Jews to bury them. A short time later we got the feeling that they didn’t want us, and one day they ordered us to stand with the tools on the field in order to send us off to a different place. Was already familiar with their forms of violence, and I convinced my family to flee. We had only one night left in order to get the thing done. In the meantime, a number of residents of Sokal joined us, among them: the Margalit family, Mund Leider, Liszik Doner, Lunya Frier, Rivka Ford with her children, but for some reason no man was in a hurry to leave. Only 16 of us grouped together a night, and e fled into the forest. All those who stayed behind in the field, as was ordered were killed by shooting.

At the hour we reached the forest my mother visited my little sister, but since I knew what fate awaited us at every minute, I gave the farmer who lived nearby, some valuables and he brought me and my mother to the forest. After two days, I sent for my little sister, but I id not get to see her yet. Dear Gina was left along the way. This was the first blow taken by myself and my mother. When my older sister was killed – I will never know. They told me in Ibiza.

## **In the Forest**

A hard winter came in 1944. We all crammed ourselves into a bunker dug deep into the ground. The water and food gave out. We melted snow in order to get water, and the men would go out at night to steal potatoes from the piles, and this is the way we lived for three months. Under these conditions, I reached the most beautiful year of my life: my eighteenth year. I received one or two potatoes in the camp, that is to say a full day’s portion. Sixteen mouths gave me a kiss on the forehead.

More than hunger, it was the lice who plagued us, that literally ate us alive. Accordingly their numbers grew. We would sit for whole days and scratch each other till blood ran.

Despite all this, the flicker of life burned within us. We began to prepare ourselves for liberation, that was going on, and getting closer. Up to a point in time when two of the young men went out to the village to get some potatoes, and they were captured there. Our bunker was exposed an hour afterwards. I was found on the ground, because I had advised my friends to return back when I saw people coming near with rifles in their hands. I began to flee when sparks of fire started bursting around me, and it was only after I came out of the forest – this was February 13, 1944 – I noticed that I was dressed in a thin shirt, half of which was old, and I had large farmer's boots on my feet. Being out of breath, I sat down, and only then realized that my mother had remained in the bunker. I was frozen like a stone, but eventually the fear of death won out, and I once again tried to save my life. I began to wander, and when my feet started rubbing against the big boots, I took them off, and walked barefoot in the snow. Everything about me aroused curiosity, people looked after me, and undoubtedly considered that I was out of my mind. I entered one of the houses, and to my good fortune these were Baptists – Poles. As understood, I concocted a tale that I am a Polish girl from Wolhyn, because the Ukrainians had killed my parents, that my name was Kirisha Szolorowska (I used to have a friend by this name), but this time I was not able to deceive them. They recognized that I was Jewish, but since the Baptists were good-hearted, they let me lodge for a couple of days, gave me water to wash myself, food and clothing, and that's how we disguised the time, as if I was looking after him, to this day, and this helped bolster my confidence to find my own way. The wounds on my feet kept opening and were visible. I asked a doctor, and he referred me to the doctor of the village. Mrs. Rakhinska, who received me for an examination, when she heard my concocted story that I was Polish and from Wolhyn, received me like her own daughter. Since she was a religious Catholic, I was compelled to pray and kneel. The news spread quickly though the village that a new girl was being lodged there, and the boys began to play guitars, and sing love songs under my window. My mood was full of good spirits, at the same time that my heart fluttered inside of me, until one day a student recognized me, who in the past had attended the gymnasium in Sokal, and burst into shouting that I was Jewish. My doctor immediately forced me out of her house. I went to a small village that had been burned and hid myself there for a time. From there I reached Varenzh. Once again luck was on my side, and a very poor Ukrainian family took me in. The lady of the house prepared a hiding place for me in the attic of the granary and they hid me there. And because they had nothing to eat for themselves, they overlooked me more than once. There were a terrifying three months, months of hunger and loneliness. Frequently I would dream of freshly baked rolls, od bread and of water. I craved with my whole heart to eat bread and drink water to my fill, and not only once. My companions were mice that I recognized in my location, I would look at them, and I shared bread with them that were infrequently brought to me.

Happiness and loss of spirit, constantly dominated me on July 20, 1944 when I saw the Russian soldiers, and I was able to stand on my exposed feet oozing blood.

I found out that Dr. Kindler remained alive. I ordered a small coach to take me to him. He concluded that my rundown condition was due to hunger, and that it will get better in time. For a while, I

needed to walk on crutches, but in general, my condition truly began to improve. This was the last time that I was able to see the city where I was born, and our house that had become strange to me. Occupied by strange people. I left the city with an aching heart.

I was liberated on July 20, 1944.

My mother was killed on February 13, 1944.

## In A German Labor Camp

By Aryeh Fass<sup>79</sup>

One of the central methods used by the Hitlerist murderers, in order to realize the satanic plan for the total extermination of the Jewish people, was forced [e.g. slave] labor. This slave labor was the first level in the extermination-*aktion*. Under the cover of work, Jew were deceived in order to transfer them to the gas chambers. All over the General-Gouvernement<sup>80</sup> labor camps were created at various points of the land, and along with it, certain crafts were required for the so-called '*arbeits-gemeinschaften*,' where Jews worked for the German military.

It was not easy to be permitted to participate in such work. Often, one had to pay very well to be allowed to undertake and do such work in such a facility. A general belief reigned in the ghettos that such work, even under the most difficult conditions will save a person from deportation to death..

Such work-camps were also created in the larger areas, so-called '*liegeschäften*,' that were nationalized by the German occupants. In once such a camp in the vicinity of Sokal, in Wolica Komarowa, the writer of these lines had the 'good fortune' to obtain work. Fate hurled me in that direction a few months prior, before a labor camp was established in this location. I, regrettably, became very ill, and in order to protect me from an *aktion* during which sick Jews were the first victims, my family paid heavily to have a job create for me as a gardener in this '*liegschaft*' in Wolica Komarowa, which was 30 kilometers from Sokal.

In this work camp which was established in the spring of 1942, a Ukrainian ruffian was appointed director named Bogdan Sisak, a virulent anti-Semite, just the same as all other Ukrainians. He permitted me to take on this work reluctantly, and that only thanks to the leader of that circle in the '*liegschaft*,' the engineer Tchwaszak on whom he was dependent and my family made it possible by giving a large amount of money for me to take on this work.

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<sup>79</sup> Passed away in Israel during the month of October 1966.

<sup>80</sup> The General-Gouvernement was the name given to the rump-state of Poland after Nazi conquest.

I had to conceal my illness, because it would have disqualified me immediately, and I would have lost my position. I had to exert all of my energy to suppress the illness in this position and in this condition I was able to work with enough of a large gardening facility.

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In taking Jews into his area of work, my chief imposed a double goal: First – a cheap (almost free) work-card, and second he kept a (special) eye on Jews, who were thrown together and could not withstand the heavy and bitter work, and in this way he satisfied his bestial hatred of Jews.

He did not have the slightest sympathy for anyone, not with women, or females that were younger, and not even with those that he knew from the war. All the Jews employed by him were billeted in a forbidding whiskey distillery (*goźelnia*) in a common hall where the sanitary conditions were frightening. I remained in a little hut, that had been allocated to me before I took on my job, but my chief afterwards expressed his wish that I move over to the *goźelnia* building.

At first, the women worked with me in the garden and I as the leader in the garden gave out green edibles for the camp kitchen. But this came to an end after several weeks. Herr Sisak who lived in the palace of the prior leaseholder and was now the unchallenged ruler over Wolica Komarova, assessed the production of the work in the garden as being deficient– in other words: he did not want me – a Jew – to have oversight of the work for the women in the garden. Indeed, he sent off the Jewish women to work in the fields and in their place, he brought Ukrainian women from the village.

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The Jews that had the skills to do the work were sent to our labor camp, still looked like normal human beings. But here, due to the withdrawal of food rations. Pressure and loneliness – they now looked like skinny paupers, from whose clothing, all that was left were rags.

A Ukrainian priest (a friend of Sisak) once remarked, that the trash container with green stuff that two Jewish women used to get from me for the camp kitchen, seems to be ‘too fully’ loaded. (Vegetables were the one item of food in the camp and Jews were not allocated any bread and fats). Since then, I was forbidden to give out green stuff for Jewish greens and this function was taken over by the chief himself.

The green stuff and other elements of human dignity reached a high point when a new director came to take over the camp, the ‘*Herr Verwalter*,’ whom Sisak brought from the other side of the Bug and turned the management of the workers in the camp over to him. He was Polish – but an unusual sadist. With blind loyalty he would carry out all the orders and desires of the chief – that despicable scoundrel Sisak.

A new punishment was now meted out to the Jews – beatings. The ‘*Herr Verwalter*,’ always carried a *nagaika*<sup>81</sup> with him, which he used only on Jews. Any Jew (man or woman) who fell behind the

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<sup>81</sup> A heavy baton used to beat people and animals.

pace of the Christian workers of the village – or, whoever was unable because of illness to appear for work

The application of the nagaika by the Verwalter plagued the unfortunate Jew beginning from the small entrance into the *goźelnia* up to the gathering point of the workers.

And despite this hard and inhuman conditions, nobody fled the camp. None of us had anywhere to which we could flee. None of us knew that it would be possible to survive in this surrounded and hostile-occupied forest. One did not flee into the city, because gruesome and frightening reports came from there among others, being train-transport to Belzec, in which at that time we had not yet begun to believe.

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At the end of the summer of 1942 – after which a ghetto was created in Sokal – the terrifying deportations began of Jews from the surrounding vicinity. Daily, new transports arrived into the small ghetto of Sokal to deport Jews.

In the month of September 1942 this fate overtook the Jews in the *Wolica Komarowa* camp. A group of 13 Jews from this transport had the good fortune to escape. They went into the forest where they wanted to conceal themselves, and ran into a cadre of Bandera's men. The Ukrainian murderers pitilessly murdered these Jews from *Wolica* apart from two of them, who fled and saved themselves. These were: Aharon Tiffenbauer, today a land worker in Herzeliya, and Reuben Laness who lives today in Cuba.

The writer of these lines succeeded in creating a Christian birth certificate, and in the first days of the month of September 1942 I fled to Zolkiew. As an Aryan gardener I received work in the 'liegenschaft' 'Wola Wisocka.' Later on, when it became crowded for me there, I managed to get over to Lemberg, where I found work in the municipal gardens.

## **Memories from the Period of Suffering and Pain**

**By Miriam Ruziner**

(Of the Eisen Family Mushka)

**Dedicated to the Memories of:  
My Parents, Benjamin and Leah (of the Livni family) Eisen ל"י  
My Sister Nina (Menucha) ל"י  
Yitzhak Livni ל"י – my Mother's Brother  
Brunya Beriah ל"י – My Mother's Sister and Two Daughters**

I was born in Sokal, but from my earliest childhood I lived in the Borak adjacent to Tartakov. I studied at the local public school in Tartakov, and after graduation I stood for the entrance

examination to the government high school in Sokal. There were 6 Jewish students among 35 student in all. The Jewish students consisted of four boys and two girls, of them the ones who survived were myself and Shmuel Kindler.

In Sokal, I lived with my maternal grandparents. A year after I came, my younger sister Nina joined me, and two years later my parents left Borak (Tartakov), and moved to live in Sokal, where we lived at No. 3 St. Mary's Street until the outbreak of the Second World War, that is to say, September 1939. On the day the war broke out, we fled to Borak. On September 13, the eve of *Rosh Hashana*, my father, my uncle David and a few other men from Tartakov, among them 'Srulik Linsker, ran away from the Germans on the Russian border. Afterwards, the Russians entered the city instead of the Germans. My father returned after two weeks, all our assets were gone, but since the relationship my father had with the workers was a good one before the war, he was now appointed as a supervisor in his mill which was in Ilkowica, near Sokal.

We lived this way for two years, until June 1941, at which time war broke out between Germany and Russia. It was at this time that the terror of the *Gehenna* began. On June 29, 1941, the Germans announced the registration of all Jewish men from age 16 to 60. My father, like many others, went to present himself for registration, and I never saw him again. In Sokal about 400 Jewish men were selected, and not one of them returned. The general word was that they were shot near the brick factory. From this point on, I remained with my mother and younger sister. I gave secular lessons, and my sister worked in a soda factory of a known Ukrainian family, whose name was Nawozhokov. In the fall of 1942, we fled at the time of the first '*aktion*,' along with the Beriah family to the forest near Potozhica, and we hid there for two days and a night, after which we returned to our home in Sokal. After this '*aktion*,' the ghetto was established in Sokal, into which all the Jews were concentrated.

The second '*aktion*' was initiated on October 28, 1942. We succeeded in concealing ourselves in a refuge, however, the troops of the *Gestapo* exposed us, and we were forced to run to the train station, where we were loaded onto train cattle cars. One hundred people were crammed into each car to the point of asphyxiation. There was not even enough room to stand. The narrow hatches were sealed by barbed wire. The train moved at noon. Immediately as it left the station, youths aged 14-15 went to work: they tore out the wooden boards and the barbed wire from the windows and began to persuade us to show us how to jump from the moving train. According to what they said, they saved themselves once before this way. Our mother then turned to us with words that still echo in my ears, as if I had heard them just a moment ago, and this is what we heard: 'My daughters, beloved and dear! Where am I taking you to? What will your father say about this when he returns home and doesn't find you?'

The train suddenly stopped beside Krystynopol and we hear the sound of shot. The night was clear, and the *Gestapo* men, who were escorting us detected the fact that people were jumping off the train. They charged after them and seized them, and told them to stand beside a stack of straw and the murdered them by shooting. On the basis of this murder, people thought to pull back the others from trying to escape. But it was no use, because the train had barely begun to move out of the station,

when the young men returned to attempt to escape. My mother suddenly remembered, that from her sales, there was a Polish woman from the village of Borak, who lived in Podmawca, and therefore she decided that we were obligated to jump off the train in the vicinity of Ohnov, and hide with this Polish woman. And that how it was. A couple of kilometers before the Ohnov station, the first one to jump was Henka Livni (Horowitz), Yitzhak's wife – my mother's brother. My mother jumped after her, and finally my sister and myself. We had talked that after the jump, one of us would go ahead to her friend. That was the plan we made. In the train station with the help of a trainmaster who knew my father, we exposed Nina who was hiding in the train station, and he also advised us to hire a wagon to arrive before dawn to Podmawca. The matter was partly successful, because along the way we encountered one of the Sokal residents who told us, that not far from here our uncle Yitzhak Livni lay wounded, and asked to let us know this. It is self-evident that we rushed to go to him, me and his wife, and from the wagon we went to find him, but we did not succeed to locate him. My mother and sister, meanwhile, continued to Podmawca. At this point the only option we had was to get there on foot.

When we entered the village, we were approached by a young Ukrainian in order to examine our credentials and bring us to the village leadership. The secretary of the town telephoned to the *Gestapo* office in Ohnov, when he was told that he had Jews in his hands, that had fled from the train sent to take them to Belzec. In the meantime, taking advantage of my good mastery of Ukrainian, I started a conversation with the secretary and begged him to take pity on us and to save us. We sat this way until the evening, nervously disturbed, but the *Gestapo* men did not arrive. At seven o'clock in the evening, the secretary of the council promised to help us. He fulfilled his promise, because after he closed up the office, he took us to the home of a farmer whom he persuaded to permit us to spend the night in his grain storage, with the promise that at daybreak, he would come to get us. And so we entered the grain storage, trembling from the cold and hungry, though the hunger did not oppress us. We practically did not sleep all night, because of thoughts running through my mind regarding the fate of my mother and my sister Nina. The rays of the sun shone into the grain storage and awakened us. Suddenly someone approached the gate to the grain storage and opened it. The young Ukrainian who led us to the village council the day before yesterday appeared. Henka Livni whispered to me: 'Mushka we are lost for sure he is going to take us out and kill us by shooting.' We went a few steps and we encountered the Secretary that brought us to one of the Jewish families in the village, promising that nothing bad would happen to us. We stayed with this family overnight for a day, and on the Shabbat of October 30, we were compelled to leave Podmawca. Our immediate goal was to reach the nearby city of Rawa-Ruska as quickly as possible, where my uncle lived. We set out on a path that would be approximately 30 km. Initially the path led through the forest, but after some time we reached a road and coming toward us was a farmer in a wagon whom we persuaded to take us along to Rawa-Ruska. My aunt Henka Scheffel (of the Eisen family) was, at that time, already living in the ghetto. Upon entering the house I bumped into my uncle Shmuel (younger brother of my father) and my uncle Konrad Scheffel. When I saw Shmuel, I fell into his arms, tears burst from my eyes that choked me so, that I could not utter a word. In these circumstances, he led me to the home of my uncles, that was a place where I calmed down a little, and after a bit of time, it was within my capacity to tell him of all the difficulties that overwhelmed us before being able to reach them. In a similar manner I told them that I did not know the fate of my mother and sister. My



aunt was not in the house because she had hidden herself, together with her 9 year-old daughter Herma-Paula in the barracks of the German army. Towards nightfall, both returned to the house, because my aunt was running a high fever. On the following day, Shmuel telephoned the Novuzhkov family in Sokal, to clarify the fate of my mother and sister, and it was clearly established that they had returned home.

Because my aunt was running a high fever, a doctor was summoned who diagnosed a case of stomach typhus, and his opinion was that she should immediately be hospitalized. At that time this was not one of the simple quandaries to resolve, but thanks to the great efforts of my uncle Konrad, we succeeded in getting her admitted to a hospital, where she was registered under 'Aryan' papers under the name of Ahafya Kostiuk. My uncle Konrad saw her from time to time through the window, because she was in the infectious disease ward, and could not draw near to her bed. A few days before the final '*aktion*' in Rawa-Ruska, we were given Danuta whose soul went out for the sick mother, and wanted at least to see her through the hospital window. This was their last meeting and it is possible to say – a meeting before total separation, because from that moment on she was never seen alive again.

Danuta was a very smart young lady and demonstrated initiative. She was a good student, and had a boundlessly good heart. Her compassion brought tears to the eyes often, as she would bring out food items from her house, in order to divide them among poor children – and there were no lack of these, because Rawa-Ruska earned the nickname of 'the city of the jumpers,' that is to say people like me, who jumped from trains that took them to the crematoria at Belzec.

During this period I ran my aunt's household, until December 8, 1942, when the final '*aktion*' burst upon us. On the day that the '*aktion*' started, we ran into a place of refuge we had prepared a long time ago, and stocked with drink and a little bit of food. About 30 people with children bore the burden of the '*aktion*' for a few days, and the supply of food ran out, and more importantly we ran out of water to drink. Accordingly, the adults among us, submitting themselves to extreme dangers, went out nights and quickly brought back what they could.

The suffering of the children was the greatest. Among us also was a mother with an infant one year old, who frequently cried bitterly, in order to calm him down she gave him alcoholic beverage to drink, which in the end also ran out. Acting from great fear that the crying of her son would reveal us – she choked him to death!

On December 13, 1942, our hideout was uncovered and we were taken out to the street. In exiting the hole we were hidden into the light of day, I saw many *Gestapo* men and German policemen. One of them questioned Konrad-Scheffel and Shmuel Eisen. Both presented themselves immediately, and they were told that they were required because of their expertise. The other people were concentrated over to the side. At this point my uncle Konrad lost his temper as if he were crazy, and he told them that if his family could not be joined to him, he will go with all the rest. He was permitted to come near to us to identify members of his family. In this manner, to this point, he saved his daughter Danuta. Myself as his second daughter and Henka Livni (Of the Horowitz family) as his wife. The remainder of the group were taken to be exterminated.

From here they took us to the synagogue. On the way, we encountered many dead and wounded who were writhing in their blood. We met up with several other people inside the synagogue. On the following day, the men were separated to do work. The women and children were ordered to wait for additional commands. Before noon, they were taken to the bath house, and there we underwent disinfection, and from there we were taken to the quarantine camp in Ruta which is near Rawa-Ruska. By contrast, the adults were sent off immediately to labor camps. We were about forty women, and there was a doctor with us who measured our temperature three times a day. Anyone who got sick in the meantime, was taken over to a separate hut – and it was known that this was one to be exterminated. A couple of days later a note was smuggled to me by a certain Pole, and it told me that from now on, I should look after Danuta, because her father, that is to say, Konrad-Scheffel was shot and killed on December 15, 1942. It is self-evident that I did not relay this to Danuta, but she senses something in her heart, because she would not stop asking me why her father is not visiting her, and for moments wanted to flee the camp in order to look for her father and mother. I used to get notes from Shmulik every evening. He wrote to me that the aunt (Henka Eisen) had fled from the hospital and is to be found in Lvov.

On December 31, 1942 in the morning, during the taking of temperature by the doctor, the thermometer indicated that my temperature had gone up, and since cases of spotted typhus had been found among us, the suspicion fell on me that this sickness infected me. But luck was with me, and I remained among the healthy ones. On that same day we were notified that in the afternoon *Obersturmführer Grzimek* will arrive with *Gestapo* staff in order to take out, it appears, all of the sick. And so it was. At exactly four o'clock in the afternoon, a large contingent of *Gestapo* arrived with Grzimek at their head. All the sick were loaded onto a freight truck, and the rest were ordered to come out of the huts and line up in two rows in the yard. Grzimek approached us, and forced us with a murderous look, he noted that all of the women standing on his right should also get on the freight truck. The rest, beginning with me, returned to the hut. Bitter fate decreed that Danuta Scheffel and Henka Livni stood to his right, and thus their fate was sealed to be exterminated. I cannot forget the screaming and crying of these people that were crammed into the truck, especially the small figure of Danuta, who waved to me with her childish hand and shouted 'Here! Here! My Mushka, Go in peace' – this does not leave me.

Driven, we entered the hut, with the screaming and ululating of our dear ones, who had just been torn out from among us minutes ago, still echoing in our ears.

My temperature, as I have already recalled, rose steadily, and in the end, I fell sick with spotted typhus. The local doctor took care of me in a special way, gave me injections and gave me medicines, but even with all this, he left me among the healthy ones. On January 13, 1943 I received a note from Shmulik. He let me know that I should be ready, that same evening, to escape from the camp. According to what was agreed, two Poles would be waiting for me outside of the camp, who will transport me to my aunt in Lvov. For some time now, I had 'Aryan' papers under the name of Maria Jaworska, that my aunt Henka had obtained for me.

Our meeting was very tragic. When she saw me, she understood everything immediately. I told her everything, and the outcome and fleeing forced a closure of her bitter fate.

Now a new life began, a life of fear and trepidation, especially because I was without identification for a long period of time. The landlady was compelled to house my aunt, and didn't know of my existence. All day, I lay under my aunt's bed, and I ate there like a dog, and it was only for the night's sleep that I went up onto her bed.

My aunt Henka Cohen (of the Eisen family) has documented my stay in Lvov, my exit to Germany using 'Aryan' papers to be employed in a labor camp, and our liberation by the American army. I lived with her through all this.

In July 13, 1949 I made *aliyah* to the *Land*. Two years passed before I became aware that my mother Leah Eisen and my sister Nina were murdered by the Germans a few hours before the Russians entered Sokal.

## From the Sokal Ghetto

By Leah Baumel

In the year 1941 the Nazis entered our town and began to burn the houses and kill their Jewish occupants.

My husband, Nathan son of Joseph *Yalka* י"ח was shot to death by the Nazis. I was left with three small children no husband and no roof over my head; with a broken heart I began to wander. I passed through forests and fields, and on the way I encountered a cadre of Bandera's soldiers. They asked me: 'who are you and where are you going?' I answered that I was Ukrainian, and finally am returning to my home after the Russians had thrown us out, and now God has helped us, and the Germans came, and we can return home. They gave me a peace blessing and permitted me to go on. After a walk of 7 km in forests and fields, I reached Sokal. In the year 1942 a ghetto was created in Sokal, and they began to take Jews to do labor. Two weeks later, the first '*aktion*' took place unexpectedly, in which I lost my daughter Sarah aged 11. The transport went to the ovens at Belzec. I and my two children hid ourselves in the attic of David Mintzes and towards evening Mrs. Boshwitz came up with a crying infant girl who was taken out of hiding for no cause. The baby cried continuously because of hunger and thirst, and the mother was unable to help. It was then that the *Gestapo* heard the infant's cry and came up to the attic and called out: come, come, and he continued, asking if there were other Jews there. 'I do not know' – my mother replied, and pleaded before him: 'let me live' – and extended to him a gold ring, a diamond and a gold watch. He replied: this changes nothing. Because if not today, then tomorrow in any event, all of the Jews must be exterminated. And he stepped on me but did not sense that there was a human body beneath him. After a search, they found an additional twenty Jews that went like sheep to the slaughter. In the morning they began again to take men to do labor. They took me to work near the *Gestapo*. I was outside the ghetto and I could bring a bit of food to the children. There were people that died of hunger.

Dr. Kindler and his wife cooked food and distributed it to people, and comforted me every time he came to me – let you have some as well. After a period of time – we will be '*Judenfrei*,' in the course

of three full days. I, along with my two children and sister fled, and hid ourselves in a broken attic. The ‘*Judenfrei*’ process took three full days; my children were already blue, and I saw that their lives had stopped. This time I began to cry and pray: ‘Lord God, do a miracle and let some rain fall on us’ – and look, it was a miracle, rain began to fall. We opened our mouths and our souls were refreshed. The ‘*Judenfrei*’ concluded that Saturday evening. On Sunday, the Nazis conducted a huge celebration at which they got drunk. Among this pandemonium. We came down and fled to the forests, and there I lost my second child Zvi, and with this I conclude my part of the tragedy of the ghetto at Sokal.

## “Remember What Amalek Did To You”

By Baruch ben Zvi HaLevi Lewittes

Beginning on Sunday April 22, 1941<sup>82</sup> we heard the first cannon fire falling close to Sokal, we began to get out of our beds, and were frightened. We understood that our fate was sealed.

Among a large number of scared people, we dressed immediately, myself, my mother ל"י, my small brother and my sister (today living in Israel) and we left the house. In the street there was an intense pandemonium...Frightened Jews were running about, also in the process of leaving their houses.

Largely, it did not take much time, and the mass of people began to run, returning to their homes... I and my family also disappeared from the street.

Suddenly the cannon fire ceased...[instead] we heard the sound of rifle shots, and immediately afterwards a scream — the whimper of a woman, which cut the silence from the web of fright.

As I found out later, an unrest arose in the street because of the appearance of German soldiers who had already captured the city, and the murder of a Jewish boy by rifle fire, they initiated their criminal deeds of killing, against the helpless Jewish populace.

Leadership of the town was put in the hands of the Ukrainians, and as head of the city, the Germans selected the lawyer Tumaszk, who covered the city with fear with the help of Ukrainian militiamen, wearing blue hats with yellow stripes. Their central role was to seize Jews and turn them over to the *Gestapo*. The Ukrainian masses began, notwithstanding the disruption, to plunder stores and storage facilities belonging to Jews.

Still on the first day, they seized the son of R' Abraham'eleh. His little son ran after him crying and heartbroken. The Ukrainian miscreants took the child with them as well.

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<sup>82</sup> The author expresses doubts about his memory, and whether or not he is providing an accurate representation of the facts. He begs forgiveness if he has been inaccurate or had omitted names and facts associated with the ‘Nazi *Gehenna*.’ – JSB

About 100 Jews were so seized during the day. Among them my friends: Meir Meiseles, Sholom Podhoretz, and Israel son of Miriam.

*On the following day, Monday, the militiamen burst into the homes of the Jews and drove all of them out of their houses, commanding them to gather at the 'Targowica.'* There the Jews were compelled to arrange themselves in rows to wait for the arrival of the German executioners, bringing along cameras and cameramen. A frightening fear reigned when the *selektion* began. The Ukrainians would indicate who should get out of the line and stand at the side... the Ukrainian shoemaker Andruszka took the Jewish shoemaker Shimon Khutt out of the line, and took him to the *Gestapo* men, and the German murderers understood him in a matter of minutes, and rained down a storm of cruel blows all over the body of the Jewish shoemaker. The Ukrainians dragged him since he had halfway passed out and was bleeding, to the place where the Jews stood that had already been picked during the *selektion*. This tragic fate overtook about 400 Jews. After the *selektion*, those that remained of the Jews returned to their homes. Later on we discovered the Germans exterminated the entire cohort of 400 Jews by some hair-raising means, on the road on the way to Tartakov, and there they were all shot to death.

On Tuesday a new decree... to present one's self for work in the city. I was assigned to the section of telephones in the post office, where Sholom Podhor and Yoss'leh the son of the *Melamed* already worked as letter carriers. There were also Poles who worked in the post office, with whom I had good relationships. I was especially fast friends with the Polish worker from the technical section, named Radacki. Thanks to this work, I received the demanded work cards, and from three to four loaves of bread a day, with which I literally kept my entire family alive.

My central concern was in the street beside the telephone wires. It was in this way that I had the possibility to see, with my own eyes, the awful cruel deeds done by the Ukrainians, when they were cutting off the beards of Jews, or assaulted and murderously hit our precious brothers and sisters.

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My work at the paper continued until the day he ghetto opened. Within a matter of hours, all of the Jewish residents of the significant streets in Sokal, were forced to move into the narrow area that had been designated as a ghetto. It is hard to describe in words what the pandemonium and suffering of the Jews was like, who used primitive wagons to move the small amount of effects from their houses...the long line of wagons made a dismaying impression... an even more dismaying impression was made by women carrying their infants in their arms...

Now my work at the paper ended. According to the words of my new friend Radacki, the Germans were planning to take over management of the paper, and because of this he advised me to seek work elsewhere. I had good luck this time as well. Because I had worked in a printing house as a bookbinder before the war, I was retained by a printing outfit whose head was Bulak, whom I knew from my time that I worked in the central telephone office.

Many helped me get settled in the printing house, my comrades Zisha Horowitz, the son-in-law of Wiener Kreuzer who was working there already with a number of Jews like Herschel Goldberg, Fink Bauman, Herman Mayer, the grandson of Leib Glazer, and others. In this same print shop, the Ukrainian paper, '*Wielka Ukraina*' was printed, which was in need of carving that I etched in wood. Apart from this, I also engaged in bookbinding for books that were printed there. I was more than content with this work because I was not sent to do different work each day.

It did not take long before ranks of Ukrainians were sent to us for work, and we were shouldered with the responsibility of training the. We immediately understood what this meant. The printing house was located in the marketplace square, in a building across from the courthouse. From the windows, we could see what was going on in the ghetto. We heard the voices and the whining of the tortured Jews.

It is hard to describe our life in the ghetto. There were 10-15 people in one room... it was not possible to overcome the great hunger, because in exchange for money, the foodstuffs in the nearby villages went off.

More dangerous than that was the Typhus, a plague that resided in almost every room. The doctors did not stint on effort, and with full dedication they tried to help and make the illness more bearable when they would appear before the sick, after being called for assistance. It is a heartache that there were not many they could help, because they lacked even the simplest medicines. I myself fell ill with spotted Typhus... the doctors Falik, Messinger and Babad attended to me on a daily basis.

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After a few months went by, the German murderers, with the help of the Ukrainian militia organized an '*aktion*' on the largest scale in the ghetto. Once again, the innocent Jews of Sokal were taken to the death camps. Bunkers began being built in the ghetto... deep into the earth... I also began to build such a bunker for my family. I worked hard at the printing business during the day and suffered hunger...and at night, I dug with what was left of my energies...

The most difficult concern that accompanied this work was how to smooth out the dug up ground, without leaving any trace, such that even one of our own will not sense that a bunker is being built here...yes/// there was a compelling reason to do this because we too had informers, it is an ache to have to say there were those kind as well.

In the ghetto, rumors spread that the Germans were planning a large '*aktion*' for a total deportation of all the Jews of Sokal. A tumult redolent with panic reigned among the Jews in the ghetto. The fear of the possibility of discovery of the bunker we were continuing to build, added to the worry and anxiety we had. When Dr. Falik told me that the siege is being implemented, I immediately descended into my bunker, while my dear brother was found by the Germans in the house. He was not amenable to being seized...he leaped out of the window... having his bones broken, he remained in custody, without a breath of life in him, on the pavement of the street.

Approximately 1,800 Jews were seized and exiled during this 'aktion' in the Sokal ghetto. On the following day, at the print shop, the parents of Shushka Horowitz and Herschel Goldberger were missing... the heart ached... but work still went on... we continued to go hungry... and in order to secure for ourselves against being exiled, we dug the bunkers even deeper.

Many Jews from nearby community were brought to the Sokal ghetto after this murderous 'aktion,' such as from: Radzhikhov, Stoyanov, Witkow Novy. The crowding within the ghetto became unbearable. The torture of hunger became even more intensely frightening. Again, rumors spread that an additional deportation 'aktion' was planned for ghetto-Sokal, I hastened the descent of my family into the bunker. Parting became increasingly difficult... I went up to the top of the bunker and disguised its entrance further with the use of the soil.

I hid myself in a small room in the attic of a house that was across from the court house. A few Jews hid there along with me, who worked at the print shop.

We were up for the whole night... with the beginning we sensed that the entire ghetto was surrounded by Ukrainian militiamen. The cruel work began in the first hours of the morning...from every room... they took people out of every crevice, pitilessly, old and young... from the attic we saw the murderers leading our panicked brothers and sisters to the market square and from there taking them to the train station.

According to what was told to us afterwards. The train loaded with Jews from Sokal, left for Belzec.

In the evening, after a deep darkness had fallen, all of us left the room in the attic...everyone ran to their house... my first steps were directed to the bunkers where I had hidden my relatives. With a frightened beat, and a heart pounding, I hurried to move aside the earth that hid the entrance to the bunker. And I saw them all... moved to the very depths of my heart, I took out of the bunker my dear mother, my sister, my aunt Pearl, and my cousin Israel Minks with two of his children... it was restoring to the heart to once again be seen with all the members of my family.

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And once again, life in Sokal resumed its normal pace withing the constraints of the ghetto. The central concern at this point was: how to still the hunger.

On Tuesday, after the murderous 'aktion' I once again returned to work at the print factory. A Ukrainian militiaman already stood beside the ghetto gate, and on all occasions accompanied me to the print factory. At night, after I completed my work, the same militiaman would escort me to my dwelling that was in the ghetto. The manager of the print factory, Bilkiew would frequently task me with various organizations in the city... I took advantage of these opportunities, and along the way I would buy foodstuffs along the way in stores, and smuggle them in the ghetto when I returned at night from my work, and distribute them among the members of my family.

During the second 'aktion' of exile from the ghetto at Sokal, the wife of my brother, a mother and her little son were taken. In the midst of the travel to the death-camp, my sister-in-law jumped from the train... she saved herself. In running, and using her entire strength, she reached Patriczica. My brother was there already, and other Jews, that were being hidden by the property owner, and were busied with shepherding the flocks of the estate.

In the end, the extent of the tragedy did not bypass this small cluster of Jews. The local Ukrainians seized them and turned them over to the *Gestapo*. They were held for a few days and then shot to death.

My brother left his work and returned to Sokal, in which there already Jews exiled out of Stoyanov, Horodow, and other nearby villages.

My family now grew, my sister Yett'i and her child daughter came to us in the ghetto, and lived with us. Her husband and son were murdered on Yom Kippur at the time the Germans seized 300 Jews, and took them out to be killed by gunfire outside the city.

Hunger grew more intense and oppressive from day-to-day, Typhus spread throughout the ghetto more and more. Jews died like flies. The dead were brought to the cemetery in a large container... and on the way back, grain was brought that had been bought with the barter of jewelry and valuables, the exchange of coverings, clothing, and other things.

We would grind the grain ourselves during consecutive nights. We had no flour mill and had to use two tin points.. From this dough, that was mixed with fragments of time, we baked pancakes.

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And it was in this way that our lives were run in a condition of perpetual want, terror and hunger. In the print factory, with tearing eyes, we would look at the Ukrainians who worked with us, eating until they were full... real bread, from clean flour. It was not only once that we begged before them to give us a slice of bread... infrequently... at very infrequent occasions, there could be found amongst them, and not only one, whose sense of compassion was aroused, and they would give us a slice of bread.

During the entire winter, we suffered and were pained severely by the cold and hunger. After Passover, rumors began to spread in the ghetto, that the *Gestapo* was liquidating the ghettos in the surrounding villages. It was said with certainty that after the liquidation of the ghetto at Busk, that would start the deportation *aktionen* in the Sokal ghetto.

And once again there was pandemonium... a panic in the narrow ghetto of Sokal. Trembling and with fright, that there is no one to shield us from our bitter end... we would count the days... the ours. My brother Elimilech told someone very secretly, that he wanted to get a hold of a revolver, so he could exact a dear price for his life. Not much time passed before this became known to the ranks of the *Gestapo*. At night, two militiamen took him out of the house, and led him off to the *Gestapo*.



The preparations of the Germans for their murderous initiative, leaving a trail of blood did not take a long time. One dawn, the Ukrainian militiamen surrounded the ghetto. We already knew what this meant. Each person went into their respective hiding place... a flight to the bunkers, that had previously been prepared, began. The first of my bunkers in which I hid myself and my family once, was dug deeply into the ground during this final *aktion*. This time we also hid there, and camouflaged the entrance.

We organized a minimal amount— water... and in the bunker we created a toilet facility and even an air pipe thanks to someone from Husiatyn, a thing that we would be able to detect what was going on in the street.

This *aktion* lasted for three days. We lay in the bunker for week, cut off from the world. Almost my entire family was hidden there. Myself, my mother, my sister Yett'i with Israel, my sister Rita with her little daughter... my aunt, and cousin Minkes with his two children. Every day brought a diminution in our food.. With every passing hour, the intensity of our fear and despondency grew.

When we felt that my mother's legs were swollen from hunger, we immediately began to think of abandoning the bunker... for an escape. Except that we did not know ... where to escape to?... and who still had the strength and temerity to do this?...

I, my two sisters, and the little girl decided to get on our way. My mother was not capable of moving from her place... Israel Mikes, my cousin of delicate soul could not join us... nevertheless, he advised that we flee. With our eyes running triple tears, and with a heavy heart, we parted from my mother who remained in the bunker, and my cousin Israel Minkes. We left the bunker quickly, covering the entrance with earth, we took off our shoes in order that our steps not be heard and proceeded barefoot into the street.

A terrifying silence and darkness enveloped us...We had proceeded only a few steps and we had already reached the barbed wire that surrounded the ghetto. With the aid of pliers, we cut through the wire fence. We exited the ghetto and ran in the direction of the smoke house. We were surrounded by darkness as we left the houses of Sokal behind us... as we crossed the fields, we reached the settlement at Potozhica... the night paled... we hid inside a haystack, whose sheaves had already gotten large in that season.

During that entire day (this was Sunday) we lay inside the haystack, and it was only in the evening that we emerged from it and continued with our travel.

Our goal was to exert ourselves and reach a village whose residents were Polish farmers. We knew that not far from the large forest we saw, there was such a village.

Late at night – this was after midnight, we reached to village of Komarowa. We did not dally here for a moment. We ran ahead with the last of our strength... in the distance, the first of the trees of the forest appeared... but, suddenly, from somewhere, a Ukrainian youth appeared... and when he sensed

our presence, he immediately disappeared, and immediately many Ukrainians appeared... they surrounded us and began to interrogate us... from where were we, and where were we headed. We did not conceal the truth from them, and we told them we had fled a German camp, and we do not know where to flee.

The Ukrainians did not hide their zeal from us, conducting a search of our clothing, and in the end, the elder among them ordered them to let us go, and let us continue on our way. He even wished us well and success in our coming travel. We quickly put a distance between ourselves and this Ukrainian settlement. This way brought us to the forest where we reached another Ukrainian village, Yastzimowiec, in which a Ukrainian of my acquaintance for some time lived.

It was daylight by the time we reached the Ukrainian that I knew, who received us graciously. To my request to lodge in his house and hide in it until nightfall, he immediately placed his stable at our disposal, and additionally promised to bring us something to eat. And indeed, not much time went by and he brought us a whole loaf of bread, and water. My sister and her daughter went over to another Ukrainian whom we knew, and as a result, I remained with my second sister Adela.

The news of our hiding in the stable took wings in the village. A group of Ukrainian farmers burst into the stable and immediately after driving us into an open field, almost all the residents of the village surrounded us... however, to our luck, we found ourselves in the midst of a host of the Ukrainian youth a number of whom rescued us, and advised us to get out of the village.

Having no choice, especially since rumors spread that there were German soldiers were seen in the village, we were again forced to go out on the road as wanderers, without knowing where to go.

The thoughts running through my mind regarding the tragic fate that overtook us, gave me the idea of asking for the help from one of the youth of the village who had helped to save us a short time ago.

But how will we find him now? How can we search for his house in night time darkness such as this?

We crawled on all fours over fields and rocks until we reached the home of one of the Ukrainian youths... when he saw us he recognized us, because he asked no questions, rather he led us to the granary that stood beside his house, put up a ladder to the room that was in the attic and ordered us to climb up.

For the entire day, we lay under a tree roof that grew hot under the rays of the sun. Only at night did the master of the house come up to us and told us they were searching for us in the village, and the Ukrainian residents had even prepared a grave for us... because of this, he warned us, returned and warned us [again] that we have to get out of here, especially because his brothers and entire family are living in his house.

We spent that night in the granary, but in the morning, we descended from the attic. At that moment, the brother of the homeowner saw us. At that moment, we had no doubt that we were lost. However, the Ukrainian that lodged us calmed us down, and advised us not to move at all from the village... he led us to the stable, and went up with us to the attic... there he spread out for us a mattress of straw, and promised us that we would not lack for food. In that attic, we lived under decent conditions, in a manner with good relations, because our Ukrainian rescuer sent us food when needed, and from time-to-time we would receive encouraging news from the German-Russian front.

Our situation changed when a Bandera cadre appeared in the village, who were bloodthirsty enemies of the Polish populace, and those Ukrainians that gave help to the Soviets. These Bandera troops supported the German murderers, and pursued and tortured the Jews with utmost cruelty that they had in their being.

A terrifying accident occurred to my sister Yett'i and her 13 year-old daughter, who had hidden themselves in the attic of the house of an invalid. As it happens the residents of a neighboring house detected my sister, and informed on her to the leader of the Bandera cadre. In one of the visits after this, when the invalid went up to the attic with food for my sister, he found her and her daughter lifeless... they were lying in puddles of blood... and the invalid, being of a gentle soul, took the bodies down, and buried them in the nearby forest.

Now, the master of the house warned us as well, that we are to be very careful about being silent in the attic, and with great sorrow, they let us know they could no longer provide us with food, because the Bandera cadre were still in residence in the stable. This was before Yom Kippur. The hunger began to torture us, but to our good fortune, the Bandera cadre left the village, and we could breathe a little easier.

However, new troubles then began. The local Ukrainian farmers, upon gathering, decided to be done with the '*zhids*' that were hidden in various places. The farmers began to conduct searches in the attics of stables and granaries... yet once again, luck worked in our favor. No suspicion was raised against the master of our house, and no search was conducted of his premises. Again we were saved.

This is the way we managed, and lived in the little room in the attic, until the winter came, a very difficult winter, accompanied by much snow and wind. The cold and frost was so intense, that our water inside the bottle that we had received, froze into ice.

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The winter passed laden with trouble and suffering. The spring aroused new hope in us. With the victories of the Soviet Army our faith strengthened that our suffering was drawing near.

We awaited news from the front impatiently. The thunder of bombs, for the first time, reached our ears. More and more we heard the noise of Soviet planes that pursued the German Army from the air... through the opening in the middle of the roof of the attic we could see what was going on outside.

In the village itself, a terrifying silence reigned... no living thing could be seen. The residents of the city hid themselves. The first of the Soviet soldiers appeared in the village... our happiness was indescribable... I exchanged kisses with my sister... it was the end to our travails... we are freed.

The first one to bring us this uplifting news was our Ukrainian house masters. They cautioned us not to descend from the attic, because the local Ukrainians were inclined to cause us trouble. Accordingly, we stayed in our hiding place for two days. Afterwards, with warmth in our hearts, we parted from our Ukrainian savior, and we exited through a back door from the granary, and went on our way. But to where?... We ad no idea.

Our first steps were difficult... however, the recognition that we had been privileged to see the downfall of the Nazis, and that we were now free, injected us with fresh energy... we practically ran until we reached Podzhimisiz that already was in Soviet hands. The Russian soldiers were responsive to our requests, and permitted us to attach ourselves to the military units that were continuing to advance. In this manner we reached Witkow-Novy, where we encountered other Jews.

We spent the night in Witkow, and on the morrow, we continued to travel up to Radzhikow where we stayed for a few days... after having regenerated some energy, we continued our journey until we reached Sokal.

It is difficult to describe what we saw there. A terrifying destruction...eradication... our home of the past was erased... all that remained of our Jewish Sokal were naked walls...

## One of the Righteous Gentiles of the World

By Gitt'I Linsker



טעלע און זיין קינדער

Page 365: Telka Laszkiewicz

... it is a full 25 years that have gone by – since we, Jews from Sokal and the nearby vicinity lived in the ghetto, crowded, without a single ray of hope to extract one's self from the Nazi *Gehenna*. Hunger, want and fear of death were the bread of our daily lives.

We were abandoned worthless entities... our dignity had become worthless... our blood and life [as well]. Every thug, whether from the Nazi murderers or their helpers, the Ukrainians שׂמ"י ruled over our fate.

It suffices to convey two episodes, in order to obtain a pale grasp in connection with the plight of the Jews in the ghetto.

Here... During a dark night, a *Gestapo*-murderer suddenly forced his way into a house and shouted: '*Heute habe ich*

*noch kein Juden-blut gegesehen*<sup>83</sup> and immediately took out a revolver and killed and wounded a number of Jews. On the morning of the next day, this murderer appeared again in the same house this time shouting: 'Heute bin ich gekommen zu geben eine genade-kugel dem, wer fun die varwunderte noch lebt!'<sup>84</sup> – and as he said – he carried this out immediately.

And here is another frightening fact about a Nazi, who hid himself behind a wall and noted how a Jew buys bread. With a feral anger he ran over to the Jew... mercilessly kicked him in the head with his boot, shouting at the same time: '*Wenn ich nicht seheh – kannst du als machen, aber yetzt gehurt shon dein zele zu mir*' – and he shot him on the spot.<sup>85</sup>

This is how we lived through two aktionen, during which time the German murderers killed thousands of our nearest and dearest...

The final liquidation of the Sokal ghetto was not held back for a long time. One day, news spread that the German executioners were preparing for another murder-*aktion*. An indescribable panic arose in the Sokal ghetto. In a frightening panic Jews ran about looking for a hiding place, a bunker, a place where they could hide themselves from a certain death.

My two children and I (my God-spirited husband Meir Linsker was killed by the murderers even before the first *aktion*) – and my entire well-branched family were held up in the ghetto in our grandfather's house, Moshe Baum מ"ו, where we had built ourselves a bunker in the cellar, where we would hide ourselves during a time of danger.

This time, so many Jews came running to this cellar, that it was simply impossible to breathe. Therefore – seeing a certain death before our eyes, we firmly decided to flee the ghetto with my two daughters. Perhaps God will take pity on us and we will, in this way, save ourselves.

Even before the outbreak of the war, a Christian girl worked for me as a sitter for my baby daughter, Telka Laszkiewicz. She had become so close to me and my children, that she was held and loved as if she were a sister. While we were still in the ghetto Telka would secretly come to the barbed wire and stealthily bring us some foodstuffs, and thereby risking her own life.

And when the condition in the ghetto became worse, she said the following to me: 'If, God forbid, it should happen that something happens to you, I will take my life along with you.'

And so, in the midst of the great panic in the Sokal ghetto, I concluded an agreement with her to hide myself with my two children in her house. She lived in a small house on Babiniec, near the large

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<sup>83</sup> 'I have not yet seen any Jewish blood today.'

<sup>84</sup> 'I am here today to give a good bullet to those among the wounded who are still alive!'

<sup>85</sup> 'When I don't see – you can do it all, but now your soul belongs to me...'

Catholic Church, together with her little son (the Nazis had previously shot her husband thinking he was a communist).

First, I sent off my older daughter to her, who had managed to sneak through the wire [fence], that surrounded the ghetto and running with the shoreline of the Bug she reached Telka's house. After her, about an hour later, I and my younger daughter followed the same path until we reached the house of our protector.

Telka hid us in a tiny room, blocking it with a set of drawers. Only at night did we come out of our hiding place, in order to get a bit of fresh air.

It is hard to convey just in words what this gentle lady did for us. After all, she and her child lived under the threat of death for hiding a Jew. It was not only once that she witnessed death along with us, with our own eyes. And just as Telka was, her son too, was a gentle soul; he empathized with us and always stood watch and with his youthful sense was able to detect danger and immediately let his mother know.

Death stalked us not only from the Nazis and their accomplices, the Ukrainians, may their name be erased – but also from Telka's close relatives and neighbors, who suspected her of hiding Jews with her.

As an example, her sister-in-law came to see her, and in the course of conversation she said to her: 'You know, Telka, if I knew that your *Żhidovka* is hiding with you, I would be the first to expose her.' On a second occasion, one of Telka's neighbors told her how it was that she had a dream, that when she fortuitously dropped in on here, Telka's former Jewish mistress was sitting on the couch with her children... and Telka – the neighbor further told details from her dream – seeing this, she ran over to the couch and blocked the Jewish woman and her children.

Looking at the constant dangers that threatened our protector and her child, on one night, I took my children and decided to leave, going in whatever direction our eyes took us. But as we were getting ready to part, I said to our dear Telka that we had no right to put her life and the life of her child into danger – she forcibly detained us, and with tears in her eyes, she spoke these words: 'if our beloved God willed it that we should survive together up till now, with so many frightening moments – let us share our fate together... and what will be with you – will also be with my child and myself...'

And it was in this manner that she hid us over the course of two years, until the liberation came. She suffered hunger along with her child, shared every bite with us, literally stolen, in order to sustain life.

Today, our dear protector Mrs. Telka Laszkowicz lives as one of the Righteous Gentiles of the World, with her son in Poland... we are in constant contact with her and we ask of God, Blessed be He, that he should reward her for everything that she had done for us, because no person in the world can pay her for what she did.

# Jewish Doctors & Medical Professionals in the Sokal Ghetto

By Dr. David Kindler



די גרויסע הילצערנע בריק איבערן טייך בוג  
בשריץ הגדול על נהר בוג  
עומדים מיטן (שטייען טון רעכטס): שלמה לענד, קלמן טעלר, יצחק איימערל און שטאקאמער

Page 239: *The Large Wooden Bridge Across the Bug River Standing, from the Right: Shlomo Lentz, Kalman Teller, Yitzhak Aymeryl and Sztolhammer*

[Translator: Please notice an unexplained jump in pagination]



די דאקטאר באבאד

Page 368 (Top): *Dr. Shmuel Babad*



ד"ר שמואל באבד (שלישי משמאל) עם קרוביו  
 ד"ר שמואל באבד (הדוידער טון לינקס) מיט זיינע קרובים

Page 368 (Bottom): *Dr. Shmuel Babad (third from the right) and His Relatives*

In another place in this Yizkor Book, the life of the Jews in the Sokal ghetto is portrayed. Thousands of Jews were gathered and crammed into a small bounded parcel, with several tens of people to a room, having overcrowding, and filth, waiting for the tragic nightmarish fate [awaiting them]. It is therefore no wonder that under these frightful conditions lacking any semblance of hygiene, diseases spread through the ghetto, especially spotted and stomach Typhus.

There was even a Jewish hospital operating inside the Sokal ghetto and an ambulatorium, but the small number of beds, and the shortage of medicines, made the job of the Jewish doctors that much harder, who gave their fullest energies in order to help their sick brothers and sisters.

This small contingent of Jewish doctors in the Sokal ghetto, with the greatest commitment, felt all of these difficult burdens, and despite the fact that they were in danger of being infected with one of the epidemic disease, which ran unchecked throughout the overly crowded ghetto, but none of them shrank from providing medical help to the needy, poor Jews.

It was sacred and precious for us that by some miracle, a number of the Sokal Jews remained alive, the memory of the gentle Jewish doctors in the Sokal ghetto, who were cruelly tortured by the German murderers.



*Dr. Babad* was employed in the Jewish hospital and the Jewish ambulatorium in the Sokal ghetto, himself born in Sokal and completed his medical studies at a university in Italy. Before the war, he was an active participant in the 'Mizrahi' movement in Sokal. He was killed in the Sokal ghetto in 1943.

*Dr. Peretz* from Chelm came to the hospital during the war, after the deportation-*aktion* there, and



received work in the Sokal General Hospital. After the second deportation-*aktion* in Sokal, in October 1942, he went over to Warsaw, where he was killed by the *Gestapo*.

When it was discovered that the Zhabuzhza field was rich in coal and other valuable minerals, Poland had to leave Zhabuzhza and in doing so, that parcel and this parcel was integrated into the city of Sokal.

The residents of Zhabuzhza had to abandon their homes and places of work, and were transferred to mountainous places of work like Ustyanova and Usticzki, as part of the county of Resza. As an improvement for the good fertile soil in Zhabuzhza they received new tracts of earth of the worst quality.



During the time of Austrian rule Zhabuzhza was separated from Sokal by a '*szlaban*' – it was also called '*rogatkeh*,' which had been erected in front of the bridge over the Bug. Every year, this bridge was covered in dust. And anyone wanting to go over the bridge to Sokal – at least

[Text is Missing Here]

*Dr. Schmider* died an heroic death. He was born in Zloczew (Zlotow?), and before the outbreak of the Second World War, he lived for many years in Sokal. He took the position as the municipal physician and during the war, he worked in the general hospital. During his entire residence in Sokal he was an activist Zionist worker. In the month of May 1943 He went over to the partisans, and was a casualty in one of the conflicts in the forests. His wife and children were exterminated in the month of May 1943 during the liquidation of the Sokal ghetto.

Dr. Ira Stolzenberg presented himself as a decent personality. He came from Zloczew, and in the year 1920 took up residence in Krystynopol, a shtetl near Sokal, where he was active as a doctor up to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. After Kristianopol was conquered by the German Army and after the liquidation of the ghetto there, The German murderers burned everyone in the synagogue – Dr. Stolzenberg and his entire family fled to Sokal, where he worked in the general hospital and the Jewish ambulatoria in the ghetto there. During the first deportation-*aktion* in Sokal, his oldest daughter was deported to Belzec. During the trip, she jumped from the [train] wagon although wounded, with difficult will, she managed to crawl close to the village of Debreczin, where she was killed. As was later told, the surrounding peasantry did not want to give her a drop of water, despite the fact that her father had treated them for many long years.

Dr. Stolzenberg, together with his wife and younger daughter were tortured in the month of August 1942 by the *Gestapo* in Sokal, to which location, he and his family were dragged to because of an informing, since he attempted to get out using Aryan papers.

Since early youth, Dr. Stolzenberg was active in the Zionist movement and was committed in the way he served the Zionist ideal. His refined character stood out in the way he was a model for taking care of the sick, who would come to him for local help. His principal concern was how far he could go in helping his patients, and the matter of pay was a secondary consideration. He was a dear Jewish man, a committed Zionist and an outstanding a man of character in his role

as a physician.

In the Jewish hospital, in the Sokal ghetto the physician Dr. Pomeranz Pszedecy worked for a long time, coming from Łodz. He completed his medical training in Lemberg, and in the year 1940 went over to Gorokhov, and there he worked as a doctor. During the liquidation of the ghetto in Gorokhov in August 1943, Dr. Pomeranz fled to Sokal. On the way, however, he was recognized by Ukrainians and he was turned over to the *Gestapo* in Sokal, where he sat together with me, who had previously condemned to death, and afterwards deported to Belzec. He was able to get away from the train, which was going to Belzec and he came back to Sokal, where he secretly worked together with this writer, in the Jewish hospital. During the liquidation of the Sokal ghetto, Dr. Pomeranz again fled, this time to Wolhyn, where he is supposed to have fallen as a fighter in the ranks of the anti-Nazi partisans.

*Dr. Falk* was employed in the Jewish ambulatorium in the Sokal ghetto. He came from Kamionka Strumilowa and completed his medical studies in Vienna. Even before the First World War, he took up residence in Sokal, where he was active in all aspects of medical practice. As someone committed to *Mizrahi* he took an active part in the local *Mizrahi* movement. He also practiced in the Sokal ghetto as a general physician, until he was killed with his wife and two sons during the liquidation of that ghetto in the year 1943.

From Zhiviec in Western Galicia, Dr. Messinger came to Sokal in the year 1939, who was active there as a physician until May 1943, when he, his wife and two daughters were killed during the liquidation of the Sokal ghetto.

**T**o the end, this writer, who had been occupied with medical practice in the General Hospital of Sokal since the year 1919, directed the Jewish ambulatorium and afterwards with the epidemiological hospital in the Sokal ghetto, along with this, he unofficially worked at the general hospital in Sokal. A day before the final extermination of the Sokal ghetto, on May 25, 1943, he fled with his wife and children from the ghetto and hid himself with the Christian (lady) Kristin Halamayova, and thanks to this gentle Christian woman, one of the rare righteous gentiles of the world, I remained alive with my wife and two sons. Immediately after the liberation by the Soviet Army, I took over the direction of the General Hospital in Sokal and worked there until the year 1945. At that time we made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, where I began to work as a physician in the hospital in Ramat-Gan.

Our dear Jewish settlement in Sokal was erased, and eradicated. There are no more Jewish doctors there.

פני סוקל וסביבה  
בישראל ובתפוצות

**Scions of Sokal & Vicinity  
In Israel and the Diaspora**

יידן פון סיקאל און סביבה  
אין ישראל און אין די תפוצות

# The Organization of Émigrés of Sokal & Vicinity in Israel

By Joseph Fyvel  
(Ramat-Gan)

As the Secretary of the Organization of Émigrés of Sokal & Vicinity, I was asked to assume the burden to write about the activities of the Organization from the day it was founded. However, I cannot assume this task without remembering here, our comrade, I would say *our brother*, a scion of our city, Dr. David Kindler, it is not only because he is the *foundation* of our organization, but he is the unique glue that united us all. There is no initiative you will undertake without him, and not likely you will succeed without his help. As was the case in Sokal, he was the central pillar of the Zionist movement and every undertaking on behalf of the Land of Israel, where his hand was always in the middle. Also here, there is not an undertaking of offering help or support that some member of our scions will not be drawn to participate in, without his participation in the initiative. It is in this fashion that I wish to convey the thanks of the scions of Sokal & Vicinity to our Dr. Kindler, whom we hold in such high regard, and to wish him long life and many more years for us to benefit from the participation of his work in our midst, and so to life.



יוסף פיבל

Page 373: Joseph Fyvel

On January 15, 1951 the first memorial service took place to honor the martyrs of Sokal, Belz, Varenzh and Tartakov in the hall of the health department in Tel-Aviv, No. 14 Balfour Street. After this previously mentioned service, a discourse was begun, as to whether such an organization should be created, against which the people of Belz strongly opposed, such that it was decided to form an organization named for the Émigrés of Sokal, Tartakov and Varenzh and vicinity, but did not succeed in electing a slate of officers from Tartakov and Varenzh.

In that same year, the ADMo"R of Sokal, Rabbi Sholom Rokeach זצ"ל came to *The Land* from the United States. With the effort of Dr. Kindler an acting committee was created with the participation of the lawyer Moshe Kubler, Mr. Yaakov Za"k ז"ל and Joseph Fyvel. The committee, led by Dr. Kindler, was tasked with arranging a meeting with the Rabbi, and to invite him to participate in a memorial assembly that was set for January 11, 1951. The Rabbi responded favorably to our request, and at the specified date the assembly took place in the *HaPoel HaMizrahi* house in Tel-Aviv, that was

[Translator: text is missing]

...participants and a strong impression was left on the on the participants by the vivid description of Dr. Kindler about life in the ghetto of Sokal during the period of the Nazis a"nh. The assembly listened while standing and with tears running from their eyes, when they heard the chant of the 'Yizkor' that was chanted by the Rabbi, after which the assembly said *Kaddish* jointly in memory of the martyrs.



הנשיאות באושרה לזכר קדושי סוקל והסביבה בתל-אביב בשנת 1951.  
 נושא: הרב ר' שלום רוקח זצ"ל  
 ראש פרעזידיום פון דער אזכרה צום אנדענק פון די קדושים פון סוקאל און סביבות.  
 עס רעדט: רב שלום רוקח זצ"ל

*Page 374: The Presidium at the Memorial to the Martyrs of Sokal & Vicinity in Tel-Aviv in the year 1951.*

*Speaking: Rabbi R' Sholom Rokeach זצ"ל*

Honorable Rabbi Sholom Rokeach זצ"ל, Managing Chairman, David Kindler, Secretary Joseph Fyvel, Treasurer Mr. Yaakov Za"K.

The lawyer Kubler related that he succeeded in collecting 172 lirat among the Émigrés for purposes of establishment of a *Kupat Kholim* Bank in the Name of the Martyrs of Sokal. The decision was approved with one voice vote, and that all members of the committee assume the responsibility to open this Bank whose purpose shall be to help new arrivals from our home city to get settled in The Land – with loans of no specific tenor and free of interest, done this way to help those in need of constructive help.

At the same meeting, it was decided to charge the member Fyvel to develop a relationship with our scions in the greater world. He undertook this task with a great deal of effort, until he succeeded in collecting approximately 200 addresses of our scions in the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia and Europe.

It is significant to stress that our scions the world over responded beautifully to us by providing bolstering support for the *Kupat Kholim* Bank. Mr. Yitzhak Kreminer from Canada gave the first donation of 1000 lira, Mr. Zavitzky of Canada and Mr. Yaakov Fyvel of Milano donated the first donations of \$100 each for this purpose, and in a like manner, Mrs. Huval organized together with Mr. Pfeffer a special fund-raider among our scions in the United States that netted us 450 lira, a sum similar to the sum raised by our scions in Argentina that was organized by Mr. Shmuel Windler of Buenos-Aires.

After the memorial service, the lawyer Moshe Kubler turned to the participating audience with a proposal to create an organization, and to decide on a managing committee, whose first goal would be to establish a *Kupat Kholim* Bank. On the spot a committee of seven people was formed: Dr. David Kindler, Mr. Yitzhak Birnbaum, Mr. Yaakov Za"K, the lawyer Moshe Kubler, Mr. Yaakov Gartl from Tartakov, Mr. Shimon Gerstenfeld from Varenzh, and Mr. Joseph Fyvel.

On January 24, 1951 the first meeting of this selected committee took place in the home of the Rabbi from Sokal, and the various responsibilities were divided as follows: The chairman the

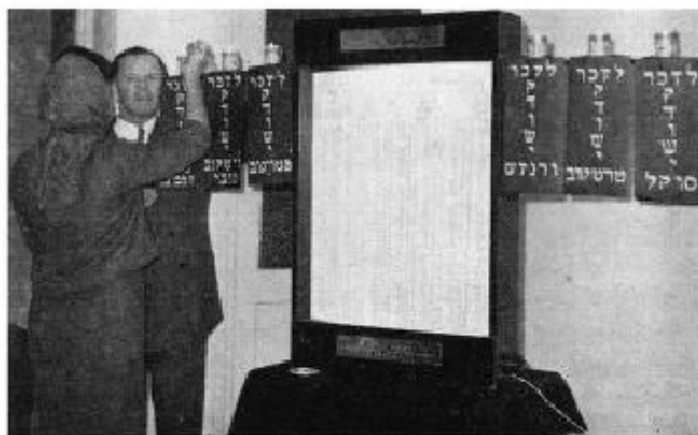
I would truly be culpable were I not to recall the responsiveness of our scions for the mutual assistance that reflects so well on their character in every instance when we appealed for help, during the austerity years in *The Land*, at a time when newspapers the world overtook the time to tell about this, perhaps with some exaggeration, it spontaneously aroused our scions in the United States and Canada, who were moved to send help to their fellow scions [in Israel] , and it was in this fashion that we received a parcel from Mr. Kreminer containing used clothing, and similarly a gift of food from our organization in the United States. After a lively discussion among the members of the committee, it was decided not to encourage the donor to send such packages, which denigrate the dignity of a person who is laboring to build *The Land*, but rather to explain that our real need was for loans of an extended period that were interest free, that is needed for our goal. There would be an obligation to return the money that needs to serve the same purpose for a scion of our city. A committee was set up headed by Dr. Kindler that dealt with the distribution of the clothing and packages of food in exchange for a symbolic payment into the *Kupat Kholim* funds. As was usual with such undertakings, there were both willing and unwilling people among the recipients, something that confirmed the position of the committee to no longer encourage initiatives of this kind.

On November 15, 1952 we organized a memorial service to honor the martyrs in the hall of *Bet-Halutzot* in Tel-Aviv. In accordance with a request of our organization in the United States, we also brought into the Israeli organization the Émigrés of Stoyanov who had since then been invited to these memorial services and responded accordingly, but not in tangible projects for the good of the Organization. After the memorial service, there was a general meeting in which Dr. Kindler described the activities of the Organization in general, Mr. Yaakov Za'K ז"ר gave a financial accounting for the [*Kupat Kholim*] Bank, and S. Joseph Fyvel a report on the connections with our scions outside *The Land*, for fund raising, and a separate committee was set up in which Dr. David Kindler, the lawyer Moshe Kindler and Sh. Joseph Fyvel participated. In connection with a proposal of Mr. Yaakov Za'K ז"ר, and initiative to collect pictures was set up, memoirs and memories in order to publish a Yizkor Book. It was agreed that all members of the committee included the members of the managing committee, and each was give responsibility to engage in this undertaking.

During the first meeting of the committee, it was decided to publish two circulars, one in Yiddish and one in Hebrew, and to distribute it among our fellow scions both in Israel and the Diaspora. The lawyer Moshe Kubler together with the secretary Sh. Joseph Fyvel put together the previously mentioned circular on the spot, and we were concerned that it reach each of the scions of the city wherever they may be found, and the first feedback was strong, and we received encouraging replies from all sides, and we were certain of success. At the same time, Mr. David Blum reached *The Land*, and we arranged a reception for him at the home of Mrs. Arlinsky (of the Za'K family), and taking advantage of this opportunity, Mr. Blum donated 100 lira for the benefit of the *Kupat Kholim* Bank, and he promised to donate a parcel of land in Tzfat to put up a nice repository in honor of the names of the martyrs of the Sokal ghetto. After this success, we turned to planning the details, and wanted to initiate the distribution of work, but this did not go too smoothly. Scions of Tartakov in Argentina rose up in opposition and began to speak up against the initiative as it was defined, and to tear down is always easier than to build up, and in this they succeeded. We also received unpleasant news from

the United States, and seeing that Mrs. Hubal was the Chair of the committee, she decided to turn over the funds amounting to \$2,500 to the 'Joint' that promised to buy a building in Israel. To this day we do not know where this building stands. And as a result, the plan to have such a house – ashamedly – fell through. On March 15, 1954 we had the happy opportunity to arrange a warm reception for our scion Mr. Yitzhak Kreminer and his wife at the Café Carlton in Tel-Aviv. This was a very pleasant encounter over a glass of tea, and almost all the scions of our city, and among the discussions of friends, we raised the importance of the *Kupat Kholim* Bank, and at that same meeting, a handsome sum was raised from our fellow countrymen for the good of the Bank, and Mr. Kreminer also promised to stand by our side for those who needed it. At that same time, it was decided to send a letter of thanks to Mrs. Hubal for her remittance of the monies received from the United States to the 'Joint.'

In May 1954, we, together with our families and loved ones, organized a memorial service to the martyrs of our city at the *Bet HaMoreh* in Tel-Aviv, and we had picked this date in order to remember the day of the last *aktion*, in which 4,000 people were exterminated. For this memorial service we invited the acting troupe of *HaBima* to put on a special presentation for us.



מצבה פוארת עם 6 נרות נשפה לזכר קדושי סוקל והסביבה  
אנשיענקיטאוויל לזכר די קדושים פון סוקאל און סביבה

*Page 377: A Memorial Tablet with 6 Eternal Lights In Memory of the Martyrs of Sokal & Vicinity.*

In the general meeting that took place after the memorial service, Dr. Kindler conveyed the work of the committee, and also the bitterness of the lack of success to erect a house for the martyrs of the ghetto. Mr. Yaakov Za"K ז"ל then gave a report on the fruitful work regarding the *Kupat Kholim*, Bank, and blessed the concept of creating such a Bank, that will represent a unique monument to the martyrs of those near and dear to us. He too expressed disappointment on the lack of success in having our request for Yizkor Book material not well met, and , once again, requested those who were gathered to be responsive to this need. In accordance with a proposal of Sh. Joseph Fyvel, it

was decided to memorialize the martyrs of the ghetto with a stone memorial in the Cellar of the Holocaust on Mt. Zion in Jerusalem, with a special ordering on a scroll in order to record the names of the martyrs that were exterminated by the Nazis י"ט. In a like manner, the proposal of Dr. David Kindler was accepted to record the name of Mr. Yitzhak Kreminer in the golden book of the *Keren Kayemet L'Israel*, as a sign of recognition of the donation of the heart and for the help with loans, and Mr. Dov Levy from the United States for his plan to help in all instances and especially human conditions when he was in the Auschwitz camp.



הנשיאות באושרה לזכר קדושי סוקל והסביבה בתל-אביב בשנת 1956  
 דאָס פרעזידיום פון דער אושרה צום אנדענק פון די קדושים סון סיקאל און סביבה אין יאר 1956  
 יושבים משמאל (ניצן פון לינקס): יעקב ז'ק זיל, יבלהיא יוסף פייבל, רב שלום רוקעך זצ"ל,  
 צואם (רעכטס): עזרי משה קובלר  
 יושבים מיטן (ניצן פון רעכטס): נחום ענגל, אייזיק בירנבאום, בערבער ואריה דאָנער

Page 378: The Presidium attending the Memorial Service for the Martyrs of Sokal & Vicinity in 1956.

(Sitting from the Left): Yaakov Z'ak ז"ל, Joseph Fyvel to long life, Rabbi Sholom Rokeach זצ"ל

(The speaker): Lawyer Moshe Kubler

(Sitting from the Right): Nahum Engel, Isaac Birnbaum, Berger, Aryeh Donner

In January 1955 we addressed all the émigrés from our city all over the world in Hebrew and Yiddish, whose addresses were known to us, asking that they send us the names of their dear martyred colleagues in order that we will be able to preserve them eternally in the scroll that was being written (for us) by a special scribe, and will be attached to the memorial stone in the *Cellar of the Holocaust* on Mt. Zion in Jerusalem. In the interim, we concluded the negotiations with the leadership of the *Cellar for the Holocaust*, and we turned to preparing the stone itself. We set the date for the dedication of the stone on the memorial day of the first *aktion* against the Sokal ghetto. We began to receive letters with gifts as we gathered each and every name, in order not to cause conversations and embarrassments we decided to arrange the names in alphabetical order, so there would not arise a question of who came first. On May 22, 1955 the memorial day of the first in the Sokal ghetto, the memorial stone was formally set in place in the Cellar of the Holocaust with the participation of many of our townsfolk, the local Cantor recited 'El Moleh Rahamim' in a manner



that tore at the heart. Dr. Kindler spoke about what used to be, but was no longer, Mr. Yitzhak Amiral brought up memories of the city of Sokal from those years, and afterwards, we dispersed broken-heartedly, each to his own place. We had the feeling that we had succeeded in doing something additional to preserve the memories of the martyrs that were murdered by the Nazis ימ"ש with their polluted hands. I then turned to apply the rest of my energy to the gathering of the names of martyrs in order to get closure on this significant undertaking. We photographed the memorial to the martyrs, and we organized a gathering for all of our scions both in and out of The Land of Israel, and once again we sent out mail to them to send us the names of martyrs and by this method we succeeded in gathering most of the names of the martyrs that were known to us, and we arranged to prepare a scroll of the names of the martyrs and turned this scroll over to the *Cellar of the Holocaust* where it rests to this day in a special place that was prepared for it along with the erection of the memorial stone placed there.

The Fyvel brothers, in their desire to have an eternal memorial for their bother Leona Fyvel who was martyred after being liberated from the camp at Bergen-Belsen, put in the effort to create a faithful copy for the scroll of the names of the martyrs of the Sokal ghetto done by the same scribe that was picked to do the original. They placed this copy in a black container with special lighting from its two sides. And every year, at the time of the memorial service for the martyrs of Sokal the stone memorial is lit by the six memorial candles, it had already become customary to light these extra two. And when the time arrived for the cantor to chant 'El Mole Rachamim,' the hall lights were turned off, and the hall was lit only by the memorial stone which cast its glow for the names of the martyrs on all those assembled in the hall, and kept that way until after the recitation of the *Kaddish* by the whole community.



סוכבת זכרון בבית הקברות בבואנוס-איריס עם לוח לזכר קרובי סוקל  
אנדרטק-סוכבת אוימן בית הקברות אין בואנוס-איריס מיט א טאול לזכר די קרובים פון סיקאל

Page 379: The Memorial Plaque in the Buenos-Aires Cemetery with a listing of the Martyrs of Sokal.

On October 21, 1956 we came together to memorialize our martyrs in the *Bet HaMorim* hall in Tel-Aviv. There was complete participation as usual, and as always after the memorial service we had a general meeting. During this meeting an accounting was given regarding the activities of the *Kupat Kholim*, that was consistently the first order of business. Dr. Kindler took this opportunity to propose the inscription of the name of Leona Fyvel ל"ו into the *Keren Kayemet* golden book. He was a scion of Sokal who gave himself over to helping refugees from Eastern Europe,

that was centered in Milan, this being the first station of rescue at that time. He created a special facility for the children of refugees with a kitchen, and when the Nazis imposed their rule on this city, he was arrested and shipped to Bergen-Belsen. Since he was a citizen of Argentina, he was given a special permission there, to help out the unfortunate in that same camp, may his memory be for a blessing. It is noteworthy that we mention that in the wake of the organization in Israel, the scions from Argentina, from our city, set up a memorial plaque that was placed by the *Hevra Kadisha* in Buenos-Aires.

In 1957 we held a memorial service for our martyrs on November 25, with the participation of the well-known Cantor Mr. Wilkomirsky, who sang songs from life in the ghetto and called to memory the martyrs in the traditional fashion on that day. On 27 Nissan there were large memorial services held in all of the cities of *The Land*, and a general memorial service in the Forest of the Martyrs.

In 1958 we assembled in a response to a request from the Knesset in order to secure and recognize the significance of 27 Nissan, the memorial day to remembering the Holocaust and Heroism, and undertaking that was successful, whose outcomes are always seen as special on that designated day. The On the 27<sup>th</sup> of Nissan, very large memorial services were held in all the cities of *The Land* along with a general memorial service in the forest of the martyrs.

On October 29, 1958 we organized a memorial service for the martyrs of the Sokal ghetto in the hall of the *Keren Kayemet L'Israel* in Tel-Aviv with the participation of Cantor Frankel. A number of new people that made *aliyah* from Sokal and its vicinity, having escaped from the Holocaust, participated in this memorial service. In the general meeting after the memorial service, an accounting was given regarding the activities of the *Kupat Kholim*, and it was decided to allocate special loans to new arrivals, to give them a chance to establish themselves and settle down in *The Land*.



בעת אזכרה לנוכח קדושי סוקל והמקימה בתל-אביב בשנת 1958  
 בעת דער אזכרה צום אנדענק פון די קדושים פון סוקאל און סביבה אין תל-אביב אין יאר 1958

Page 380: During the Memorial Service in Memory of the Martyrs of Sokal & Vicinity in Tel-Aviv in the year 1958.

The connection with our fellow scions in the Diaspora nevertheless weakened in these later times, But Dr. Kindler did not tire from using special letters to keep in touch with our fellow scions in the United States, in order to strengthen our connection. In April 1959 we received the news from our organization in Buenos-Aires of the great loss that our community suffered with the passing of the honorable scion of the city, Rabbi Nachman Tzigman ז"ל. This was a loss mourned by all the scions of the city.

On November 11, 1959 the service in memory of the martyrs of our city took place in the hall of *Bet HaMoreh* in Tel-Aviv, in

which the proposition was passed to plant a grove of trees in the forest of the martyrs of *Keren Kayemet L'Israel* in the name of the martyrs of the ghetto of Sokal, its purpose being to erect a memorial to those who were not privileged to come and be buried in Israel. In February 1960 we sent out a letter with a return to all the scions of our city to donate in order to accomplish this sacred task, and the replies were lively and in the end, we were able to confidently turn over to the KK"l to first sum – of 500 lira for use in creating the shrove. Because of a specially strong effort, we succeeded in receiving the use of a parcel of land for the shrove from the management before 27 Nissan for the year 5720 -1960] and close to 50 people gathered together, scions of Sokal, Tartakov, Varenzh and Stoyanov, and we traveled to the forest of the martyrs that is to be found between the mountains of Jerusalem and a place where a memorial stone had been carved of marble, dedicated to the martyrs of our city, that had been put to death by the Nazis יר"ש, and eradicate their memory as well. The officers of all the cities were given the honor of planting the trees, and after the memorial prayer for the martyrs, a community *Kaddish* was recited by the attendees, we then dispersed with a feeling that, once again, we had done something to memorialize the memories of our beloved ones who are no longer with us. From that time on, we would invite all of the scions of our city on the general day of mourning, 27 Nissan, and whoever could take the time off from his usual work [joined us], and we gathered in the forest of the martyrs beside the monument to those martyrs from Sokal, Tartakov and Stoyanov, we would jointly recite *Kaddish* and unite ourselves with our martyrs.

With the permission of the KK"l. We received special permission to plant specific trees in the memory of individual martyrs which we allocated among the donors. In that same period we decided to integrate the survivors of Witkow Novy into our organization, who conveyed their desire for this, and so therefore, in the coming memorial service that took place on June 6, 1969, we included them as well, and decided to organize them and to collect their writings. But this union did not proceed well, and after two years, they left our organization.



מצבת זכרון ביער הקדושים בחיי ירושלים

On June 11, 1960 we held the traditional memorial service in memory of the martyrs in the halls of the KK"l.

*Page 381: The monument in the Forest of the Martyrs in the Hills of Jerusalem*

This time we were privileged to have the participation of Rabbi Dr. Fogelman, today the chief Rabbi of Kfar Motzkin, the son-in-law of R' Moshe Rapoport ז"ל. He honored the memory of the martyrs with a presentation about Sokal, its people, the Synagogue, the *Bet HaMedrash*, and in general of its Jewish activities of Sokal and its vicinity, that was very interesting.



הנשיאות באזכרה לזכר קדושי סוקל והסביבה בתל-אביב בשנת 1960  
 דאס פרעזידיום פון דער אזכרה צום אנדענק פון די קדושים פון סוקאל און סביבה אין ת"א. 1960  
 יושבים מיטן (ריגן פון רעכטס): (—) רב ר' מרדכי פוגלמן, דיר פרובר, יעקב ז"ק ז"ל,  
 יבלחיא דיר דוד קינדלר ונאט: עזרי משה קובלר

(Page 382 Top): *The Presidium of the Memorial Service for the Martyrs of Sokal and Vicinity in Tel-Aviv in 1960.*

(Sitting from the Right): *R' Mordechai Fogelman, Dr. Gruber, Yaakov Za"K ז"ל, separated for live, Dr. David Kindler, and the Speaker: The Lawyer Moshe Kubler.*



באזכרה כפר למעלה — נאט יעקב ז"ק ז"ל

Page (382 Bottom): *At the Memorial Service as Above - Yaakov Za"K ז"ל Speaking.*

The ceremony of this memorial service made a deep impression and the participants conveyed their satisfaction to the organizers of the service, and underscored the importance of these get-togethers.

During the year 1961 our work was the usual. The connection to our people in the Diaspora weakened, and a few new people made *aliyah* who were our scions, the *Kupat Kholim* provide them with their first assistance, and enabled them to get settled and to arrange for work.



בשת מחדש זיין די לבנה

בשת קדיש לבנה

*Page 383 : During the Prayer Celebrating the Return of the New Moon.*

On November 16, 1961, we were struck bitterly by the sudden loss of our beloved scion our member Yaakov Z'K ז"ל, who was an active member from the day our organization began, and donated a lot of time to the opening and founding of the organization, participating in all of its initiatives, and committed himself to the community at-large. His sudden death placed a heavy burden of mourning on all the people of Sokal

when they received this sad news. His life and work is described elsewhere in this book.

On November 11, 1961 we arranged for the memorial service in memory of the martyrs of the Sokal ghetto in the Hall 'Bet Tzioni America.' This time the memorial service was under the nimbus of mourning of the death of our comrade Yaakov Za'K ז"ל, and all the participants honored him with its conduct. Dr. Kindler offered the eulogy, and the Cantor recited chapters of the Psalms and 'Yizkor,' and without prompting, we scattered bearing the burden of this heavy cloud of bereavement that had fallen upon us.

On April 21, 1943 on the 27th of Nissan when the general country-wide observance of the Holocaust takes place, we met in the martyr's forest beside the gravestone we placed for our martyrs, and on the way back we decided to allocate more energy to the goal of producing a Yizkor Book. Despite the fact that we knew the undertaking was weighty, it is the only way we can repay the debt to the memory of our martyrs and beloved ones who did not have the fortune to be among us, and had given up their lives in such a tragic way. We turned anew to the task of letter writing to all those who had some possibility to help us in this undertaking. On August 23, 1963 we consummated a meeting of friends in the Samuel Hotel in Tel-Aviv we allocated tasks, accepted promises of contributions, and approached the task once again. On December 30, 1963 we called for a memorial service, the traditional mourning in the Bet Tzioni in America and Tel-Aviv, and after the memorial service by the Cantor and the presentation of the task, we brought up the issue of the publication of the book before the gathering that bestowed its blessing on our decision and promised us help. We turned with our Yiddish response form to people in the Diaspora and the same in Hebrew to those living in Israel, with the request that they send us material for the Yizkor Book. The reaction was a weak one at the start, but slowly and surely we gathered page after page, picture after picture, and everything we received was precious in our eyes.

I would like to use this opportunity to return and offer thanks to the scions of our city, Mr. Yitzhak Kreminer and Yaakov Fyvel who with their donations for the Yizkor Book encouraged us to move ahead with our comprehensive work.

## Jews from Sokal in the Diaspora

By Joseph Fyvel

In the great sea of Jewish immigration that began even before the First World War, there is no doubt that Jews from Sokal could be found among them. These immigrants considered maintaining an intimate contact with the 'old country' – a very important task, often combined with support activities for their needy brethren in Sokal. But by being dispersed and spread out in a variety of countries, mostly overseas – the Jewish Sokal immigrants lacked the power to establish strong *landsmanschaftn*, and even in the period between the two world wars, this situation did not change, especially, when the countries accepting émigrés employed a variety of statutes and laws, which sometimes put more burdensome obstacles in the path of Jewish émigrés.

It was only after the destruction of Polish Jewry, along with all the other settlements in Poland, no trace of Jewish Sokal remained, and those of Sokal Jewry who survived, that is the pitiful few who miraculously managed to remain alive, as well as those Sokal Jews who returned from the Soviet Union, could not – and did not want to – reconstruct their lives on the wreckage of Jewish Sokal – and therefore allowed themselves to be swept up in the tidal wave of immigration that in the beginning led to the D.P. camps in West Germany and other receiving places of refuge. From there, the path led to the Land of Israel – in the beginning by illegal means, and after the establishment of the State of Israel by legal *aliyah*, as well as from other European or overseas countries.

An important collection point for Jews rescued from the Nazi *Gehenna* was established in Italy – in Milan, where even before the war there had developed a broadly branched philanthropic activity for the benefit of Jewish refugees from Hitler's Germany, including the energetic and committed activist Leib (Leona) Fyvel<sup>86</sup>, a child from Sokal, who lived through the terrifying *Gehenna* in the death-camp of Bergen-Belsen. After the liberation, he returned to Milan and despite his illness with full-hearted dedication, he committed himself to continue the social work especially on behalf of his Sokal *landsleit* in Israel. He passed away in Milan in the year 1953. An appropriate assessment of his social activities in Milan can be found in another place in this *Yizkor* Book. The Jewish Sokal survivors in Israel made eternal the memory of this, their precious landsman, Leib (Leona) Fyvel ל"י by inscribing him in the year 1956 in the Gold Book of the *Keren Kayemet L'Israel*.



As we previously noted, a meaningful number of the survivors of Sokal Jewry concentrated themselves in a variety of D.P. camps in West Germany. The wounds and the terrifying torture of the Nazi death-camps was still rather fresh... The pain of knowing the torture undergone by fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, in the 'Old Country,' was still great. And indeed overall – wherever

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<sup>86</sup>

Brother of the Secretary of the *Landsmanschaft* for Sokal Jews in Israel – Sh. Joseph Fyvel



אזכרה של שארית הפלטה של יהודי סוקל בשנת 1947 בלאַנדסברג (גרמניה)  
 נואם: ר' אייזיק קאַנסטאַנטין ז"ל

*Page 386 (Top): A Survivors Memorial Service of Sokal Jews in 1947 in Landsberg (Germany): Speaker: R' Isaac Konstantin ז"ל*



שארית הפלטה של יהודי סוקל אחרי אזכרה בלאַנדסבערג (גרמניה) בשנת 1947  
 השני מימין: ר' אייזיק קאַנסטאַנטין ז"ל

a group of *landsleit* from Sokal and its vicinity could be found, the memorialization of the martyrs became a sacred duty by holding memorial services and evenings dedicated to sorrow.



שאריית הפלטה של יהודי סוקל אחרי אונציה בלאגודמבערג (גרמניה) בשנת 1947  
השני מימין: ר' אייזיק קאנסטאנטין ז"ל

*Page 386 (Bottom): The Survivors Memorial Service of Sokal Jews in 1947 in Landsberg (Germany):*

*Second from the Right: R' Isaac Konstantin ז"ל*

At one such memorial service held by the Jews from Sokal and its vicinity, which took place in the spring of 1947 in Landsberg – the recently departed and well-known Tel-Aviv resident R' Isaac Konstantin ז"ל took part, and [we received news of] a second such memorial service which took place in May 1948 in the German city of Neu-Freiman. We learn from a report that was published by our Sokal *landsman* Sh. Imber in the 'Yiddisher Stimme,' the organ of the leadership of the American [refugees] in the occupied German cities, from which we cite the following words<sup>87</sup>: 'On Monday, May 31, 1948 a memorial service was held in the Neu-Freiman camp to honor the martyrs of Sokal, and its immediate vicinity. The Academy was opened by Mr. Sh. Imber, who invited a presidium. Then comrade A. Weiser recited an 'El Moleh Rachamim,' and after that, Mr. A. Krom spoke about the life of the Sokal Jews in the period between 1941-1943. Then Mrs. M. Solitare talked about Jewish life in the 'Old Country,' and at the end, Mr. Sh/ Imber called on all those present to stand in the rows of this battle camp. All of us express our recognition of Mr. Y. Kraft who risked his life and was able to seize the mass-murderer, the chief of the Sokal *Gestapo*, Heyduk, who today is already standing trial<sup>88</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> Using our orthography (Ed.)

<sup>88</sup> Through the court in Munich, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. (Ed.)



An important center for Sokal Jews after the Second World War was in New York (North America). At the beginning our American *landsleit* kept up an intimate contact with their relatives in Sokal and by all means available provided help to their needy brethren with clothing and food packages. After the establishment of the State of Israel the support activities of the Sokal *landsleit* in America became more intensive. Of especial significance, the Organization of Sokal émigrés underscored the support activities of the prominent *landsleit* Chaim Ber Pfeffer, Harry Weitz, Shmuel Fyvel, Moshe Bauman, Uri Weiser and Dov Levi, who substantively and with a full heart answered every call from their brethren in Israel.

The Sokal landsman Dov Levi, who today lives in New York – while still in the Auschwitz death camp, always, even under the most difficult circumstances, strove to help his brethren in the camp. In recognition of this commitment of heart and soul, the Sokal *landsleit* in Israel had his name written into the gold book of the KK'L.

A great deal of respect and recognition developed among a wide circle of Jews in New York – [This included] the Sokal landsman Shmuel Fyvel thanks to his dedicated community activity. Together with his wife Sadya they managed with great success in the sale of Israel bonds, and thereby because of this special interest, looked after satisfying the religious-cultural needs of the Jewish vicinity of where they lived.

After the year 1963, the New York-based publication, writing about the social work of Shmuel (Sam) and Sadya Fyvel stressed among other things, that during the course of many years, they had been active for the good of the Jewish Center. Sam is the Vice-President of that Jewish congregation, and takes an active part in its undertakings. With a separate interest, he involves himself with the religious and cultural work-program of the center, and it is he, who with unwavering commitment does this, so that there is a *minyán* held daily, and that Sabbath prayers are recited. Now, he is active as the head of the education program for adults...'

The activity of the Sokal *landsmanschaft* in Argentina had great meaning and impact. Apart from their philanthropic activity, the Sokal Jews there showed a genuine and profound concern to make eternal the memory of the annihilated Jewish settlement in the Sokal of the 'Old Country.' In the Buenos-Aires cemetery, they erected a monumental grave marker in memory of the martyrs who were cut down in that community, and in memory of their tortured brothers and sisters.

Shmuel Windler and his wife Malka Elefant belong to the group of most active participants in Argentina. In the year 1959, our *landsleit* in Argentina suffered a heavy loss, when the director and guide of all the Sokal Jews, the guarded and honored leader Rabbi R' Nachman Tzigman ר'נ"א passed away. He was active during the course of many years in every undertaking for the benefit of the Sokal *landsmanschaft* in Israel. He was brought to a final resting place in Jerusalem.



סיקאלער לאַנדסלייט אין בוענוס איירעס

Page 388: *The Sokal Landsleit in Buenos-Aires*



A very important chapter in the history of the activity of Sokal *landsmanschaftn* in the larger world – is occupied by the small group of Sokal Jews in Canada. In the first line of this group, one finds R' Yitzhak Kreminer, that gentle Jewish man from Sokal, the most generous contributor, who is always counted with extraordinary warmth and true self-sacrifice regarding every issue, that has a relationship to Jewish general interest and especially to the State of Israel.

ר' יצחק קרמינער  
ואשחוי איתו



ר' יצחק קרעמינער  
און ויין פרוי איתו

*Page 389 (Top, Center): R' Yitzhak Kreminer and His Wife Itta*

This very tireless social activist responds with an extraordinary warmth to every call from the Sokal *landsmanschaft* in Israel, and foremost, and because of his substantive expenditures, we have to thank him for broadening the effort of the Sokal *Gemilut Hasadim* Bank in Israel. With his contributions, he significantly helped to create the *Yizkor* Book as an eternal memorial to the Sokal Jewry that had been annihilated.

Every time when R' Yitzhak Kreminer comes to Israel with his dear wife and children, he is received warmly and with a full heart by almost all of the Sokal Jews that are found in *The Land*, and as an expression of the full recognition for his generous financial support for the good of the *landsleit* of Sokal, they had him [also] inscribed in the gold book of the *KK* "L.

Along with R' Yitzhak Kreminer, his brother-in-law Zavitzky also takes part in this social activity, even though he does not come from Sokal, but thanks to his wife, a sister of R' Kreminer, he was drawn into the activity for the general good, as well as the benefit of the Sokal *landsmanschaft* in Israel.



Several Sokal Jews in Australia are also active on behalf of their brethren in Israel. A great deal of intimate connection arose with the Jews of Sokal in Israel with two activists: Lewittes and his brother-in-law Rechtshaffner. Both of these maintain a warm contact with their comrades in Israel and are always prepared to help when called by the indigenous *landsmanschaft* of Sokal. The loss of the socially active member in Milan, R' Yaakov Fyvel ז"ל<sup>89</sup>, heavily impacted the Holocaust survivors from Sokal, who passed away on the First of the month of Tevet 5712.



משה נתן



ביילה בריינה



שלמה

Page 389 (Bottom, Left to Right): Their Children, Moshe Nathan, Baylah Brein'eh, Shlomo

<sup>89</sup>

Brother of the previously mentioned Leona Fyvel ז"ל and this writer.

The comprehensive philanthropic activity in the Jewish settlement there earned him much respect from the general Milan Jewish community. Together with his comrades from the *Hitakhdut* Party in pre-war Sokal, Zvi Klinger and Berisz Buchalter, with their great commitment, developed an intensive social activity among the Jewish populace in Milan and not forgetting, thereby, their *landsleit* in Israel, with whom they always maintained a warm and fraternal contact.

טַרְטַקוֹב

Tartakov

**Verso Side**

# Memories of My Birthplace the Sacred Congregation of Tartakov

By Aryeh Bak  
(Herzeliya)

**The entire nation of Jewry, in Israel and the Diaspora mourns the great and terrifying destruction that befell our brother Jews in all of Europe, and among them our brethren from Tartakov.** A sacred responsibility had been placed upon us to eternally preserve the memory of the martyrs and innocents, and to commit to paper all the memories and incidents on the live of this little community. In our little town no writers or poets emerged who could describe for us everything that the Nazis י"ט"ש inflicted upon us. Therefore, there is no choice, and I exerted myself in the task and try with my own capabilities to do this by myself, even though I am not skilled enough to do it; it is if an inner eye calls to me from the depths of these martyrs, and I write down everything that I remember of that time, when I first reached the age of awareness, every single detail in the life of the community. Whether in an area of collective effort, or the undertaking of a single individual, in order that the memory of the community not be forgotten.

## The Community of Tartakov

Among the hundreds and thousands of the communities in Europe, Poland and Eastern Galicia, our previously mentioned community also existed. The Great Holocaust did not skip over it, as we are told by survivors, and the scions of our town were exterminated in three waves:

The first wave, on Sunday June 22, 1941 when the Nazis burst into the town, they began with their murderous behavior. In this pogrom they killed about 200 Jews, the elderly, the young, women and children.

The second wave began when the Germans, and those who were their partners in this endeavor, the Ukrainians, created regulations and issued a variety of orders encompassing a variety of *aktionen* in the midst of the Jews and took out large section of them (seemingly the non-productive ones) to be sent off to Belzec, whose memory will be an eternal disgrace.

The third and final wave, when they liquidated the community in its entirety, and transferred the last of the Jews to the ghetto in Sokal which was beside Tartakov, and there in the ghetto, they were condemned to their final fate like the fate of all Jews: a slow death after a horrible terror until the ghetto was completely liquidated, and was free of Jews (*Jüdenrein*).

The names of the eye witnesses that saw the abuses of the Nazis and their helpers from the first day of the conquest to the last day of them being driven out by the Soviet Army were: Rosa Oyster, Moshe Fulk<sup>90</sup>, and Zvi Avrass.

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<sup>90</sup> Possibly 'Falik.'



## **When Was the Community Founded?**

I do not have in hand historical documents according to which it would be possible to exactly establish the time of the establishment of our community. I am writing these memories, and became very interested in the chronology of the community, and I developed an itch to write. It was not only once that I attempted to do research with the elders of the town who would always be telling stories and legends and various events about the life of the community in early times, but it did not fall to me to reveal anything serious that would bear witness to the community's establishment, so I went out with my late friend Yehuda Grossman, and we walked in the footsteps of our predecessors and we searched among the oldest of the gravestones, and we found one gravestone approximately 300 years old. This was the oldest gravestone we could find. If so, it is possible to establish that the Tartakov [Jewish] community was founded more than 300 years ago. Incidentally, my late friend, the previously mentioned Yehuda Grossman was a Hebrew teacher, and he was murdered along with his first son when the Nazis entered. They were both killed in one day. ת.נ.צ.ב.ה.

What those Jews did for a living back then, and how they got there is completely unknown to me. On entering the cemetery, beside the gate, on a little mound was a memorial plaque, and on it was etched in capital letters 'died in the earthquake,' and below, a short story written on it, that told of a certain Friday in the year 5534, when they entered the market day [e.g. 'The *Yarid*'] that appears to have been always scheduled for a Friday, and all manner of craftsmen, merchants and farmers came there to do business, suddenly an earthquake was heard and a noise ensued, and in this sound a complete family died. It is not known whether they were burned alive or simply died, and because of this, they were buried in one grave, 'a mass grave,' placed next to the entrance way, and everyone who entered the cemetery first ran into this marker that touched the heart of every visitor who passed by.

## **How Big Was the Town, and What Was Its Population?**

Various legends and stories circulated about town concerning the size of the town in olden times. The old people used to tell that there was a time when Tartakov was a big city and their source for this was Jewish book they found, and the name of the writer was on the frontispiece, and in it is written that the City of Sokal was close to Tartakov, and it was from this that they wanted to infer the size of the city. However, this did not convince me, because according to a topographical map, this was not possible, because surrounding all of the outside of the town was a swamp, pools of water and mud holes, and it does not make sense that it would be possible to build houses on puddles of water. And also, I saw no sign of torn down or ancient wrecked buildings that might testify to some sort of settlement in days gone by, all the more since to the north of the town there were a number of attractive hills outside of where the cemetery was located. This little neighborhood was called 'Wincia.' Why? I don't know. Even there, there were no signs of ancient dwellings.

## Where Is Tartakov Found Geographically?

As I have previously indicated, Tartakov can be found not far from Sokal, a center city that was large in all aspects, both in area and population. Tartakov was very small, its entire population consisting of 1,600 people – and among them 1,000 Jews. A wide and paved road led to Sokal, which on two of its sides had deep canals to let water flow down during the rainy season, and also beautiful trees that were planted along the length of the way on both sides of the road, as a sort of pretty backbone. And these trees were very tall, and from a distance one could think they were kissing each other. This road also served as a sort of promenade that was called ‘*der Sikoler Veg*.<sup>91</sup>’ The people of Tartakov would stroll there in the evenings and nights to get a bit of fresh air that was a shortcoming and missing in Jewish homes. On Festival Days, and on the Sabbath, after noon, the young people of Tartakov would go out for a stroll on this road, and would engage in political discussions and various other subjects. Around this town there were two towns very close to one another, one was Tartakov, and the other was Tartakoviec, with a rural population that dealt in agriculture and served as a strong economic support to our town. Apart from these close-by towns, there was a large village settlement containing 24 villages, approximately, whose population numbered about 20,000 souls, that were engaged solely in agriculture, and would bring their agricultural surplus into our *shtetl* for sale in the local market that was owned by the Jews, and then they would provision themselves by buying a variety of their needs in the Jewish stores that they required for their households.

As to the city itself: by contrast to the rundown houses of the Jews, the fortress of the owner of the land who was called ‘*Der Poritz*<sup>92</sup>,’ stood high and was visible to everyone and from the center, a beautiful palace stood close to the center of the city that belonged to this nobleman Urbanski. This gentile was a very religious Christian, a modest man, kind and of a generous heart. The fortress on his beautiful and magnificent palace covered a gigantic parcel of close to one thousand *dunam*. It was surrounded by a large fence made of brick and beautifully whitewashed. It was about 3 meters high, and above it had a roof on both sides made from tin so as not to rust. Apart from this palace there were also a variety of large buildings that served as dwellings for the various servants, and also a variety of fruit trees that were brought especially from outside the country that no one ever saw. Around this high wall, whose length was approximately a kilometer, were 2 large and beautiful entry gates. This palace was built by a French architect approximately eighty years before this. This was both a serious and artistic piece of work. The roof edged out and was like a ‘cap’ that slightly covered the top of the roof and an iron rod was stuck in there and on it a magnetic wire was attached as a guard against thunder and lightning, during the rainy summer days. There were four clocks on each of the sides of the roof, and every hour, the clock would chime and let the hour be known loudly throughout the town. For most of the residents, this clock served as the timepiece of the house, because many houses had no clock at all.

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<sup>91</sup> The road to Sokal.

<sup>92</sup> A ‘*Poritz*’ is the Hebrew word for a nobleman, which was adopted into Yiddish with no alteration.

The parcel of land around which the Jews centered themselves was very small; maybe it was about a half of a square kilometer, and within this tiny parcel, there were 1,000 Jewish souls and the whole town looked like a little ‘ghetto.’ Nevertheless, the configuration of the town was a pretty one, a row of connected houses on all four sides, and in the middle was the ‘marketplace’ also appearing like a fortress. Surrounding it were four gates that were open, and this building was called the ‘*Rynek*.’ The crowding in these houses was terrible. [There was] no air, insufficient light, and the ceilings were very thick, built from ancient bricks in which each brick weighed approximately 30-40 kg. They were configured in such a way that it was not possible to stand a closet in the middle of such a house. A stranger, coming to the town would wonder at the appearance of the city from the outside, its houses and buildings, and how the local authorities did not do anything to improve the external appearance of the houses. They had a decided indifference about this, and nothing bothered them at all.

This is a suitable place to recollect the ancient building of the ‘*Ratusz*<sup>93</sup>,’ that stood in the center of the *Rynek*. The building was very tall, as much as 30 meters in height. Up to a height of 20 meters were rooms and storage areas that served the residents of those that were public servants, and above these rooms it was empty. The roof was built as a sort of arched cap and at the top of the roof was a small flag that had dates etched into both sides, the date of the last reconstruction, and on the second side, the date of the original construction of the building. I believe that this was in a specified year of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The flag always stirred in response to the forces of the winds that blew.

The elders would tell stories and legends about this large building. What made sense was the stories that this building was erected by the Tatars, who centuries ago, invaded Europe. From what can be seen, they had designated Tartakov as a central point for the military command, and because of this they erected this gigantic tall building that served them as a watchtower from which they could follow the movements of the army of their enemies from a very long distance.

In its time, this building served as a local jail to implement administrative punishment, such as not keeping the street clean in front of the house, in the yard, or not paying the municipal tax on time. And also for other minimal transgressions. Also on the election days to the Austrian parliament, and Polish Sejm, after the First World War, the building was used to imprison Jewish youth held guilty of suspicious acts by the rulers who were especially opposed to Jewish nationalism and Zionism, and for the illegal distribution of pamphlets, the building became full of a variety of such lawbreakers in the Jewish street. People who were temporarily visiting this town related that this building was completely knocked down, and all that remained was a pile of stone. Apart from this center, there were a number of neighborhoods like – the location of the synagogue, Bet HaMedrash, which is here most of the community would gather. This area, which was called ‘*Die Schul Gasse*,’ or ‘*Yeneh Gasse*,’ was inhabited by most of the poor whose houses looked like neglected cabins. The public bath and rest rooms were located there. The bath house for use by the members of the community. Even the non-Jews would come there to enjoy the use of the facilities, because there was no municipal bath house, and so they enjoyed this because of the Jews. It was piled with wood every Friday and on the eve of Festival Days

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<sup>93</sup> The City Hall, or Municipal Building.

Not very far from the prayer houses, there was a small brook that swimmers used after the summer rains, and there was a small bridge across the brook, and on *Rosh Hashana* the Jews would come out of the various prayer houses, and following them were all the Jewish boys and girls, going to the bridge to observe the ‘*Tashlich*<sup>94</sup>’ ritual as was the custom of the place.

The *Hasidim* of Czortkow and Husiatyn had the custom of performing the ‘*Tashlich*’ ceremony the day before Yom Kippur Eve, in an entirely different place.

## **How Did the Jews of Tartakov Make a Living?**

The Jews made a living from the retail trade, such as market stores, textile and all manner of confections. There were a few high-end stores, but they were rare. Among them were also grain merchants, sellers of flour, horses and cattle and a number of coffee houses, also high end. These coffee houses served as a meeting place for the mass of farmers, laborers, and also professional drinkers. In the main it was the Christians that drank. Jews drank very sparingly. As you can infer, there were exceptions to this among the Jews as well.

There were a number of butcher shops that would sell kosher meat to the Jewish populace, that were under the supervision of the local Rabbi, and unkosher meat to the Christians. Among the families of butchers there were also ell-to-do families, but the level of their lives was very low, since these people didn’t know how to live, and harbored their money, and were subject to their money as if it were an idol. But the rest of them were very tight with their money, and earned their bread with great difficulty.

There were many families that made a living from labor, from specific Jewish trade in such trades as shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry, tin smithing, installing glass and building. These builders knew all aspects of the building process, from laying foundations to the plastering of the walls, construction, plastering, to the construction of ovens for baking bread, and large pots for purposes of heating and cooking. During the winter, these pots would serve as sources of heat to warm the rooms, because it was very cold in the rooms. There were also seamstresses, women who for pay, engaged in sewing from morning until night in dark and narrow rooms, whose walls were full of mildew and dampness. There were also small bakeries that would bake a variety of goods such as small challahs, cakes and small rolls. There were also houses where black bread was baked, and they would provide this to the surrounding neighbors for the laborers that worked for them. In general, in Jewish homes, it was the homemaker that baked the challahs, rolls and bread and there the food would be cooked overnight so it would be warm in the morning. On the Sabbath, after prayers, when the men of the household returned from the synagogue, they would bless the wine, and take out the warm food for the midday meal. This was our custom, and this was the custom of all Jews in Poland and Galicia.

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An annual Jewish custom on the Jewish New Year of casting crumbs of bread into the water to ‘wash away sins.’

There were farming families. They would plow the fields and used to work the land and there were those that had farmer's beverages, but these were in the minority. When I left Tartakov, the last of the farmers in the town was my grandfather, Asher Gitter. He, and his sons engaged in agriculture, were the only ones left in the town with horses, cows for milk, and all the necessary equipment, from plows to scythes, etc., etc. He would also hire non-Jewish workers because he could not get all the work related to the agriculture processes done by himself. He did not hire Jewish laborers. First of all, there weren't any, and secondly, they refused on the basis that the pay was too little, but essentially, they were unfit for this sort of work. Despite all this, my grandfather was established.

Apart from locally established businesses, there were many traders among the Jews, who traded every day of the week in villages where they would buy the produce of the farmers, in exchange for various things they needed. They would load up on the produce that they were able to buy from the farmers and sell to wholesalers in towns larger than Tartakov. This produce was of a variety of kinds, such as grain, flax linen. There were also Jewish jobbers and forest product merchants. Their situations would rise and fall with market conditions.

There was yet another occupation that was dispersed among Jews – the management of orchards of the local landowners. These Jews were expert at this work, and they would cultivate every fruit produced on trees, and was not a bad occupation. These Jews, along with their families would leave their places and would go out to live in tents out in the orchards for the entire summer, and they would guard the fruit until it was picked over the course of 3-4 months in the summer. If they succeeded, so did their good fortune, and if they were not successful then it was bad for them, and not only once did someone lose an eye and a tooth.

It is worth mentioning a number of other occupations found in our town. These were wagon drivers, called [sic: in Yiddish] *'balegolehs.'* They would bring merchandise from nearby Sokal for all the retailers, and there were among them Jewish people that merchants trusted them completely, and they were very faithful in keeping their word, and would sell off to them everything that they had to them. There were also places for the handling of skins and shoes. There were also two large warehouses for wood to build with. Similarly, they were businesses for making iron and cement, about 3 in the entire town, but only one of them about which it is possible to say he made a living, while the others were not so solid. There was a respectable group that made a living from making hats and also furs, and they would be tailors to the farmers and also to the Jews. In later years, there were barbers that came to the town serving men and women. There were also poor milk vendors that used to make a living by delivering milk to houses. Apart from this, there were several dairy operations that provided a variety of milk products to the local populace. They would buy the milk from the landowner, and produce the final product in their home, in their own workplaces. More or less, there were all of the occupations in which the Jews engaged.

The worst [economic] position was that of *melamdin* who taught in the *Heders*. They were extremely poor. They did hard labor during the day and the night, in attempting to inculcate Torah to Jewish children without once having a respite of vacation or catching one's breath. Even on the Sabbaths they were involved with these objectives. There were children who came to them in their homes and on the Sabbath in the afternoon to learn *'Pirkei Avot'* from the Rabbi *'Melamed'* and in the winter they would come to learn how to read the portion *'Borkhi Nafshi.'* Apart from this, the

*Melamdim* on the Sabbath would walk to the homes of the parents of the children to test the children about their studies of the entire week, in front of their parents, and to see and discuss how much progress the child was making, and the parents would melt out of happiness when they would hear that this miraculous child had mastered a ‘page of the *Gemara*.’ Who could equal them in their happiness?

## Family Life in Tartakov

Every family, by-and-large, had 8-10 children. There were some exceptional families that was blessed with more than 10 children, and it was these families with so many children that lived under terrible conditions. Largely [they lived] in one room without a separate kitchen and without a place to rest, in poverty, and the absence of everything. Despite this they live, raised and educated their children, worried about procuring food, clothing and a minimal education and also marry them off. It was very difficult for the Jews to marry off their daughters, because it was necessary to provide a dowry, and whoever lacked the resources to do so, had his daughter wait to reach an older age.

The happiness accompanying the birth of a male child was accompanied by a variety of special activities. On the eve of the Sabbath, the *Shammes* of the synagogue went up to the Bima and announced – that the new parents invites the entire congregation to a ‘*Shalom Zakhor*<sup>95</sup>’ at their home, and the father had prepared a variety of drinks, for everyone to indulge in to their capacity. The day before the ritual circumcision, the school children came to see the newborn in the room set up for this, and they came to the home of the childbearing mother to read the ‘*Shema*’ and both rolls and candy were distributed to them. At night, which was the night of guarding of the child, several elders came to recite the ‘*Shema*,’ and the new mother would put a knife in the bed in order to frighten off demons and evil spirits, and in the following morning the members of the father’s family would let themselves in, dresses in their Sabbath and Festival Day clothing, and went off to the synagogue to pray. And afterwards the close relatives of the family came and took the child to the synagogue, and the one appointed ‘*Sandek*<sup>96</sup>,’ would take the boy, and the *Shammes* would announce “*Kvatter*<sup>97</sup>,” and the child was then passed from hand-to-hand to all those honored to participate in the ceremony, until finally the *Sandek* was reached, this being the Rabbi, would took the boy and sat himself on the Seat of Elijah the Prophet, that was used only for ritual circumcisions. After this ritual was completed the participants were invited back to the house for a party and mitzvah feast.

When the boy reached the age of 3, the parents wrapped him in a prayer shawl and brought him to the room where the teaching *Rebbe* taught the very young, and sat the child on he table and he began to teach him the Hebrew alphabet.

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<sup>95</sup> A festive get-together to celebrate a happy occasion.

<sup>96</sup> The one who holds the baby during circumcision, and considered a great honor.

<sup>97</sup> Equivalent to a Godfather

At the age between 4-5 the boy began the study of the Pentateuch in a seat designated for him, beginning with the book of '*Vayikra*<sup>98</sup>' and a celebration was set up for the members of the family close and distant, and also the children in the Heder in which the boy was being taught. Candy was distributed, and other good things, and the same happened on the occasion of a *Bar Mitzvah* and a wedding. As is understood, the wedding was conducted with great fanfare in accordance with the means of all the people of the family.

The older people would occasionally tell of a custom in Tartakov, that the entire town and its leaders when the groom came out of the wedding location on the day of his wedding, he and his family would ring the 'market' seven times. This custom has been dropped for some time and the actions of the leadership in the wedding ceremony became more limited.

Even a wedding was prepared with attention to every detail. For the most part it would take place beside the synagogue under the open sky, and in the event of rain, indoors in the *Bet HaMedrash*. The [married] couple were escorted by an orchestra to their home, and guests danced and circled around the couple, and there were couples who excelled at dancing and could excite the remainder of the family into happiness and dance.

Before the wedding ceremony, apart from the immediate family – only the girlfriends of the bride could dance around her. Over by the groom, his friends and family members would sing chapters of The Psalms, and there were young men who would wait for an opportunity or took advantage of one, in order to prove their skills at singing.

After the wedding ceremony, a '*Mitzvah Feast*' was arranged for the group, and they then announced the presents that were given to the groom and bride. There was also a custom to invite a jester to amuse the gathering, and in order to inject a spirit of joy into the event.

## **The Community Way of Life Within the Town and Congregation**

As I have previously indicated, the majority of the local population was Jewish, almost 70%, however, control of all the municipal institutions was in the hands of the Christians, because this was the will of the central authorities. If, occasionally, a Jew might be occupying the Chairmanship of the Advisory Council, that had been elected and supported by the general populace, the final decision was not in the hands of the Jews, because the Secretary and other officials of the council were largely Polish Christians. I remember the only Jewish head of the council, the 'Burgomaster,' who occupied this position for a number of years. This was R' Aharon Gartl ש"ת, a wealthy man, the owner of much property and a saloon, where he was known and accepted by all of the Jewish and Christian populace alike. He was a man of a philanthropic heart, and his hand was open [with donations] to all the needy. The limits of activity of the local council was strictly circumscribed. They looked after filling all of the orders of the central and local institutions. They looked after collection of municipal taxes, the ordering of water by water drawers, and their repairs. There was no network to sufficiently satisfy the needs of every household, and every resident used to go alone

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<sup>98</sup> The Book of Numbers (following Genesis and Exodus).

to draw water from the wells using pails, or they would pay individual water-carriers to bring the water to their houses, and these water-carriers would haul the water on a yoke they had on their shoulders. The matter of sanitation by the *balebatim* was placed with each individual homeowner, who was also responsible for the disposal of garbage and liquid wastes, because, as I have already mentioned there were no drains and also no wells in which to dispose of water waste. The council would give out to all askers a specific report card, regarding identification, honesty, poverty, and the like. The council would make known the requirements for all the orders issued by the central authorities, such as: Active participation in local festivals according to law, and every house was responsible to run up and display the country flags, and those that violated this order were punished. The work of decoration was not from the bottom to the top. The council was elected once every 6 years by the local people. The right to cast a vote was only for *balebatim*, and whoever did not pay taxes did not have a right to vote. The system of elections was conducted by ancient castes. There were four castes. The first consisted of citizens of a specified amount of means, and spiritual leaders and clergy. I recall that in our caste we had a total of only three merchants, perhaps a fourth. The first was the landowner – Urbanski, the second was the priest, and the third was the Rabbi, and I do not recall the fourth. In the second caste were people of middling means, who paid high taxes of a specified amount. In the third caste were ordinary *balebatim*, and the fourth were the masses from age 24 and up. Women did not have the right to vote. Each of these castes put up the same number of candidates. What this said was that three citizens in one caste could vote for 6 candidates, like the hundreds of voters in the fourth caste. As is understood, those who were elected always did what was the will of the central and regional authorities. No appointed or elected Jew would dare to cross the will of the regional and central authorities, or oppose the word of a senior official of the government.

I can recall elections of this kind [taking place] fifty or more years ago, when there were no political parities, neither in the Jewish nor the Christian communities. By and large the basis was a personal or family one: more accurately in our language we were ‘family clans.’ Regarding the local elections, that the national elections to the Austrian Parliament or the [Polish] *Sejm*, was done on a national basis, politically and with partisanship. I recall that elections to the Austrian Parliament took place in 1911, by which time political candidates appeared, and the struggle in the Jewish and Christian streets took on a distinct political cast. The Jewish candidate that appeared before us, from the Zionist camp, was Shmuel Rapoport, a popular Jewish man, who had a dignified appearance, and had come to expound propaganda for his own benefit. The common people among the Jews were inflamed by him, and his dignified appearance, and his modesty, but many including the *Rebbe* and the Belz *Hasidim* who had a considerable influence among the Haredi Jews did not permit him to speak in the *Bet HaMedrash*, and he was compelled to speak in one of the wrecks of the city, a very ordinary place, and the simple Jews streamed there to hear his speech. He spoke to the Jewish heart and soul, such that a closeness of the heart developed between him and the masses that had come to listen to his speech. There was another candidate that was supported by the Belz *Rebbe*, this was an assimilated Jew named Tinhaus, and he was received respectfully by the *Rebbe* and his *Hasidim*, and they opened the gates to the house of prayer for him. He spoke in Polish, a language that most of the crowd did not understand as to his purpose and will. The contest was a sharp one, but there were also not few who voted for ‘redemption by a pretty coin,’ simply, they paid for a ‘voice’ with the provision of food and drink. As it turned out, there was not any movement [to create] a Labor political party all year long, except for a scattering of single Jewish men, here and there, these were people that had an international political and Zionist understanding. These first buds of a political movement began to appear and get organized only after the First World War.



## Initiatives of the Community

In the ambit of the community, it was the Rabbi and the well-to-do leadership that led the work. According to the law that was promulgated by the government in Vienna in 1867, Jewish communities began to organize themselves in every town (that is, where the Jews reached a certain level of population). The ambit of the small communities was very limited, and especially, these constrained their activities in three areas: The Rabbi, The Synagogue, the cemetery, and separately – the bath house. The expenses and income of the community were overseen by the regional government. Every year, a senior official would come who would review the budget and special storage facilities were set up for these funds. The community was headed by a President that was elected by secret ballot, during the first sitting after the general elections.

The income of the community was built on levying a tax on kosher slaughter. These revenues barely were able to cover the Rabbi, and the local slaughterers. The franchise for running the bath house was allocated to the community. However, in reality, the franchise was leased to a specific individual for a set salary.

The franchise for the synagogues and their maintenance was levied on those who worshiped there. The same was true of community institutions that we designated as a '*Hevra*,' where membership was at the discretion of the individual and not a responsibility. Examples are: '*Hevrat Bykur Kholim*,' '*Hevra Lina*,' '*Hevra Kadisha*,' '*Hevra Shas-u'Mishnayot*,' and book repair. The sole financial responsibility was the payment by a participating member of a weekly or monthly stipend paid around the year. In general on Saturday night after the *Shabbat* of *Simchat Torah*, all of the members of the previously mentioned institutions would come to home of their respective *Gabbai* or to the *Bet HaMedrash*. The *Gabbaim* in question would provide whiskey for drinking, and a repast for a '*Melaveh Malkeh*.' And the Head of the *Gabbaim* would present an accounting over the goblet of the changing year, and make public the income and expenses to review by the auditors, after which, a new Committee would be elected for the coming year.

I recall the minutes taken by '*Hevrat Lina*' brought into being and founded by 1) Meir Glazer, a Jewish carpenter by trade, but thoroughly grounded in *Tanakh*, Commentaries and *Eyn Yaakov*. 2) Yaakov Mordechai Krantz, a merchant by trade, a well-respected man, knowledgeable in Writings, *Shas* and the *Poskim*. 3) Yitzhak Glazer a saloon keeper, and the leader of '*Teudat Lina*', locally, being thoroughly knowledgeable in *Tanakh*, knowing it almost by heart. 4) Chaim Back, a baker by trade, one of the simpler of the people, as well, he participated in the '*Hevra Kadisha*' and was very active as a volunteer. I recall a number of pages from the minutes that were written approximately 80 years ago. According to this writing each member of the *Hevra* was required to abide by the directions of the *Gabbaim*. When a member was ordered to go spend the night with an ailing member of the *Hevra*, no excuses were acceptable such as: Enmity or a place not befitting the dignity of the person asked to go. In exceptional circumstances when he was occupied or not at home, it was possible to pay a specified sum, set by the *Gabbaim*, and they would then send a man who was paid in his place. And anyone who refused to listen to the modifications of the *Gabbaim*, after remonstrations and warnings, was automatically dismissed from the *Hevra*. The *Hevra Shas*

consisted of Wise [e.g. learned] and God-fearing men, who were focused on inculcating Torah, and the same was true of the *'Hevra Mishnayot'*. The *'Hevrat Sefarim,'* or the purchase of books, was led by a group of young men who attended the *Bet HaMedrash*, who would collect a weekly tax from city dwellers earmarked for this purpose. Even on the Eve of Yom Kippur, they would set out platters for donations from all worshipers, and all of this income was dedicated to the addition of books to the *Bet HaMedrash*. The day, on which a *Shas* set was acquired, was an important event in the life of the community, and a celebration was arranged at the *Bet HaMedrash*, and the congregation was very happy.

## **Concern for Education**

It was the local Rabbi who oversaw education. He would examine the *melamdin* to whom the children were turned over to study Torah and be educated, and first above all, the *melamed* had to be a very observant Jew, one who observed *mitzvot* without the indignity of violation, and who was knowledgeable in Torah and knew how to teach. According to his own view, the Rabbi would appoint the *Gabbaim* of the Talmud Torahs, and they would examine the *Hasidim*, and would test the children to see if they were receiving the proper education that reflected the spirit that aligned with the spirit of Judaism according to the Torah and *Poskim*. The community would also concern itself with providing flour for Passover to bake matzot. This activity, as well, was driven by the effort of the Rabbi himself. He would designate the locations where the matzot were to be baked, and he would go to the bakeries to examine if the matzot were being baked in accordance with Torah tradition. The oversight of the ritual laws was very intense. As already said, community life was created out of relationships between the individual and the community within the walls of the *Bet HaMedrash*. Apart from serving as a house of prayer and a Yeshiva for boys who were learning, it was also a 'people's house.' They conducted all community and political issues together. Especially in the winter, when the cold was intense outside, it was hard to move around, and so the Jews knew to come only to the Bet HaMedrash because it was very warm there, and it was possible to meet each and everyone, and whoever came there to study Torah after prayers, found special tables set up for this purpose. An individual engaged in merchandising could also find others touching on this issue, and to engage in mercantile discussions. And also discussions of international Jewish political issues were carried out in this limited space, especially at the time of elections of councils and the Parliament. This house was open all days of the week.

## **The Members of the Community Who Stood Out Exceptionally**

As was passed along from generation to generation, and those that I [personally] remember, these were the exceptional and splendid people of our community. The first was the *Rebbe* Daniel'tzeh, who was a great Torah scholar, and did not want the benefit of a stipend from the community, and when he occupied the Rabbinical Chair, he made a living with great difficulty. He was a student of the late *Rebbe* Marufszic ז"ל. He was a poor man and a pauper, who was what you saw, and he inculcated Torah to the children of the local area without charge.

And here are the ones that I knew: Rabbi R' Yitzhak Babad who died before the age of 35, a brother of the *Rebbe* of Tarnopol, who was renown as a *Gaon* among the Rabbinat. He would take in a guest at all times. All guests passing through knew the address where they could satisfy their

hunger... this was the home of the Rabbi. Even his family continued this tradition after he passed away. He was a Belz *Hasid*, and was a fanatically religious man, and a sharp foe of Zionism, and even to the Jewish political movements such as 'Agudat Yisrael.' But one cannot cast aside his many worthy traits as a Rabbi of the community under his oversight. His wife had a very good personality and love for Israel. R' Nachman Linsker, a very highly respected man, and he served as the head of the community for an extended period of time, he was knowledgeable in scholarly works, and set time aside for the Torah. He would also share his bread with the poor.

R' Yoss'l Zolkover<sup>99</sup>, a man of a good and generous heart. His hand was open to all. He was very honest, and dealt in flour and grain. While not being recognized as a great Torah scholar, he was renown in the town for taking in guests. His wife Bina ז"ל, who spent her day from morning to night feeding those poor that passed through the community. When he passed away, all of his books were given to the *Bet HaMedrash*. He was childless. May his memory be for a blessing.

R' Sholom Grossman was a scholar possessed of a sharp mind who was fluent in Torah, *Shas* and *Poskim*, he was a modest man, serving the needs of the community faithfully, he dedicated whole days to Torah and the doing of good deeds. I remember that he and R' Mordechai Rofman, before dawn, would walk among the houses before going to pray, to gather bread for the poor of the *shtetl*, and for carrying the sack of bread, there was a Jewish man specifically there to serve that purpose who was called 'der schmitter treger.'

R' Chaim Moshe'leh Zusman (Chaim Moshe'leh). He belonged to the Czortkow sect of *Hasidim*. He exuded an excellent and obvious nobility. He proved himself by means of his good deeds and great modesty. A short man, but a big pure Jewish heart resided within him. He was a learned Jew, fluent in Torah, *Shas* and *Poskim*, he served as the Rabbi as if he were not appointed to this position. Jews and Christians showed deference to this Jewish man. It would be possible to say that there was not a grease stain on his clothing and body, a straight and honest man. He separated himself from all matters, celebrations in this world, in order to dedicate himself to the study of Torah. He was not satisfied with studying Torah by himself, and he set up any one who wanted to participate solely for the purpose of Torah study. Like all the strictly observant Jews in his time, he objected to every initiative in Jewish life that manifested international Zionist political ideas and *aliyah* to *The Land*. It caused him heartache to see many of his students that left, in his view, to a bad culture and were swept into the stream of all manner of movements. I recall that when I parted from him to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, he begged me to give my mother the satisfaction of knowing I put on phylacteries on a daily basis. He was daily occupied with the raising of donations to support the poor, and to support those things involved in distributing such charity anonymously. He was the only one in the midst of the Jewish community, before whom the needy that had lost their money, to those who were embarrassed to reveal their difficult situation, it was only him that they trusted, if they didn't, have, or did have something eating at their heart, they would approach R' Chaim Moshe'leh and found an aura in his words, and could pour out the bitterness in their hearts. I was told that the Germans ז"ל who rounded up the Jews at the time they entered the town, and has them shot to

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Indicating that he came from Zolkiew

death, a German pulled him out of the lineup and did not kill him, saying that it was a pity to kill such a pure Jew. It is understood that he was exterminated with all the Jews in subsequent *aktionen*.

May his memory be for a blessing eternally.

R' Moshe Schurtz, a man of marvelously regal appearance that was sufficiently evident from the external physiognomy of his face which caused wonder, and it immediately aroused the sense of an honored Rabbi. It was a wonder how clean and polished a man he was. It was not possible to approach this man for a discussion without both internal and external preparation. He was very strait-laced about his dress, such that it was a pleasure to just look at him. Everyone related to him with feelings of respect and affection. He was the type of man who seemed to have emerged from his mother's womb to serve as a spiritual emissary and leader of the community. He was very sensitive, and could not stand the national political movements that lifted the simple man from the pile of ashes, and spurred them on to demand equal rights in community institutions. He was a forceful and fanatic opponent against Zionism. Anything that even had a whiff of Zionism was thrown away from him, and he would struggle against it until it was destroyed. But together with all this, one cannot detract from him the responsibility which his good and beautiful deeds compelled everyone to do the right things. First of all he was the one who served to lead prayer services in the *Bet HaMedrash* during Festivals and the High Holy Days, and when he prayed from the podium in front of the ark, and let out his pleasant and sweet voice in prayer and melody, everyone forgot about everything and just loved him. He would pray from the depths of his heart, and nailed everyone to their place and everyone sat silently and in awe, and listened to his melodies. In my eyes, it appeared as if this were the High Priest when he entered the hall to pray for himself and the Jewish people as their emissary. He served a long time as the head of the community, and as a Jew and a sage, concerned himself that the youth of Jewry not simply wander out idly, and he inculcated them with Torah. I remember when my late father was drafted into the Austrian army during the War, he invited me to his home, and taught me from morning till night, until he was drafted into the army himself. I remember that as early as 4:00 AM in the morning, when I would come to him in his house, he was already seated and learning.

May his memory be for a blessing.

And, again, finally, most beloved Mordechai Rofman that I previously mentioned, a good-hearted Jew, beloved and loveable. I don't recall ever seeing him get angry at anyone else. He would preface meeting a friend of a Jew in general with the blessing '*tzafra taba.*' He was poor and a pauper his entire life and despite this he did not complain even once about his sordid condition, and received everything with great love, and was content with his lot. On *Rosh Hashana* towards evening after the Maariv prayers, he was the first to bless those surrounding him with a wish for a 'happy holiday' and a '*Khatima Tova.*' There was never a time when anyone would manage this blessing ahead of him. He was an enlightened Jewish man who looked after the poor, a good and trustworthy friend, committed without leaving anything out.

His memory is to be blessed.

Truly I will transgress if I completely skip over the simple people, among whom there could be found good Jews on all days of the year who even though they were not students of the Torah, and not Hasidim of ADMo"Rs of their liking, but they were good-hearted Jews, and possessed a Jewish soul, and were pained by the pain of paupers, and shared their bread with them. Let me call out one Jew amongst them by the name of Moshe Dricker, who himself was impoverished and poor, and suffered from deprivation and want for his whole life, and despite this, he found it necessary to go among the Jewish houses to gather foodstuff to distribute among the poor who were hungry and sick. I remember one winter in 1929, that was a severe and hard winter, intense freezing, this previously mentioned Jew took a winter wagon (sled?) That he had put together himself, and went to solicit wood for those poor Jews who were freezing from the cold.

His memory is to be blessed.

## **The First World War**

Until the outbreak of this war, the Jews in our shtetl were sunk in a sleep. They had no idea what a war was all about, because over the course of decades they did not remember that a war had broken out between Austria and other nations. I remember on the night of *Tisha B'Av*, August 4, 1914, all the Jews from the ages of 21-42 were drafted, some to guard the borders nearby, and some to the front in Serbia. It was on every one's heart that some major 'catastrophe' was drawing near. Suddenly entire families were left without their only wage earner, families of 8-10 children that had no means to support themselves.

About three weeks later, the Russian Army broke through and we suddenly found ourselves to be Russian citizens. The economic situation was generally bad, there being nothing from which to derive sustenance. Already from the time of the invasion, there were incidents of plunder and robbery. I recall that on the second day after the Russian invasion, the senior officer of our general unit who was holed up in a 'palace,' the deputy to the head of the council explained to him that there was a prohibition against the sale of strong drink to the soldiers, and that if anyone was caught doing so, would be hanged. The soldiers did not heed his words, and began to infiltrate the cellars of the Jewish saloons, and drank themselves drunk and were seized and brought to justice. About 3 weeks after this on 17 Elul, on the day I started to put on phylacteries, that is to say, on the day of Bar-Mitzvah, a clutch of Cossacks began to make merry. The first thing they did which was done to a number elderly women that sat on stands and sold fruits nothing more or less, and in their sight, they turned over the boxes and spread [the contents] all over the road, and began to plunder. Three Cossacks mounted on their horses reached the *Bet HaMedrash*, the place where Jews were standing and praying, and began to peer into the *Bet HaMedrash*, first, a bit apprehensively, but a little bit at a time came in and demanded money, watches, and the Jews began to burst out and jump from the windows in order to flee. And I, the one in danger, stood on one bench, and out of fright, I cried over the bitter fate that had befallen me, and exactly on my Bar-Mitzvah day, and I also fled through a window, I jumped and looked around. But before this, I was able to see how one Cossack together with his drawn sword in hand approached the late Aharon Krantz who had found for him a watch that Moshe Shuar Tz had given him, and the Cossack continue to threaten him with his sword, and

out of excess anger he lowered his sword and stabbed him at the top railing of the bima that stood at the center of *the Bet HaMedrash*, and the sign of that cut remained to the end [of the war?]. In the afternoon, another number of Cossacks emerged from the 'palace' where they had scented themselves with hard liquor and then wandered through the town as drunkards, and every Jew they encountered was struck with mortal blows, after which they took several Jews and stood them in a row to kill them. In the end they fled, and satisfied themselves with the cutting off of beards, and additional beatings, and sent them home. After this, they opened Jewish stores and took out the merchandise from them, and divided them up among the Christians that had gathered in the shtetl to participate in the plunder and ruin, and shared this labor with them, and showed them where the houses of the better-off Jews were, with the goal to plunder them as well, and they did not refrain from sexually assaulting Jewish women. I remember this incident very well, and it will remain etched in my memory to my last day. Let it be noted that one needs to praise those few farmers from the close by villages, who were not Jewish, that gave cover the Jewish daughters that fled the shtetl and looked for a place in their houses to hide from the Cossacks. But most of them participated in the plunder of the stores of the Jews. The Jews lived beset by panic. They did not know what to do. They presently came to know that their lives were worthless, and there is no one to protect them in a time of trouble. To our good fortune, it appears that the gentiles first seized the poor, who can be plundered freely, because it was frequent that the keepers of the law of the Austrian Office will seize them and throw them in jail and this was the luck of the Jews, because personally, they feared the Russians. A short number of days after this incident, the local police arrived and restored some order. A local chief was appointed, and order was restored to its normal state. After some time, the Russians began to construct barracks for their troops in close by places and drafted Jews to do this military work, and kept them busy with a variety of jobs, in exchange for a set salary, and the Jews began to sense a return to a normal spirit, if minimally so. There were also Jewish craftsmen who earned handsomely and were able to support themselves respectably. That was true until the Russian troops began to retreat from Galician territory. As a result the large offensive of the Germans and Austrians was stopped, and they returned home. The fighting began beside our shtetl, and went on for about two months approximately. Every day the wounded and the dead were brought to us from the front. All public buildings, such as the school and the houses of people uprooted from their place, were refurbished as hospitals. Every day, wounded soldiers died. They were taken by wagon to the Christian cemeteries in hordes.

A large number of the wounded were bedded down in Jewish homes without medical attention, medicines, and as a result a plague of the sick (?) Broke out among the Jews that caused many to fall and die, and this continued until the Austrians entered the *shtetl*.

When the Austrian Army returned and captured our place, they began to draft those remaining t home, and the shtetl remained bare except for the elderly, women and children, and those not capable of participating in the military at all. Children remained without education, their fathers were in the army, and there was no one to keep an eye on them and it was not only one that strayed into wrongdoing, this was the tail end of the condition that manifested itself in all the areas, beginning with the economic sector and ending with the educational sector. Everyone that did remain at their home worried about himself personally and his family, and the children wandered among the

soldiers, and as usual it was difficult to get a good education among soldiers. The front grew closer to the town, and there were camps of soldiers within in it, and around it. Hospitals were erected in the middle of the town, and the medical staff of the army began to get concerned about cleanliness, since the sanitary conditions largely did not keep up. The head doctor of the Army began to go from house to house and examined whether all the sanitation processes were being followed, and if he saw something that fell below standard, he arranged for a meeting with the prominent members of the community, and also the heads of the general populace in that place, and they discussed the sanitation issues, especially the sanitation conditions of the Jews.

The Russian Revolution, and the dissolution of the rule of the house of Habsburg, both consequences of the First World War, brought fresh troubles for the Jewish people, and on their wings they brought along powerful changes in their lives.

The Russian Revolution and the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy, in whose wake the rule of the Czar was shaken up and torn down, destroyed the standing of famous Russian Jewry. – It raised the question as whether this Jewish community could survive.

On the second side, after the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy, heavy clouds covered the skies of Galician Jewry. Nations arose on the wreckage of Imperial Austria that wanted to build their own country in its place. At first, the Ukrainians seized a large stretch of Eastern Galicia and set up their government. As is understood, the first victims were the Jews, subjected to endless harassment and pogroms, especially the small cities and towns, and Tartakov was among them. Also the Poles, who came to drive them out, did not spare the Galician Jews any suffering and harassment – but a spark of hope lit the somber skies, and this was the ‘Balfour Declaration,’ and the strengthening of the Zionist movement.

The following headed the Zionist movement in Tartakov, and spread its ideology, and who committed the entire fire in their hearts were: Yehuda Grossman, Israel Friar and Israel Linsker, יהודי and Yaakov Gartel, separated for long life and found with us in *The Land*.

The progress of the Zionist movement on the Jewish street ran into strong opposition from the *Hasidic* side and its *Rebbes* – nevertheless, little by little the hand of the Zionists was higher.

In those days, various [political] parties were established in Tartakov. ‘*HaTekhiya*’ was organized and created, with the intention of embracing all the Zionist parties. During this time cells of every movement arose, each party separate. General Zionists, *Hitakhdut*, *HaMizrahi*, and also a covering organization of all the parties that was called ‘*Va’ad Mekomi*<sup>100</sup>’ that oversaw all of the Zionist initiatives, being under their control. Among other things, there was the collection of money for the KK”L, the sale of [lottery] tickets, initiatives for the election to the Congresses and also work aimed at culture and education in this location. From time to time, each party would get a visit from the central office in Lvov, a lecturer from each youth group without exception, they would come to hear

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<sup>100</sup> The local council.

and discuss various issues. The efforts in community affairs, and the relationship of the party to it, were set down in accordance with decisions of the 'Local Zionist Council.' The youth and the community did not limit itself only to their own party concerns, but took a stand also in other areas such as philanthropy, etc. In the years 1921/22 the Jews in America, using the facilities of the 'Joint,' sent support to the Jews of Poland in general, and also to the Jews of Tartakov. To accomplish this goal, a council was set up that dealt with this aid. They would send various items of help and for this purpose a storage and people's kitchen facility which would distribute meals to the needy. Yaakov Gartel and the late Isaac Guz headed this council. They dealt with these sorts of issues until 1922, and afterwards, this support was discontinued because there was no one to take these gifts. For shame!



In the years 1925-1927 when the condition of the working class among Jews was difficult, and there was no possibility to obtain a loan to continue doing their business, and they didn't have customers to buy things, or craftsmen to retain – even the retail storekeepers, jobbers, and also those who were fruit pickers were in need of loans – it was only then by virtue of the efforts of our comrade Hersch Krantz, Mordechai Waldman, Yehuda Grossman, Israel Linsker, was a committee established, that began to collect money for the purpose of helping the needy, which was called '*Kupat Halvaot*'<sup>101</sup> – without any interest to the needy, which were repaid with semi-weekly payments. The 'Joint' participated in this, and for every gulden that was collected locally, they would add two gulden. It was in this manner that the institution was established with foundation capital of the first 500 gulden, and the 'Joint' added 1000 gulden and the initiative began to gain momentum, and was depended, as you understand, on most of the residents of the community. At the founding meeting, the members who established this timely institution were elected. Hersch Krantz was selected to be Head of the Committee, and Israel Linsker as the director of the institution. Mottl Waldman (who passed away in Brazil) was selected as the Secretary, and Joseph Adler as the Treasurer. The initiatives of the institution were carried out to the will of the entire membership, and enlarged its holdings from year to year until it attained capital in excess of 10,000 gulden. As the writer of this memoir, I was privileged to be one of the activists of the outstanding traditional initiatives of this institution. When I was getting ready to leave the town, I was compelled to leave behind my now deceased friend Hersch Krantz who invested so much energy and work to make sure the goals were achieved, and to raise it to a strong and serious level, and was ultimately forced to leave it despite his good will, and the institution was turned over by compromise between the various sides to other trustworthy hands, and because of this, it was agreed that the Member Judah Grossman would take over as Head, and with him, the members Joseph Adler and Abraham Sztumfeller. It is also necessary to note the blessed effort of our member Hersch Krantz in another area, no less important and serious from an economic standpoint. Along with the help of the central *Gemilut Hasadim*, he exerted himself to create a fund for the purchase of dairy products which were distributed among Jewish retail merchants, whose incomes showed signs of falling, as a result of the economic ban instituted by certain Ukrainian political parties who began to organize an independent economic initiative. As you can understand, the first of these initiatives was directed against the Jews and the old timeworn

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<sup>101</sup> The Loan Bank



motto that was publicized (free Ukraine and don't buy from the Jews) was implemented with full force. The Jewish merchants who were used to go to the villages to buy all sorts of village produce, slowly but surely were driven out from the villages, and those Jews who lived in these villages for centuries were forced to leave because of this economic pressure, such that the situation went from bad to worse from day-to-day. It was then that the support institutions began to act with energy, and come to the help of these Jews, and because of the effort of our member Hersch Krantz, dairy products were vigorously purchased, in set amounts, from the local Jews, and they were able to earn something of a living from selling milk, and dairy products, and these people literally opened this issue up, and with small payments began to return the sums for the produce, and in a short amount of time, took possession of these cattle. This was an initiative that was solely the work of Hersch Krantz, may his name be remembered for a blessing.

When I left Tartakov and made *aliyah* to *The Land*, I remained in letter correspondence with them, and they would keep me informed of all their undertakings, until the war broke out, and then, as you understand, all of these initiatives came to a halt, when the area was first captured by the Russians, and after two years by the Germans. From that time on, I have no clear news regarding the life of the Jews in Tartakov, except for brief glimpses that were relayed to me by survivors of the Holocaust, who related their memories to me separately.



Along with the rest of the people of Israel, I bitterly mourn the great loss when so large a community from the heart of the Jewish people was exterminated, giving their lives in purity and martyrdom.

May their memory be eternally preserved in our hearts, as long as we have a breath of life.

ת. נ. צ. ב. ה.

## Tartakov – My Shtetl

By Shaul Linsker

(Haifa)

*Dedicated to my Father Yehoshua Linsker  
And My Mother Zippora Who Were  
Exterminated in the Sokal Ghetto*

I left the *shtetl* where I was born in the year 1925, and from then, by thousands of strands I remain connected to the town where I was educated and spent my childhood years. I will try to probe the source of what occurred during the years of my childhood: details, the experiences of the *shtetl's* life, the types of people worth viewing, the people that stood out that were the catalysts to the organization of the Zionist ideal. [I will address] the establishment of '*HeHalutz*,' and its membership and economic life. As was the case in all small towns, the life of the membership centered about *the Bet HaMedrash* and the Synagogue. The Jews would come the *Bet HaMedrash*,

and apart from prayer, a chapter of the *Mishnah* and a page of the *Gemara*, they assessed what was being talked about in the town. They managed during the winter months by meeting behind the large sooty oven. They dealt in commerce, politics, and ordinary matters of minimal concern. I paid special attention to *Aharon Hirsch Dricker*, a short man, of irregular features, red cheeks, wearing a white beard, and ever happy. He too, was among those who sat behind the oven. God forbid, he did not tell of things that were of minimal concern, rather he recited *Tehilim* from memory. From time-to-time he would snatch a conversation with an impoverished guest who was passing through. He was one who invited guests, and literally shared his bread with them. R' Aharon Hirsch supported himself through manual labor. He would print lines on linen for the farmers. He would traverse the villages, and earned his bread through hard work. He would feed and lodge the poor in his own home which was limited in size.

I remember the Balfour Declaration of November 1917 as if I was in a dream. I was eight years-old, and was a student in the *Heder* of the *melamed* called 'The Red Aharon' from Sokal. This Heder was in the 'Tailor's Synagogue.' Several of us young boys entered the *Bet HaMedrash* and pasted up an announcement above the Holy Ark: 'This banner is for the Land of Israel established by England.' – On the Sabbath the distinguished members who sat beside the eastern wall, R' Moshe Schurtz, R' Sholom Grossman, the Rabbi and *Bet-Din* Senior, and each spoke about why this banner should be taken down. An argument ensued, 'the Zionist' a nickname given to Yehuda Grossman, Israel Linsker, and to be separated for long life, Yaakov Gartel filled the *Bet HaMedrash* with shouting and untowardly noise. Approximately at that same time, a Hebrew school was established, where the guiding spirit again was Grossman 'The Zionist.' In stepwise fashion, groups came together from all around to 'The Zionist,' from the ranks of the *Bet HaMedrash*, and this was how the Zionist membership continued to grow.

Here are a few assessments about the character of Yehuda Grossman. He came from the shtetl of Stroyanov, studied Hebrew, and his first steps [in writing] were Volkovysk in style, he learned while in poverty, worked at various trades, and intermittently in the cultivation of gardens. And yet he was able to attract friends, he spoke with passion, and knew how to arouse his listeners. He excelled at exceptional dedicated study, and it was in this way he achieved prominence first in Tartakov and afterwards he transferred over to Sokal.

With the spreading of the Zionist ideal, a passion arose among the members of the *Bet HaMedrash* to learn and become enlightened. Spontaneously, they began to sign Volkovysk letters of praise for [the study of] Hebrew, Polish and German. The one who led the gathering of the signatures was Moshe Lejzor Greidinger, who was knowledgeable and scholarly. He began to study and review the '*Gemul*.' It was told that they continued to write Volkovysk letters, so in the attic, and other sequestered places, etc. About the same time, the '*Der Verein*<sup>102</sup>' club was established. Here, part of the secular young people who had left the *Bet HaMedrash* would gather, and get involved with the collection of money, the sale of lottery tickets etc.

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<sup>102</sup> From the German word for 'Club.'

The ‘*Gordonia*’ youth group was established. Lejzor Lantin sunk a lot of energy into this. I followed the nature of the opening and development of the branch outside of our town. The same thing happened with the ‘*Akhava*’ youth group. As to the ‘*Hitakhdut*’ branch, there the activities of organization, orientation included almost all of the town’s youth. Among its people, the member Koppel Kerem stood at the head, and to be separated for long life, Yaakov Gartel and Avraham Rubinstein. The branch excelled in fund-raising, and among others in the Arlozorov initiative. At the beginning of my writing, I mentioned people that stood out in our town, and I will try to recollect them in the areas of Enlightenment, religion, membership and activities, etc. A dear man lived, a neighbor of our daughter, a philanthropist and taking in of guests, R’ Joseph Zolkiewer, a childless man with a long white beard, one eye always half closed and a thin smile on his face. He was involved with matters of charity and doing of good deeds. R’ Joseph was in the business of selling flour, supported his family honorably, and helped all who were needy. His house was open to all paupers and poor, especially emissaries sent from the Holy Land. I can recall that his wife, Bina, not only once showed me the souvenirs: Hadassah for spices, and pictures: the Western Wall, the Grave of Rachel, and not only once did I put my ear like a receiver, to thirstily drink in the words of the emissaries so sent, and it was from then on that I absorbed a love of the Land of Israel within me.

The second person in this tier was *R’ Moshe Schurtz*. He was a man of dignified appearance, a scholar and knowledgeable. He knew how to wage a strong war against the atheistic ‘Zionists’ and the Rabbi, was helped by him by being at his side to write ‘Kol Koreh.’<sup>103</sup> He was a man of wisdom and opinion. In addition to this, he had both a sweet and very emotional voice. On the High Holy Days, when R’ Moshe Schurtz put on his *kittl* and recited the ‘*Hineni*’ prayer – the very thresholds trembled. Also a childless man, and he was active in community affairs, and a confidante of the Rabbi who was the *Bet-Din Senior*.

I bestow a special honor, an honor rooted in admiration on R’ Chaim Moshe’leh, who like his predecessors was childless. He would wander alone, and go lost in the noise of the *Bet HaMedrash*, hoping he might find someone from who would know how to reveal the secret to the life of Moshe’leh Chaim. It is not only once that I conjure up the image of Chaim Moshe’leh, a short man, who would wander about the *Bet HaMedrash* between afternoon and evening prayers and collect money for charitable causes. And who did not respond graciously to Chaim Moshe’leh?

R’ Avigdor Freier, and enlightened man from a European school, saturated with German and Polish literature, knowledgeable in Talmud and the ancient writings. He lived for newspapers and books. I can still recall how he stood in his store behind the counter, always immersed in reading a newspaper. Surrounding him were Yehuda Grossman and others. When they were stumped by some foreign word, they would come to ask his advice. Not once did I wonder how this fit in with reading literature, and books of philosophy, especially in the case of being beside the Rabbi and *Bet-Din Senior*, to pray passionately the Shmoneh Esrei while rocking back and forth. Among the Enlightened it made no difference, he was a Jew within your tent, and a man when exiting. Young people admired and timidly honored Avigdor Freier. The Zionists embraced him, and though to him as a supporter of Zionist ideals. The leaders of the community thought of him as a man of advice and wisdom.

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<sup>103</sup> The Voice that is Calling.



משפחת לינסקר

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*The Linsker Family*

R' Avigdor Freier's store was in the vicinity of Aharon Gartel's house, in the center of the saloon he ran. He was a rich man, and gave a lot to charity. He dressed in European style, and belonged to the intelligentsia of the town. Like his predecessor, he gave his children a European education. He was thought to be a supporter of Zionism by the other heads of the town.

I have lauded R' *Yitzhak Glazer*, thorough in his knowledge of *Tanakh*, remembering each sentence, knowing most of the sayings uttered in Hebrew. He was a scholarly man, and very perceptive. I can recall when I was a student of R' Eli melamed, who lived in the same house, not once did he stumble over a word or a difficult sentence in the Book of Isaiah. It was R' Yitzhak Glazer who buttressed him and kept him out of all quandary. Not once did he say: 'Eli – use only the Rashi commentaries,' and Eli would reply: 'He leaves me standing in the middle.' 'No problem,' he would say even Rashi himself says: 'I do not know what this means.'

I paid special attention to Yuk'ehleh Shokhet's, a man with an open mind with his own thought up front. I was astonished how a person like this could construct worlds, and with only the use of his own mind.

Let me also recollect R' Nathan Koppel's, that sharp mind, and he especially excelled in arguing the laws of the Torah as they regard a person and his counterpart, and in financial matters. It was not only once that I passed the house of the Rabbi and heard the argumentative voice of Nathan Koppel's.

And last, but dearest, is the Rabbi and *Bet-Din* Senior. A very observant man who follows the

tradition of the Hasidim of Belz, a Torah scholar and a God-fearing man, these are the measures of his character. It seems to me that he had a leaning to 'Agudat Israel,' because periodically he would peek into their newspapers, but the influence of Belz deterred him from taking a political position. He excelled in performing good deeds. He inculcated Torah to the masses, and especially to the youth in the *Bet HaMedrash*. The door to his home was wide open to all poor and wanting people. The *Rebbetzin* was a stalwart in the invitation of guests. The Rabbi was surrounded by *Hasidim* from Belz.

On Saturday nights after the Sabbath, the Rabbi would host a 'Shaleshudes.' The Belz custom was to eat a bit, say the size of an olive, and sing songs together, and I was attracted by the sweet voice of R' Sholom Shokhet and his sons. The Rabbi showed deference to his *Hasidim*, when speaking of Torah. In parallel to the Belz *Hasidim*, the *Hasidim* of Husiatyn and Tartakov would arrange for such a repast at Chaim Moshe'leh's. The common folk and plain people would gather in the *Bet HaMedrash*. The crowd at the *Bet HaMedrash* would divide itself up in all sorts of groups, and those who wished to partake at a *kloyz*. One group would deal in commercial matters, a second in politics. The craftsmen and members of the *Hevra Kadisha* created a group just for themselves. The discussions bubbled all over. Political people and partisans from parties would get excited. This was so until the arrival of R' Avraham Abba, the *Shammes*, and lit the candle. 'Gut Vokh!' 'A Good Week!' And the *Shammes* began to recite a prayer blessing the Almighty. And so all the conversations came to a halt, and all the goings on melted away, and working people began to think, who will travel to the fair, who will go out to the villages, etc.

It is hard to describe the life of the town without Avraham Abba. This was so for happy occasions, like weddings and circumcisions, as well as the solemn occasions like a funeral, memorial services, etc. He was an expert at reciting the 'Mi SheBerakh' blessing, and the celebration of a *Siyyum* was done because of him. Whoever didn't know this would explain: 'for me and for the *Shammes*, for Avraham and for Abba.' Avraham Abba busied himself with the recording of *yahrzeits*, and it is interesting that he, himself did not know how to write. The actual writing was done by others. This memory was not particularly wondrous.

*Various Groups in Our Shtetl.* I will not skip over the ordinary folk and all sorts of groups, such as *Hevra Lina*, *Hevra Kadisha*. These were dear and dedicated Jews, who did their work thoroughly and without pay, and I think the head of *Hevra Lina* was R' Israel Schiffenbauer. There was a folio of this group, but I did not have the privilege of seeing it. As to the second group, the *Hevra Kadisha* it is important to remember Leibusz Byk, a with a talent for writing and then etching gravestones. Once a year, they would put on a 'Melaveh Malka.' On *Simchat Torah* they would make a *Kiddush*. And this is the way they expressed their group life together.

*The Schul Gasse and the Residence of the Poor.* I will not tell about the 'Schul Gasse' where the laborers and the poor lived. Houses built low, covered in straw roofs, with no flooring. In honor of the Sabbath, the floor would be covered with a sort of granular stone. The food was meager. Lipman the butcher lived there. He was a short man, a clumsily formed face, self-effacing, and hid among the vessels. And when would Lipman appear: when he had a 'yahrzeit.' He would then assemble the

entire community in the recitation of *Kaddish*. Lipman developed a reputation for relating legendary stories, working people and craftsmen would gather at the 'Tailor's Little Synagogue.' The living spirit of that place was R' Hirsch Schuster, a God-fearing Jew, who could constantly be found looking into a book.

*The Economic Foundation of the Shtetl*. There were few rich people in the town, and the remainder were storekeepers, people who sold from stalls, grain sellers, trading people from the villages, butchers, merchants who dealt with cattle and horses, craftsmen, and the ordinary poor. On the long street, the farmers set up their wagons, who would bring wheat and rye for sale. The merchants worked hard. During the week, they suffered all manner of insults and embarrassments from the gentiles. When Thursday came, they loaded all sorts of bundles onto themselves, on all sides, and faced the town. Whether in swamp or snow that weakened their feet, in the hopes that along the way, some farmer will invite them to ride home. The craftsmen, each to their own expertise did not work any less hard. And this is the way several hundred families lived in Tartakov, until the terrifying Holocaust arrived and erased the town from the face of the earth. The last of the emigrants told, that all the houses in the town were burned down, streets were plowed over, and the headstones from the cemetery were extracted to make sheep pens for the farmers. And we the '*She'eyrit HaPleyta*' – have to have a prayer in our mouths to remember and eternalize all that was done to us.

## **Jewish Life in Tartakov**

**By A. Becker**  
(Buenos Aires)

Our *shtetl* Tartakov (the Jews pronounced it Tartakov) was barely 9 kilometers from the central city of Sokal and the train station, and approximately a kilometer from the one-time border between the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Czarist Russia.

The four-sided marketplace stood at the center of the *shtetl*, a large quadrilateral of stone and cement houses, all of the same height and width. Each had an upstairs and a downstairs entrance. The front door led to the street through a store front room, which usually served as a store or a shop. The downstairs door led to the inner part of the marketplace, which at one time had several gates. In our day, those gates were no longer there, but four entrances remained, at a height of a half story, and sufficiently wide, so it would be possible to get through with a mass of merchandise.

In the very middle of the marketplace was the Rathaus with a tall military-like tower, which the residents called 'the clock,' even though as it turns out in our day, there was no longer a clock up there. The name is derived from the fact that such a building with a tower had a municipal clock and it is not out of the question that at one time there was a clock up there.

Very likely, the Rathaus, in the middle ages, served as the seat of the municipal authorities, as well as a fort, an arsenal and all in a defense position. This was an approximately 15 meters higher made of strong thick brick, which was two stories high. The bottom part, the first story, was neglected,

with a small barred window and in our day served as an arrest point. The top part, which appears at one time to have been the seat of the municipal authority, had finally become the residence of the overseer.

You can infer the name of our city, Tartakov, from the fact that there, at one time, existed a large lumber production operation, with much wood cutting facilities (*tartakn*). There is a legend that Tartakov, at one time was a larger and more important city than Sokal. The elders of our *shtetl* would tell that they had found old books in the *Bet HaMedrash* inscribed as follows: ‘This book belongs to the *Bet HaMedrash* and was bound in Tartakov.’ and as opposed to books from Sokal – where you would find inscriptions such as: ‘This book belongs to the *Bet HaMedrash* in the sacred congregation in Sokal, close to the bookbinding in Tartakov.’

Our generation came along at a time when bookbinding was in decline, a decline that must have begun many years ago. The nearest city, Sokal, which lay beside the edge of the Bug River (the Jews would say ‘Big’) as well as being close to the train station of the Koval-Lemberg line, grew into a central point of the entire area. It was there, that commerce became concentrated, it was where the weekly fairs took place for the entire ‘*powiat*.’ That was also the place that became the juridical center for the entire province. Sokal also became the place for the majority of educational institutions such as the 7-class *volksschule*, a gymnasium, a teachers’ seminary, a trade school and the like.

In contrast to this, during the same time, the development of Tartakov went into sharp decline. Apart from the annual market fair (on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June), no market fairs took place any longer, because the peasantry of the area sold off its produce in Sokal, and also picked up their necessary provisions. The economic condition of our *shtetl* became continuously worse, therefore, in the final years before the war, the anti-Semitic agitation against the Jews had an equal impact to the declining economy, which was the case among the Polish as well as the Ukrainian residence.

However, despite this difficult material situation, despite the great worries about making a living, and despite the fact that our small *shtetl* was truly a ‘sidelined city,’ pushed away from every commercial and cultural center, far from a train station, a broadly branched Jewish life pulsed there, with social and cultural institutions, [political] parties and movements from all directions and persuasions just like in the large city.

And at the end, here are several numbers in connection with the number of Jews in Tartakov, as the Polish historian Bronislaw Sokolski documents in his book about the Sokal province, called ‘*Powiat Sokal*.’

In the year 1880, there were 770 Jews living in Tartakov, which came to 1091 souls. This was 70.6% of the general census of the population. In the year 1890 the number of Jewish souls reached 790, this being 67.5% of the general populace, which in that year reached 1164 people. By contrast, the number of Jews in Tartakov in the year 1900 was 976 souls, being 67.7% of the general census of

the population, which at the time amounted to 1442 souls.<sup>104</sup>

## About the Jewish Religious & Socio-Cultral Life in Tartakov

### A) The Little Tailor Synagogue

Without any doubt the 'Little Tailor Synagogue' was one of the earliest 'groups' in Tartakov. Just a few steps from the *Bet Hamedrash* stood a small wooden building, that consisted of one, not very large, built low to the ground house with a nearby room, which served as a storage place. The innermost decorations, like the Holy Ark, the table the *shtenders* and benches were crafted in a primitive fashion, in contrast to the state of the Great Synagogue, which was exceptional with a certain elegance and skill.

Several quorums of working people prayed at the 'Tailor Synagogue,' not confined to tailors. But the name of the facility was indicative that years ago a group of Jews practicing one craft, organized themselves in a group and built themselves a sacred place, with the purpose of discharging their prayer duties and in general to live socially together in a warmly familiar location. The members who prayed there would gather in the 'Tailor Synagogue' not only to pray. On the Sabbath, before afternoon prayers one of them who had a bit of education, reading and translating the portion of the week for the audience, or the relevant chapter of *Pirkei Avot*, and occasionally a chapter of the *Mishnah*. Either that, or recite the *Psalms* as a group. The religious working people live a cultural life in accordance with their capacity.

And not only that. Professional issues also such as 'shop talk' (as authorized by the national hand worker's organization) and other problems would be dealt with at these gatherings and meetings in this little synagogue.

In time, however, the city synagogue 'The Great Synagogue,' at one time became more democratized. The number of craftsmen of worshipers there grew larger. Their children grew up, and became *balebatim* on their own. With time, more working people prayed at the Great Synagogue and even – though in a smaller number – also in the *Bet HaMedrash*. The number of worshipers at the Little Tailor Synagogue grew smaller year-to year, which at one time was the only place to go for the Jewish working man, wishing to practice his faith and acquire a socio-cultural way of life.

### B) The 'Linat Tzedek' Group

The second oldest and biggest organization in our shtetl, the 'Linat Tzedek,' was a people's society, to which practically all the Jews belonged, regardless of class or profession. The members of this group paid monthly dues of a modest set amount for every visitation sum. They also had the responsibility to stand watch for one or more nights in the home of a sick member and to help the family, especially in tending the sick person.

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<sup>104</sup> The use of the word 'sou' here is ambiguous, and perhaps should be seen in the case of the smaller numbers as 'families.'



The poor sick were given access to a doctor and also required medicines. Every member of 'Linat Tzedek' had the right to demand a guard for his house, when any member of his household fell sick and for the length of that sickness as is needed. Also every member could take part in the collective 'Melaveh Malke' that was joyously arranged annually, on the Saturday night of the *Parsha* of Noah, most of the time in the *Bet HaMedrash*.

At this feast, a report was received from the departing Gabbaim in connection with their activity, and also regarding revenues and expenses.

'*Linat Tzedek*' was the most popular society in the Tartakov Jewish settlement, where there was no hospital, no convalescent facility, and no other available medical institution. The nearest hospital and a Christian one at that, could be found in Sokal.

### **C) The Ladies' Committee**

A very necessary activity developed in our *shtetl*, the so-called 'Ladies' Committee.' At the beginning of the thirties of our century a group of refined and religious ladies, but not fanatic, mothers of children who had grown – mostly Zionists, created a committee with the purpose of giving help to poor sick women and orphans.

The lady Brein'tzeh Linsker (the mother of the wealthy Zionist protagonist and activist Israel Linsker), stood at the head of this 'Ladies' Committee.' The following upright women belonged to this committee: Rachel Reinman, Chaya Kramm (mother of Koppel Kramm, a Zionist and pioneering activist, Hebrew teacher), Mrs. Leah'tzeh Becker (the mother of this writer) and a few others, whose names, regrettably, I cannot recall.

Quietly and modestly these energetic women carried out their activities, which rounded out the work of '*Linat Tzedek*,' which had provided the poor sick with a night guard and medical help. But apart from this, the ill person needed better and more nourishing food, and in this area, the 'Ladies' Committee' took on the responsibility.

### **D) Jewish Support Activity in Tartakov – for *Tzedakah*, '*Matan BaSeysler*,' and '*Maot-Khitin*.'**

With the decline of the economic condition on the Jewish street, there also was a rise in the number of poor and beggars. Almost every day, especially on Friday, wagon loads of all manner of paupers: men, women and children, would arrive among which there were many young and healthy. These were the victims of the economic crisis and unemployment as well as a wave of extreme anti-Semitism, which with the support of the ruling Polish forces, years before the Holocaust, flooded the cities and towns of Poland.

Yet however poor our *shtetl* was, no one was refused help, some more, others less, but all of the poor people were given donations, and in addition they were provided with free food and lodging.

Among the compassionate Jews who spared no effort and material help for those homeless Jews without an income, it was the simple and decent man, R' Aharon Hersch Ducker ר"א who was outstanding Himself being a poor working man and itinerant village peddler, he lived in great poverty with his wife and children, in one house on the *Schul Gasse*. However, regardless of how crowded they were, he always took poor people in, set up a place to sleep, and if one of them got sick, he would give up his own bed for as long as needed. The home of R' Aharon Hersch Drucker eventually evolved into a free inn, and he conducted a sort of private '*Hakhnosat Orkhim*' becoming an address for all the wandering poor people.

Apart from the frustrate paupers who were strangers, that used to come to the shtetl, we had no shortage of our own homegrown poor, who needed continuous weekly support. Part of them were no longer embarrassed, and they would approach the houses themselves. By contrast, there were others, especially bankrupted merchants or unemployed skilled craftsmen, were embarrassed to extend a hand for charity. Rather than beg, they would be more quick to go hungry. These Jews, as well, did not remain without any help. Respectable *balebatim* looked after them, who ran what was called the '*Matan BaSeyser*' action. Nobody knew the name of the Jew without an income, for which they discreetly carried on fund-raising.

In connection with this '*Matan BASEYSER*' action it is worth mentioning other necessary forms of support activity for Jews who had been rendered poor in our *shtetl*. In order not to expose those Jews who felt ashamed, a weekly bread-action was implemented. Every Sabbath in the morning, before prayer services two Jews (usually *Gabbaim*) – would visit the houses with a porter and fill up a large sack with whole loaves of bread, which was later divided up among the need poor.

One of these permanent *Gabbaim* was R' Chaim Leib Rosenfeld ר"א, a wealthy merchant, a very ardent Belz Hasid, who took upon himself the mitzvah to go about every Saturday before daybreak, and whether winter or summer, in the greatest of frosts and rains, gather up these breads.



The *Maot-Khitin* action was broadly supported which started immediately after Purim, when the leadership of the community with the Rabbi at its head designated a commission to carry out a larger-than-usual collection of money to provide the poor with Matzos for Passover. The Rabbi, R' Yitzhak the *Bet-Din* Senior ר"צ and later on his son and replacement in his holy seat R' Yehoshua Heschel s'hv, in general never left our *shtetl*, excepting a mitzvah deed, or presiding over a wedding, and for example to preside over a circumcision, to kosher a mill for Passover in a neighboring village. Or when the *Maot Khitin* action was launched, not only in Tartakov, but also in the surrounding villages, the Rabbi, in all his dignity, personally joined the community delegation, to partake in a tour over all rural settlements, that belonged to the Tartakov community circle and gathered larger donations to provide for their impoverished brethren with all of their Passover needs. And when that beautiful and decent Seder night came, every Jew could say, with an ease of mind:

'All who need, let him come and eat – And who has a need, let him come here to celebrate the Passover.'

E) The General Help Activity and the *Gemilut-Hasadim* Bank



די פארוואלטונג פון דער גמילת-חסדים-קאסע אין טארטאקאוו

Page 419: *The Management of the Gemilut-Hasadim Bank in Tartakov*

A frightening want reigned in our *shtetl* after The First World War. Tartakov lay just 6 kilometers from the former Russian-Austrian border and was therefor a focal point for the opposing bloody battles between the opposing two sides – starting with Russia and Austrian armies, and later between Ukrainian and Polish military divisions, and our *shtetl* was always placed in the midst of the cruelties inflicted by the occupants, who constantly harassed one another. All the Jewish places of work had been denuded, stores were robbed, and the number of Jewish widows was great, as well as women who did not know what became of their husbands, and children.

The acts of war destroyed all of this before already, the poor Jewish settlement in our *shtetl*. All Jewish places of business were decimated, stores were robbed and the number of widows was now large, as well as women who didn't know the fate of their husbands, and children. And those scions of *המלשארשת* who had the fortune to return from the fronts, they had no means to make a living. Additionally there was no shortage of invalids, the sick, and unskilled labor.

The Jewish settlement in America came to our aid. At first in the rescue operation was a private thing run on an individual basis, not organized. America Jews simply sent their relatives clothes, food and money.

However, immediately this help action took on a more constructive character, when the 'Joint' (American Jewish Distribution Committee) began its work. A local 'Joint' committee was created, which for a long time was led by that action-rich social activist R' Aharon Gertel ז"ל led. Along with him, the father of this writer ז"ל took an active part in the local 'Joint.'

This 'Joint' Committee also opened up a people's kitchen in the home of Sarah Leah (Motya's daughter-in-law) who also ran the kitchen, and as a result, she got help in running the kitchen from two young women on a daily basis. All the women who worked in the kitchen, and served the food did so without pay, and worked with extraordinary commitment.

Thanks to the subsidies from the 'Joint' it was also possible to hold onto our Hebrew school and to look after the needed sanitary requirements of the Jewish populace in the city.

With time, when the economic circumstances of part of the Tartakov Jews improved, that local settlement took on the responsibility directly to provide for the poor segments of the poor Jewish Tartakov residents. And when the 'Joint' started up its support activities on the Jewish street, emphasizing the needy, and to create self-help institutions, the Jews of Tartakov, with the help of the central society of the *Gemilut Hasadim* Banks in Poland, we created the so-called 'people's institutions' such as the local *Gemilut Hasadim* Bank, which enable a large number of the severely impoverished store keepers and workers to obtain interest-free loans with easy terms of repayment. Our *Gemilut Hasadim* Bank which was lead by an energetic committee had our active and committed heads in Abraham'tzeh Schtifnleher ז"ל, had much to do with the rebuilding of ruined workplaces of the Jewish Workmen's Circle's populace in Tartakov and more that one laborer and retail merchant was saved from complete ruin.

## **Jewish Political Parties in Tartakov**

Until the end of The First World War, the political presence of the small Jewish settlement was very weakly developed. With us, Jews lived strictly by the confining rules according to the Torah and tradition. In all Jewish homes, with a small number of exceptions, the one same way of life reigned, the same religious practices, the same customs.

The one difference in understanding that once led to sharp quarrels in our [otherwise] tranquil and observant *shtetl* – was the issue of believing in one or another *Rebbe*.

With the benefit of hindsight, this settlement in Tartakov was divided between Belz *Hasidim*, and the *Hasidim* of Czortkow-Husiatyn. The former were in the majority, and grouped themselves around the city Rabbi R' Yitzhak *Bet-Din* Senior ז"ל of the Belz dynasty (a brother of his was the Rabbi in Tarnopol and a second in Podwoloczysk).

In contrast, a small amount of influence was had by the *Hasidim* of Tartakov and Husiatyn, headed by the modest scholar R' Chaim Moshe'leh Hamudot (*Khameides*) ז"ל.

For many years a very deep-seated anger reigned between these two groups of *Hasidim*.

It is worth filling out the picture of the spiritual life of those times in the Tartakov Jewish settlement, stressing that at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century before The First World War, we had living amongst us individual Jews who read newspapers and books, taking an interest in politics, and sending their children to secular schools. These few such Jews included: R' Avigdor Freier, an Enlightened man and a merchant, a rich man and a *mitnaged*, – R' Aharon Gertel, a merchant and industrialist, a former burgomaster of Tartakov, and R' Isaac Guz, an Enlightened Zionist activist, the owner of a large library.



After The First World War, new winds began to blow through our community life.

For a short while, even the Soviet authorities had control of our shtetl, this being the reverberations of the echoes of the October Revolution, that reached us from Soviet Russia, but there was no one to pick up this on the Jewish street... our Jewish way of life continued onward in its old well-trod way.

At this point, it was Zionism that was the mightier force, that changed the generations-long path of small-town Jewish life and set it out on new tracks.

With the arrival in Tartakov of the energetic and tireless Zionist protagonist Yehuda (Yudl) Grossman – a new epoch in the history of our settlement began.

The writer of these lines left a small bit of memories about the personality of Yudel Grossman and the meaning of his battle for winning over the youth of the *Bet HaMedrash* for the Zionist ideal – to another place in this Yizkor Book. Here – I want only to flesh out my memoir with a few details, which give a clear picture of this extraordinary energetic protagonist and this will simply throw into sharper relief and reflect more, his sacrificial strenuous efforts to broaden the influence of the Zionist ideal on the Jewish street.

Yudel Grossman came from Witkow-Novy after the First World War. When he returned from the Austrian military, and not having any closer family, he took up residence in Tartakov, where an uncle took him in, the *Gemara melamed* R' Shimon (Shim'eleh). Grossman immediately took to the Zionist explanatory communication (*Hasbara*) in our shtetl among the *Hasidic* youth in the *Bet HaMedrash*, and thereby, in an equivalent time he came in contact with the local enlightened Jewish people, such as Yaakov Gertel, Israel Linsker and Isaac Guz. The first two were *balebatim* of the school, of the synagogue, where Jews prayed who were not from the extreme *Hasidic* circles, merchants, craftsmen and in general the more Enlightened Jews. By contrast, the third, Isaac Guz, was a *Hasidic* Jew, very well-versed in the *Tanakh* and *Talmud*, together with Yudel Grossman

created an impact for the Zionist cause in the *Bet HaMedrash*. They provided the young people there with new Yiddish and Hebrew literature.

The reaction of parents did not help, who often employed drastic means to ‘save’ their children, and to extract them from the influence of Zionism. The number of the youth from the *Bet HaMedrash*, who left the Yeshiva and entered the Zionist circle, grew day-by-day, which had just been founded at that time in Tartakov.

At almost the same time, a group of working Tartakov Jews locally founded a *Bundist* organization. But because both the Zionist and Bundist circles were still too weak at that time, and could not support their own organizations with local branches using their own resources, – so an agreement was reached between the two groups to found a joint culture society, in which suitable cultural activities were implemented. In this fashion, each side of political activism had the right to carry out its objectives according to its own doctrines. A number of books were bought from classic Yiddish literature for both groups, as well as a number of Zionist and Socialist books for each side separately.

This first joint Zionist-*Bundist* society did not last for a long time. From the outset disagreements ensued between the founders on both sides – often because of motives, that were bounded by plain political naiveté. For instance, I remember, how it was told about the arguments between these two partnering parties, when the Zionists hung up a map of the Land of Israel in the branch, one of the individuals, who claimed to be a *Bundist*, demanded unearned equality... it would be necessary to hang a *Bundist* map on the second wall! His argument was that ‘Equality... is equality.’

You can understand that this immediately led to a schism. Each side took possession of its own books, and the Zionists who were in a substantial majority, remained in the branch location. The ‘*Bund*’ members, who coalesced around the most intelligent among them – Isser Kremmer (today in New York ), were smaller in number, and did not have the strength, nor the resources, to establish and support their own society with a separate branch. Indeed, they did not play any larger role on the Jewish street in Tartakov.

The Zionist organization went through a substantial development, which by this time had consolidated its base in the school and the *Bet HaMedrash* and, in time, took in all of the Jewish youth in our *shtetl*. Among these Zionist protagonists, under the influence of the teachings of A. D. Gordon and Y. Kh. Brenner, formed a separate group with a socialist tendency, and saw in the program of Labor-Zionism a synthesis of its national and socialist elements, and grouped itself around the ‘*Hitakhdut*’ party with Yaakov Gertel and Koppel Kramm (later a Hebrew teacher) at its head. Because of this, this very organization became the strongest on the Jewish street in Tartakov.

In smaller numbers – but with greater political influence was the plain Zionist party under the leadership of Israel Linsker and Isaac Guz, and later also his son, Moshe.

Without any religious motives, a number of Zionists joined the ‘*Mizrachi*’ organization, finding in this party an expression of their Zionist and religious aspirations. The Heads of this organization were Wolf Ruker and Hersch Krantz.

With time, a Revisionist Party was added, led by Leibusz Beck (today in Israel) and Lejzor Ziskind (today in Brazil).

The ‘*Agudat-Israel*’ group was active among those in the *Hasidic* camp up to the last years before the Holocaust, but had a smaller number of members.

For technical reasons, but especially financial reasons, all of the Zionist groups, understood that in order to sustain a joint branch, an intensive cultural activity needed to be carried out there. As a result of the fact that many of the [joint] society membership also belonged to a variety of other organizations, very heated discussions would take place, to which an audience would listen to with great interest.

The work on behalf of the Hebrew School, for K.K.”L., and *Keren HaYesod*, to create a single Zionist ballot to elect members of the *Sejm* and the Senate, to the community or to the municipal council, and other institutions open to voting, unified all of the Zionist groups into a single strong Zionist camp.

The movement of the *Halutzim* was very active here. At the training point that existed in *המלשארשת*, the children of *Hasidic balebatim* were supported, who were the Yeshiva students of yesterday, and who carried out all of the mundane and difficult work needed... and in order to prepare themselves to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, this group of *Halutzim* traveled out to train in field work, in a private sector in the neighborhood of Belz. It is regrettable that only a small number of these *Halutzim* actually traveled to Israel, where they live to this day. An example would be Israel Krantz, and his wife Bluma Rabinovich. In a later segment of time, the following of their relatives made *aliyah*: Leah’tzeh Rabinovich with her husband Leibusz Beck, and Avraham Rabinovich. Also, Shaul Linsker had the good fortune to realize his ideal as a pioneer, and make *aliyah*.

The previously mentioned Zionist groups also had youth organizations. It was in this manner that the youth group ‘*Gordonia*’ was founded by ‘*Hitakhdut*,’ which counted Meir Leikerman and David Glazer among its members. The ordinary Zionists created the ‘*Akhava*’ organization and later ‘*HaNoar HaTzioni*,’ where Feiga Guz stood out for her special activity.

A separate initiative among the Zionist youth caused the development of ‘*HaShomer HaTza ‘ir*’ (Chaim Isaac Kremmer).

All of these organizations – each in its own sphere – raised and educated their members in the ideals of Zionism, of love and bonding to the Jewish people, its culture, to the Hebrew language, to pioneering spirit.

## Jewish Cultural Activity in Tartakov

Until the end of The First World War, our entire cultural life consisted of us learning the Torah. The sole lecture came from this book. For the scholar – [there was] the *Gemara* and *Mishna*, and other Holy Writ, while for the simpler individual – a bit of *Tehilim*. For the Jewish Mother, there was ‘*Tzena uRe’ena*<sup>105</sup> and ‘*Kav haYashar*’<sup>106</sup>; for the Jewish daughter – story booklets, which were bought at the same time with ‘*Benchers*’<sup>107</sup> from the itinerant bookseller (*Pakn Treger*). In general, one could not find a secular book in a typical Jewish house. The few exceptions to this were the houses of Aharon Gertel and Avigdor Freier, who, already in pre-war time, sent their children to [secular] study. In their homes one might be able to find a small book in German or Polish.

But the ‘exception of our time’ was the large and rich library of Isaac Guz. He was a Russian Jew, who married the daughter of someone from Tartakov. After spending several years in America he came home to his wife and children and brought back a substantial amount of valuables... several large boxes of books. Books in a variety of languages: Yiddish, Hebrew, German and English. These well-bound books took up the entirety of a large room from the ground to the ceiling, and were a true source of knowledge for those who thirsted for, and craved a book in Yiddish or Hebrew, those being the former Yeshiva students, working men and young people in general who after The War, thanks to Zionist propaganda, began to read books from the outside world.

Isaac Guz did not turn his library into a profit-making business. He lent his books out for free. He personally would lend them to his friends, and his children followed his example, each individually with their coterie of friends.

This private library was very popular in the whole city and vicinity. It was only later that an ‘open’ Yiddish-Hebrew library was founded by the Zionist Society ‘*HaTekhiya*,’ as well as a library for children beside the Hebrew school.

A lively type of cultural activity was carried on in the ‘*HaTekhiya*’ Society, where the Zionist world would come together every evening, in order to read newspapers, to play chess, or to carry on conversations and discussions. Lectures often were given there about literary and political themes. The ones who listened to all these speakers were: Yudl Grossman, Yaakov Gertel, Israel Linsker, Isaac Guz, Koppel Kramm, and from the younger generation, Moshe Guz, Wolf Ruker, the writer of these lines, when he got home in time for these events.

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<sup>105</sup> A well-recognized translation of the Pentateuch into Yiddish from Hebrew.

<sup>106</sup> *Kav haYashar* (lit. The Just Measure) authored by Rabbi Tzvi Hirsch Kaidanover (1648–1712), is one of the most popular works of musar literature of the last three hundred years.

<sup>107</sup> A miniature prayer book containing the blessings to be recited before and after meals. To ‘bench’ is to ‘bless’ in Yiddish.



Apart from this, we would hold special celebrations at the *yahrzeit* of great Jewish leaders. The 'HaTekhiya' group also had an active Drama Circle, which presented a play for almost every Festival Holiday. Among the principal cast were: Meir Leikerman, David Glazer, Chaim Isaac Kremmer (today in New York), Gershon Greindinger, Issachar Korn, Shayndl Kram, Bina Schleier, and from time to time Sabina Schusheim and this writer would also participate. The director of these plays at the beginning was Boszvic from Sokal, and later on a scion of our own, the active Zionist Moshe Sauerbroyz. The revenues received from these plays, as usual, were allocated to the K.K.'L. And the Hebrew school.

We did not have an appropriate auditorium for these plays. We therefore rented the Ukrainian Society hall 'Proszwita' which was in a neighboring village, about 2-3 km from the *shtetl*. But even this location attracted no small audience, in order to see homegrown artists or to take in the cultural material, in order to spend the evening, and thereby support Jewish national institutions.

In the *shtetl* itself, there was a nice large theater hall, which belonged to the Polish Society 'Sokol', and not a single Jew contributed to the construction of the 'Sokol' building, and so long as the head of this Society was a Roman Catholic priest, one could not rent this hall for a Jewish affair. Only later, when the leadership of 'Sokol' was taken over by the former police commandant Wagner, was the large 'Sokol' hall opened for Jewish plays.



The Hebrew school had an especially great influence on cultural life in our city. As demonstrated at a different opportunity, it also was the 'rock of dissent' between the Zionists and the *Hasidim*. The latter did not want to implement any change in the traditional education in *Heder*. They thought of the Hebrew school as a way leading to... conversion and assimilation. It should therefore be easy to understand the extent of the great difficulties that were encountered in the struggle for the introduction and continuation of a modern educational institution. A vigorous propaganda program had to be carried out among the parents, to get them to send their children [to school] and had to make do with minimal tuition and free poor children entirely from paying anything. At the beginning, it was necessary to bring in teachers from the outside, who were involved with larger finances. Later on, Yudl Grossman became the director of the school, working for a trivial salary, because the school needed to deal with deficits.

Tens of children received a national-Jewish education thanks to this modern educational institution, which always was under the administrative leadership and special oversight from the active Zionist and party leader Yaakov Gertel (today in Israel).

Later on, it became possible to recruit, from these Hebrew school students, loyal, committed and active Zionist participants, and *Halutzim*.



My Jewish birthplace in the *shtetl* of Tartakov was small and poor.

The burden of making a living was a hard one, and bitter, every struggle was for existence. But despite this, our settlement carried on a Jewish life, based on good vibrant moral foundations and

messianic ideals. Our youth struggled to achieve a spiritually rich and nice way of life, and for the development of the Zionist ideal in Land of Israel.

Tragically, the murderous Nazi hand put an end to this Jewish way of life. **המלשארשת** shared in the fate of all Polish Jewry under German occupation. This generations-old Jewish *shtetl* was destroyed. Almost all of the scions of my city were exterminated.

A pity to have lost them, but not to forget them.

## **The Tale of One Family**

**By Chana Cohen –  
of the Eisen-Sheffl Family**  
(Israel)

Dedicated to the memory of my parents:  
Leibusz & Esther, and my brothers:  
Herman, Bernard & Benjamin, his wife  
Leah & son Nina (?), David & his wife Mikhal,  
Hanoch, & Shmuel, who were exterminated in  
The Nazi Holocaust in the years 1941-3.

My parents and their family came to the *shtetl* of Tartakov in 1913, which was located beside the border between the Austrian monarchy and Czarist Russia.

In the year 1914, The First World War broke out, and during its initial days, the Russian Army broke through the border, and entered our town, and with them came the Circassians and the Cossacks who were well known for their wildness in their predations. The first of their undertakings was to plunder, beat, and create disarray among the Jews. We lived on the Szniki farm outside the town. As we were a distance from the town, we were compelled to find a hiding place in the home of the Rabbi Babad. From this time, I recall an interesting detail that could wreak havoc and frighten the entire town. My father was a lessor of the farmlands of the Nobleman Urbanski, and the Graf Voroshinski, and he had the keys to the distillery of whiskey in his hands, and the Circassians stormed the distillery and attempted to open the gates but could not. It became known to them that my father had the keys and they decided to find him. However, a miracle happened, and literally one of the farmers heard this intent, and he dressed my father and the rest of the family as Ukrainians, and took us over to a certain village, and hid us in a cellar for a length of time, and meanwhile the danger passed, and the town remained unharmed.

A second detail that no less casts light upon the plight of the Jews is etched in my mind. When the Circassians and Cossacks captured the city, after some time, they started after the young Jewish girls. The Circassians raped and violated them, and the fear was terrible. Many of the girls hid themselves in the home of Rabbi Babad, and the Circassians burst into his house. The Rabbi was sitting and teaching Torah to the girls. First, they started to beat the girls with whips, they cut the sidelocks off the elderly men, of the Rabbi and the remaining Jews that were in that location. The girls fled to the attic, and out of confusion and fear, trod on the *skhakh* of the sukkah and fell into the house in a state

of faint. The Cossacks took out harmonicas and began to sing and dance around the girls, and it was then that my brother Benjamin (Bank) using wondrous strength, broke through the door of the Rabbi, and with a sack, ran quickly to the palace of the general who was in charge of the armies settling in the area, and told him about the incident. The temerity of the lad (he was then 15 years old) pleased the commandant, and he sent guard detail, and arrested those who were rioting out of control.

This terrifying condition continued up to the year 1917, until the Austrian victory, and when that victory arrived we breathed more easily, but not for a long time. The Ukrainians captured Eastern Galicia and once again, troubles started for the Jews in our town. Their lot was to suffer plunder, and beating on a daily basis. At the same time the Lurcziks, a part of the Polish Army in Galicia, burst in to liberate Poland, and the pogroms reached their zenith. The Lurcziks excelled in their strong hatred of the Jews, and they cut off the beards on all Jews they encountered, and did not spare the children or the elderly. In the year 1920, yet another and new war broke out this time between the Bolsheviks and Poland. Out of great fear that we could not take any more of this, almost the entire town fled and our family was among them. We fled to the city of Yaroslav and only after the land quieted down, and order was returned to the nation. Did we return to Tartakov and life began to get normal again.



משפחת כהן-אייזן

*The Cohen-Eisen Family*

However, it was already in the early thirties that signs began to appear that augured badly – and the skies over Page 430:

Jewry in Poland grew dark. An intense friendship began between Poland and Germany, and Mrs. Pristur was sent to create bonds of friendship and culture with Germany, and the results of the visit were not late in coming, [including] the forbidding of kosher slaughter out of humanitarian reasons, because according to their thinking, slaughter of this nature causes torture to the living creatures; the *Numerus Clausus* decree which resulted in the expulsion of Jewish students from the universities, made heavier the pressure on the feet of the Jews in regards to their economic earnings, and they were continued to be felt.

My father died in the year 1938, and it is possible to say that this was a blessing since he did not live

to see the Holocaust that was inexorably drawing near. In 1939, Hitler, י"ג"ש, provoked the beginning of the Second World War – in this way enabling the birth of danger of all of Eastern European Jewry which he exterminated such that it could never again arise. The first German invasion found me in Rawa Ruska near Lvov. The Germans immediately began the pursuit of the Jews under the guise of searching for arms and radio equipment. The populace was taken away to hard labor. Several tens of Jews were taken out to be killed, among them the sons of the family of Imr'l Avraham, Ze'ev Imr'l of Sokal.

In accordance with the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact the Germans fell back to the border of Tomaszow-Belz, 4-5 km from Rawa Ruska and the Russians entered in their place.

Several months after the war broke out between Germany and Russia, The Germans again invaded Rawa Ruska. The first of their deeds was to establish a *Judenrat* and the concentration of all the Jews in the vicinity into a solitary ghetto. The *Gestapo* began demanding sums of money from the *Judenrat* as well as gold, silver, jewelry, but especially men to do work. The men were sent to an unknown destination. The *Judenrat* began to look into where the transports were being sent, and it was clarified they were sent to Belzec in that vicinity, where the Germans appear to be preparing some sore of facility. After a while, it became known to us that this was the terrifying concentration camp in which hundreds of thousands of Jews were exterminated. Day-by-day we would see freight trains loaded with Jews going in the direction of Belzec. They did manage to tell us about the death of their relatives and children from great thirst and hunger. We continued to suffer this way until the year 1942. There was no end to torture, and fear of death.

At the same time, my husband, brother and I, were taken to do work in military transports, I fell sick, and got a high fever. At the same time, a transport from Sokal was on its way to Belzec, and on the way, my sister-in-law, and her daughters Nina and Miriam (Mushka); Leah and Nina returned to the ghetto at Sokal, and after a great effort Miriam reached Rawa Ruska. After the *aktion* my husband and brother Shmulik went out to check the situation and ran into Mushka. The encounter was very dramatic and together we returned to the ghetto in Rawa Ruska. The doctors advised my husband to get me out of the ghetto because my health had completely deteriorated. I was then to the hospital for infectious diseases called Ahafya Kostiuk, and I lay there for six weeks without food or drink. From time to time, my husband, at mortal risk brought me fruit from the ghetto and I received a note from my husband in which was written: 'Save yourself, we have no possibility of helping you.' On the same day, Dr. Kotzak asked of me and one other Jewish woman, Zina Gutman (who remained alive and is in Warsaw, Poland) to leave the hospital immediately. Our physical condition was so bad that we could not walk, and not even stand. They brought us our clothing, and gave us encouragement to walk together, and there was snow and freezing cold out there. The two of us slithered, literally until we reached a nearby stable, and there we hid in the straw, we warmed ourselves by staying close to one another. I was thirsty from the high fever, and I drank from the still muddy water. On the second night a nurse came from the hospital and with a prod, demanded that we leave the stable. Toward evening, we left the stable and turned in the direction of the train station. Along the way, we saw that the ghetto was lit and the Ukrainian police and *Gestapo* guarded the ghetto. We tried to walk between the fences in order to hold on to one another. We got off the road to a Christian acquaintance to ask if she had seen anyone from the family. The Christian woman was

terribly fearful of the intrusion. We promised her to leave the house, we drank only two glasses of tea, and bread, and for this we paid 500 gulden. In addition to this, she sent her son to buy a train ticket going to Lvov. We dragged ourselves after him, and along the way he encountered the *Gestapo* who took him. We continued on to the train station. In the cage, the ticket seller recognized me, and advised us to get out of there quickly. With the greatest of effort and difficulty we entered the train and reached Lvov at two o'clock in the morning. Outside there was indescribable snow and frost. We waited until six in the morning for daybreak. We were filthy, our clothing was torn and of local style, our heads were full of straw and our hair was unkempt. And this alone gave us focus. We reached Sokolski Street – to the Zhukowsky-Marmaluva family. Initially, they did not want to take us in, but in accordance with the signs that I gave to them, we were allowed inside. The difficulty was with my friend Zinia Gutman – she was taken in under the condition that she had to leave the house at nightfall. Mrs. Marmaluva rented me a nearby room in the name of Ahafya Kostiuk. I waited for my family with my eyes giving out. While we were still in the hospital, we made up a place to meet in Lvov with my husband and brother. I fell sick into bed, because I still had typhus. Mrs. Marmaluva told me about Mushka's arrival, and the meeting with Miriam was earthshaking; when I asked about the rest of the family, she had no answer. When we rested up a bit, Mushka began to relate: after the ghetto was liquidated, they hid in a bunker. The condition in the bunker was indescribable, the wailing of children were terrifying; the children were made drunk with strong beverages in order to put them to sleep. It was not only once that mothers were driven crazy because they had to choke their own children [to death]. The *Gestapo* took them out of the bunker and brought them to the synagogue. Along the way, she saw men, women, children and infants killed and stacked up in piles. It was literally like a flock of sheep that had been slaughtered. A short Cossack was taken to the cemetery, and there he buried those that had been killed and after his work, he was shot on December 15, 1942. Miriam and my Herma Pula were taken to the camp at Rawa Ruska, Miriam worked in the interior of the ghetto.

On December 31, 1942 the *Gestapo* came and took my daughter and other women, Miriam saw how they were shot by them. There was a small distance between them. The little one, ten years old, understood a great deal, and begged to be left alive – 'I am small,' she begged.

Mushka, who reached me was infected with spotted typhus, with protuberances from her head. I took her into my room without the knowledge of the lady home maker. All day, she lay hidden beneath my bed, and at night, I took her into bed with me. I got re-infected from her, and fell sick a second time. Miriam got over her illness and took care of me, and Marmaluva secretly invited a doctor to tend to me, and they bought medicaments for me from the ghetto. It is possible to say ironically that they were more afraid I would die rather than stay alive. The death of a Jewish woman brings destruction and the end to all residents of the house. To give disinfectant and to give close examination in the case of the death of a Jewish woman who had received protection – the punishment was death by gunshot. In those day, they began to liquidate the Lvov ghetto. An order was issued that every attic and cellar be registered in the name of the resident homeowner, and the rest of the houses are to remain open, in order to allow the *Gestapo* to look for fleeing Jews. In connection with this Mrs. Marmaluva came with a proposal – to spend nights in the nearby church and during the day, to wander in the outside until the danger passes. We accepted Mrs. Marmaluva



ילדה הרמה — בת של חנה כהן

Page 432: The Girl Herma – Daughter of Chana Cohen

and I with another person sick with high fever were forced to change positions during days and nights, in a state of continuous fright that we would be discovered. I became deaf because of so much high fever. After the Lvov ghetto was liquidated, we returned to the Marmaluva family. Mrs. Marmaluva got infected with typhus from us, was taken to the hospital and died there. *For us, this meant the death of the person who protected and saved us. May her memory be for a blessing.* While still alive she attempted with a woman of character and Nina gave us cover. Shmulik came to us with surprising news, that thanks to him, it encouraged us a bit. We had given up on our lives, and many a time we thought of hastening that end, because we lacked the physical capacity to continue. Our brother Shmulik gave us energy and instilled hope in us when he said: ‘continue to

live in order that you be able to exact revenge from the Nazis ימ"ש. After the death of Mrs. Marmaluva we went to live with Mrs. Nina, Shmulink's condition was frightening and terrifying. For a number of days he remained hidden in a Franciscan monastery, and the priest Victor provided him with food. The other monks took note of this, and disclosed him and demanded he be taken far from the monastery. At night Shmulik wandered about the cemetery and in the streets during the day. His university 'friends' found him, and not only one of them wanted to turn him in, and it was only with a bribe of money was he saved from their talons, and he continued to hide himself. I decided that Shmulik should leave Lvov and join the partisans, and I will sneak onto a transport of Poles and Ukrainians that were being transported to Germany to do hard labor, despite the fact that this approach was enveloped in mortal danger. Only young and healthy Poles were taken that had been seized by the *Gestapo*. They could no longer suspect that these were Jews, because all of the ghettos had been liquidated.

I decided on this, and did it. The following morning, I had the temerity to reach the Podzymacya train station. My parting with Mrs. Nina was emotional. Mushka decided, at all cost, to stick with me despite the fact that I refused to take her. We were dressed in Ukrainian clothing because we spoke this language fluently. I waited beside the train station. And from a distance I could see hundreds of people from the *Gestapo* and the Ukrainian police. The transport passed beside me, moving four-by-four. I passed through the opening between the train sections with Miriam beside me, and together with the others getting aboard, we got onto the train. To this day, I cannot recall how I managed to disappear among the stream of people. When we were on the train car, I saw Shmulik with the priest Victor, parting at a distance from us. We felt a terrifying loneliness, here we were two Jewish women among thousands of Poles and Ukrainians. We wept endlessly, and we were asked why we were crying, and we answered: all of our swine and cattle were plundered and taken from us (this was particularly tragic to villagers, more than the death of parents). We had nothing to eat on the train. We were not worried about procurement of food, because we didn't think we would reach the train itself. The sack on our shoulders was there only as a disguise, but with all this we recovered [and carried on.] We took what was given to us, and we continued the train ride for eight days. Periodically we were investigated by the *Gestapo*. They searched and counted us not to tell, because many of the Poles jumped off the train. We reached Khum<sup>108</sup> that is in Wastolia<sup>109</sup> a coal mine and crop works, and this was April 1943. Our courage was counterfeit. They organized us according to work, the carrying of coal, and carrying train supplies. The work was beyond our strength. The food was very bad. They cooked up a soup from potato skins and cabbage and in addition to this, they distributed 350 grams of bread to each man (and I was then working as a man), and a piece of margarine, and this was our portion on a day-to-day basis. All the time they said that we were Jewish women. And slowly, but surely information was passed, and despite my unnatural energy, I managed to silence this. But it happened that one of the residents of the group, Julia Towarnicka, told me openly that I was a leprous Jew, and terrified me that she would reveal me. My patience gave out and reserve, and I said to her 'go, you have to go.' she ran to the *Gestapo* and informed on me, I begged Miriam to destroy her purse with all the papers and I was ready for everything. The search began.

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<sup>108</sup> Possibly Komariv

<sup>109</sup> Possibly Wolhynia

The chief of the camp appeared Parnagol, with his deputy, and asked me if had encountered Julia in Poland? I answered: No. And to the question, am I a Jew? – the answer was no! From the *Gestapo* they phoned the chief of the camp, and he answered that he personally takes responsibility that I am perfectly all right and have no shortcoming. Julia was also interrogated to find out the basis on which she suspected me: her answer was: ‘I found her on the train, at the time that all of us before departure were in a transit camp.’ I was interrogated again by the Gestapo, and I answered all of their questions. The head of the interrogation was sent to the village of Kamionka and Luvska beside Rawa Ruska, where my supporter Ahafya Kustyuk lived, and she confirmed that I was a genuine gentile, and with this, the process of informing ended. It is not hard to describe what happened to me during this period. I flitted between life and death. This is the way we continued to work until 1945.

And the day of liberation finally arrived. In that same year a second front was opened, and step by step the allied troops to gain ground, as did the heavy bombing of German cities. All the trains, factories and work to sustain life were bombed. The destruction was terrifying and it is not possible to describe the terror of the Germans. A large chaos arose, and news reached us that the Germans, out of fear of vengeance by the foreign nationals among them who were turned into slaves are plotting to take them to the east and exterminate them. This reached Miriam and myself and I decided to work towards saving ourselves. At three o’clock in the morning, I leapt over the camp wall and hid with a German family, but they immediately informed upon me, and I once again fled and along the way I ran into Miriam and we wee both saved.

After being in the ghetto after one *aktion* after another, one question was in everyone’s heart: ‘With God’s help, will one of us out of a thousand live to see the fall of the cursèd Nazis’ – and the dream became a reality.

On April 27, 1945 the American Army entered the city of Stanscheid were Miriam (Mushka) and I worked in a camp for the German Army.

Miriam was the first to see the this exciting scene and brought me the big news ( and I was then peeling potatoes in the cellar). We burst outside I wild and unrestrained joy. American and British soldiers appeared and immediately disarmed the Nazi guards and freed us all.

After liberation, I began to work at the hospital of UNNRA, but all of the travail and suffering that I had gone through and their signs, brought me down and I got very sick. I got paralysis in a lek as I lay in the hospital for two months until I returned to help and traveled to England.

To end my story, that I have shortened intentionally, I see it as my responsibility to remember the loss of my family as it was related to me: My precious mother was taken to the ghetto at Sokal, and was shot and killed on the way there – my brother Herman died frm the burden of travel in the year 1941; my brother Bernard fled from Russia to Hungary and there was taken to a ghetto and exterminated; David and his wife, Mikhel and Hanoch that were in the Sokal ghetto were taken during an *aktion* to Belzec and exterminated there; my youngest brother Shmulik was killed by a means unknown to me.



# The Path of Pain and Suffering

By Hersch Genauer

At the end of June 1941 – when the German-Soviet war broke out – I was living in Kopitkov, not far from Tartakov. The German soldiers seized Tartakov immediately in the first days of the war, along with its entire vicinity. The German forces threw themselves on the Jewish populace like wild animals. Plunder and acts of murder became a daily occurrence. Because of this, our Christian neighbors displayed an attitude of fearful enmity towards us, and helped the Germans with their acts of cruelty. A *Judenrat* was set up in Tartakov, which was a tool in the hands of the ruling Germans.

The first order that the *Judenrat* received from the *Gestapo* was to provide fifty Jews to do labor in a concentration camp. For this purpose, the *Judenrat* rounded up Jews from the surrounding villages and from the impoverished sector in Tartakov. Three Jews were taken in Kopitkov: Ber'chi Kober, Hersch Rehr, and the writer of these lines. The crying and begging of my mother ר"ע was of no avail. [She] did not want to be left alone amidst hostile gentiles.... all fifty of these taken Jewish men, mostly young people, were deported from Tartakov to Sokal, where we remained until December 28, 1942, when in open freight trucks we were transported to the concentration camp in Zaborow.

It is hard to convey in words, what frightful conditions existed in that Zaborow *Gehenna*. The cruelty of those German blood suckers and their Ukrainian helpers took on the most brutal form... the two camp commanders, Glaz and Fabata, they were cold...pitiless murderers. Immediately in the first day, when we had just arrived in the camp, we were driven to do hard labor... we suffered hunger and in stead of bread we got beatings... we were beaten with murderous intent. And if anyone fell sick... his fate was already sealed... the Ukrainian militants immediately shot him.

So it is no wonder that hunger and the inhuman living conditions, the frightful crowding, the filth – elicited the breakout of a mass infection of spotted typhus, which I also contracted. All those ill with typhus were taken off to a separate wooden barrack.. On the outside it was cold... a frightening frost... in the barrack, where there lay very sick people, there was no heat, it was thought to be a waste of wood for people that were condemned to death.

On one day, the German murderers entered the barrack unannounced, and shot all the people sick with typhus, who were lying there. By some miracle, I managed to save myself from certain death, because in their hurry I threw a bunch of rags over me with which I would cover myself.. and the executioners took no notice of me.

Weakly, I now went to work. But I now did not have the slightest doubt, that all of us in the camp would suffer the same tragic end, because the German murderers will torture all of us. For this reason, I began to think about how to escape from this *Gehenna*.

A number of my friends from Tartakov were keeping themselves together in our camp, such as Hersch Rehr, Lieber, Koppel Krom... we from Tartakov would stick together while we worked, and where possible, one would help out another. I trusted these three of my *landsleit* with my thinking about escape from the camp. But they were already at work as craftsmen and had found a bit of a

better circumstance for themselves. For this reason, I was allocated to do heavy road work on the road to Zlotow, and as a result I no longer worked together with them.



On the day when I decided to escape, I left work at two o'clock and ran in the direction of a nearby forest. I did not tarry there for any length of time, and fled further to the village of Pliszna. There, I encountered three other men from Tartakov and one Jew from Stanislawow, all from the same camp that I had fled. These were: Wolk, Schnee, Mekhl Lempert, and Zvi Everess. I had a conversation with the three of them, and we decided to return to the forest and dig out a bunker to be used as a hiding place. Two weeks later, we became aware that the entire camp at Zaborow was burned down along with its Jewish martyrs. A few Jews from there managed to escape the fire, and came to us in the forest. Among others, I encountered my friends Schnee and Simcha Weinberg, with his bride from Kristianopol. All of us people from Tartakov hid ourselves in this forest in a similar bunker and this is the way we lived during the entire summer of 1943.



Winter drew near... a cold one.. A frosty one. A heavy snow covered the fields. The mark of our footprints gave us away. These footprints led the German murderers to our hiding places in the forest. Our group, which hid itself in the forest had barely one gun and with this weapon we faced our bloody enemy. We had decided to fight to the death and to live in opposition to the greater number of bloodthirsty German murderers, who appeared, accompanied by Ukrainian militiamen, armed with machine guns and hand grenades. In this uneven and embittered battle our Simcha Weinberg exhibited exceptional heroism.

By a miracle, in the darkness of night, we were saved, and emerged alive from the forest.

And so, once again we came together in the dwelling of a refined Christian named Bigass, who greeted each of us in a friendly fashion, permitting us to lodge the night with him, and giving us food.

For the second night, we went off to the larger, more thickly wooded forests. There were also other Jews there already, such that we now consisted of a group of 71 Jews, each ready to do battle against the Germans and Ukrainians. It was not bad for us at the beginning. It was very bitter for us when we encountered armed Polish anti-Semitic groups, who chased after and assaulted Jewish partisans, that sustained themselves in the forests. During these often embittered battles with German executioners, 50 of our comrades fell, precious Jewish heroes... all that remained of us was a small group of 21 Jews...

In the summer of 1944, after the Soviet Army had liberated us, we came out of the forests. My first steps were towards my *shtetl* Tartakov... I still hoped to encounter someone from my family...

Regrettably, there was not even a trace of the entire Jewish settlement with its dear pious Jews, with the honest Jewish youth, with the synagogues and *Batei Medrashim*.

# A Diary From The Nazi Gehenna

By Zvi Abers

## Saturday 27 Nissan 5701

How joyful was that Saturday at the onset of evening... All of Tartakov was alive... soldiers of the Red Army arranged a cinema theater presentation. The entire audience was full of cheer and nobody, even for a minute, gave any thought what the following morning would bring.

And, indeed, in the late hours of that same night, rumors had spread through the *shtetl*, that three German spies had been captured... these sort of reverberations immediately enveloped the entire shtetl until the host of people determined how much truth there was to these rumors, it was already past noon, and the German artillery had begun to fire...

Pandemonium and tumult seized the otherwise calm of the *shtetl* residents... a frightful panic reigned the area, when a bomb struck the house of 'organist,' there was a magazine with ammunition there.

## Sunday Morning 28 Sivan 5701

On the next morning at about seven o'clock in the morning, German airmen had bombarded the city. Bombs fell near the school and not far from Kukhanczuk's smithy and Nissan Kraus was hit by bomb shrapnel. He was not the only victim of the bombardment.

The entire shtetl was immediately engulfed in flames. The noise and the echoes of the explosions from the ammunition dump shook up the populace, who came out of their houses fearfully.

My father as well, Chaim Shmuel חַיִּים שְׂמוּאֵל, went out of the house with the entire family. We carried out everything from the house to the street... each one in another corner... and in the end we lost... calling ourselves the opposition. One person sought another. The weeping voice of my mother חַיָּה still rings in my ears upon hearing how, in the darkness he called out the names of his sons.. Od Ben Zion, of Benjamin, of Abraham, and of me...

(Our mother Tova חַיָּה died during the war in the year 1941). It was only on Monday morning about midday, that I encountered my two brothers on the Tartakoviec fields, Ben Zion and Benjamin. With tears in their eyes, they conveyed to me the shattering details about the death of our sister and brother, whom they buried near the synagogue... it was there that the murderous German hand reached them, and they were brutally shot.

Sunday before night, additional victims fell... Fyvuszn Rosenfeld, Abraham Gruber and Yudd Grossman fell.

Monday in the morning, June 23, 1941 a mass murder was begun in the *shtetl*, which lasted for about two hours, during which 173 Jews were killed. From my family, among others, the following were killed: Chaim Leib Rosenfeld and his wife Tova, David Kesler – his son-in-law daughter Yakhad

Nekhama, Simcha Orentner and other Jews as well.

It is difficult to convey in words the brutal cruelty of the German murderers.. I suffered so frightfully when I had to observe how a German murderer shot the Rabbi's child, that the mother was holding in her arms... and afterwards the mother as well..

### **Tuesday – June 24, 1941**

Immediately in the morning, the Germans seized Jews in the streets to take them to work on the road to Sokal as well as the road to Tartakoviec. For a length of time we worked in the house and yard at Dr. Lev, as also at Kharvakov by loading ammunition.

### **Wednesday June 25, 1941**

Immediately in the morning men were seized to do work. At about 12 o'clock several Soviet aircraft appeared and an air battle ensued.

This however, did not deter the German murderers from torturing and killing Jews. During the work on the road to Tartakoviec they shot several Jews, among others, near Gertel's mill Zalman Wachs son of Moshe Wachs) and severely wounded Wolf Rukek. It was quieter at the work on the road to Sokal.

Now the *Judenrat* was created for us headed by Eliezer Wilder. In a time later, the leadership of the *Judenrat* was taken over by Meir Leib Glazer.

In the beginning, the *Judenrat* divided up bread for the entire Jewish populace. Later on, only the Jews working on the roads got bread. Regarding the bread [ration] cards for these workers, following the orders of Meir Leib Glazer, I had to go every day to Sokal to Dr. Folk's brother, the leader of the road workers. For quite a while I did indeed go to Sokal every day. This was until a day in January 1942 several Germans came riding in, and seized 12 Jews, including myself. We were driven to Spasov near the barracks there, where we worked gathering up miscellaneous ammunition, threw them into pits and afterwards blow them up.

At the beginning, our Jewish people sought help from the native gentiles. [The Jews] worked for them for a bit of bread and believed that Christians will not reveal them to the German murderers.

Jews also worked for the peasantry in the village and from time-to-time had the possibility of taking a little bit of food for their family... but these were the very few... in general, the Jews hungered, and exhausted themselves.

### **The End of February 1942**

#### **The Decree**

The Gestapo organization in Tartakov demanded of the Judenrat to provide them with 50 young men from 16 to 24 years of age. My brother, Ben Zion, was selected to be in this group. As the older brother, I got him off the list and took his place alone.

Friday, towards nightfall, leaving the house and seeing myself with the family, my father ה"ק greeted me with the words: 'Who knows, my child, if we will ever see each other again... remember my child... a Jew remains...

50 youths from Tartakov were torn away from their homes, from their fathers and mothers... sisters and brothers... we went out in the direction of Sokal. Alone... no one from the *Judenrat* escorted us... there were those among them who had to send their sons, and hid them, and striking them from the list...

In Sokal, the German murderers treated us brutally and frighteningly... a hail of rubber truncheons fell on our backs.

During the entire Sabbath transports from other workplaces came together... here we were loaded 50 young men in one car... a train with cars, loaded with dear Jewish young men went off in the direction of Lemberg. During the entire trip we were beaten murderously. They did not want to take us in Lemberg. So we were taken further to Vinniki and from there to Plohov, where they took only one car load of people. A second auto with our youth was taken in Krowica. After this one machine in Bronislavovka-Kazimierzavska.

The last car, in which we, the 50 youths from Tartakov were to be found, was taken to Zaborow.

Then the camp commandant Klaus may his name and memory be erased... immediately after that, as we got off the machine, and we were led into a barrack, the Ukrainian militiamen ordered us to sing... But seeing the condition of the Jews that were there, having been there earlier, from Buzhana -Narayev and vicinity – we began to cry...

It was only now that the Ukrainian militiamen seriously took to [torturing] us. They hit us with rifle butts, with truncheons... kicked us in the head with their feet.. They flayed our skin... to this day, I feel the slaps from a Ukrainian bandit... because my heart was frozen and I could not open my mouth to sing...

Immediately on another day, in the morning, we were divided into brigades and driven out to work clearing the snow, unloading coal from the wagons at the train station near Zaborow.

After this, for a long time, we cut up the gravestones from the Zaborow cemetery, in Uzharna and Tarnopol. After this work, we began to construct a road on the way from Tarnopol to Zaborow. Every stone that was so moved was made wet with Jewish blood. Each of the Ukrainian militiamen had the right under his own responsibility to kill 10% of his Jewish slaves...

During the first three months 15 people from Tartakov were killed, among others, Mottl Meir the *Melamed's* oldest son, Nissim Meller of the confectionery, Mot-Leib'ehleh the tailor's – the grandson of the elderly *Shammes* – Cooper from Kopitkov.

### **June 15, 1943**

I received news that in two days they are going to double the number of militiamen. Without a doubt this was a sign that the end was drawing near. When we went out to work, the work leader dragged out five healthy youths and without giving a reason, shot them. The decision ripened in my mind to flee into the forest. At noon, when the police were occupied with eating, we, a group of young men – apart from me, Yudl Leib Hershenfeld (a son of Mottl Shtupka), Mekhl Lempert from Kristianopol – fled in the direction of the forest. There, we encountered yet another group from our camp, which had fled some time before us.

### **June 22, 1943 (At Night)**

We received tragic news from the camp from which we had just escaped. On June 22, 1943 at night, the German militiamen surrounded the entire camp and began to take out 50 Jews [at a time] to freight trucks. A certain Chaim Falek from Rudek, from the transport of the first vehicle – stuck a knife into the hand of the German, when he was ordered to get up into the vehicle not far from a pit, which we had dug for ourselves. Fifteen people from this group were able to flee at that time. Also, 10 Jews from the second vehicle fled.

Because of this, the German bandits fell onto a new strategy... they drove all of the Jews from the camp into barracks, around which they had spread straw... they wet it down with gasoline and set it on fire. Approximately between 500 and 600 Jews, allegedly from Tartakov, who were in that camp were burned up in this fashion.

In the forest, we met up with other Jews from the camp, among others Hertz Genauer from Kopitkov (today in America) with Simcha Weinberg from Kristianopol with his lady friend Bertha, who assisted in getting out of the camp.

We were a group of fifty people. Our circumstances in the forest, however, were difficult, because the Ukrainians and the Germans gave us no rest, and pursued and harassed us day and night. During five months, we suffered great losses and from the entire group only four Jews remained [alive]... we went off in the direction of the Dunayev forests... along the way we also took along a young girl, who was sustained in the house of a Christian.

In the forests of Dunayev we encountered a group of fifty Jews, armed with 12 rifles... they fought with Polish partisans for a long time. Later on the Poles posed themselves as Germans, fell upon us and killed many of us.

On that day, when the Red Army liberated us, only 21 Jews remained out of the entire group.. That is, from Tartakov: apart from me, Hersh Zolkiewer (a grandson of Yehuda Moshe Yaakov's),

Abraham Korn (a son of Yaakov Scheffel) Hersch Genauer (a son of Ber'l Genauer from Kopitkov), Uri Schnerr Babyatin (a brother of Zalman the *Melamed*).

## In Memory of My Friend Asher Rubinstein

By Shaul Linsker

I knew Asher when he was a boy in our *shtetl* of Tartakov. Occasionally as I walked from *Heder*, Asher was still preparing for the Sabbath in the *Bet HaMedrash*. More than once, I peered into the *Bet HaMedrash*, and saw him standing at a '*shtender*,' immersed in study. And I always have his smile before my eyes, and his curly sidelocks. I envied him, and his friend Zalman the Teacher, from Scheffel's (both of whom fate had condemned to a tragic end), both of whom had a standing of respect from the regulars at the *Bet HaMedrash*.

As the Enlightenment infiltrated our *shtetl*, and when Moshe Eliezer Greidinger the principal agent of bringing in the letters of Volkovsky, Asher was among the first who began to learn and study in a secret place in the attic of his house, took an active role in all the initiatives that were cultural and of a pioneering nature in our *shtetl*.

I became friendly with Asher in the years 1928-1930 in Kharkov, living together on Kloarsk Street in Podguzha. There, we began to flesh out the concept of setting up '*HeHalutz*' by *Hitakhdut* in Wastolia that had begun to get organized in Eastern Galicia. We had yet another friend the taciturn Moshe Sandarowicz. The three of us rallied behind projects. We received help from the center of young people by way of *Hitakhdut*, and the active part of *Hitakhdut* in Western Galicia and Silesia. We created a connection with a training facility and with Bielsko Kamienica we put together joint initiatives with the general *HeHalutz* center. I can remember the celebratory times of *Melave Malka* that we arranged weekly, of which Asher was the breath of life. He was a student at the seminary of Shevach Volkovsky and Ben-Zion Rapoport. He dedicated the evenings to *HeHalutz*. He was an active member in the organization of those who wished to pioneer the Hebrew language. And in this fashion he was alert and pulsed with life. There was an occasion when the Kharkov culture center asked him to go to the city of Krasnov as a Hebrew language teacher. Asher hesitated, and this was a pity for all of his effort. After several hesitations, he took the position. He fulfilled his role with total commitment and the fiery spirit of a *Halutz*. Despite the difficult position of a Hebrew teacher in the towns of Galicia and Poland, he stood the test. The desire of his soul was to make *aliyah*. With the first of the *olim* from Wastolia, he went with them. When he reached *The Land*, he joined the Schiller group, and from there, he turned to agriculture and he spent many years in this settlement. When he moved to Haifa, he was saddled with the yoke of the *Haganah*, and fulfilled all of the orders of the settlement. Always with a smile, and a humorous word. His secular conversations were something else again, his Hebrew speech was coarse. Asher was a man of the book, and he spent a great deal of his life reading and reviewing. Between his interest in literature, when he was in Kharkov, his interest in these newspapers from the Land of Israel did not falter: not from 'ears' or 'letters.' He never ate his fill of bread but he would buy a newspaper. His central characteristic was: to *look at*, not to read, if he grasped the message. And he always did not finish without consulting literature, and he delved into all sources.

He established his family in Haifa. He began to enjoy life and suddenly came the accident. And the blossoming tree was uprooted from among us.



ורנז'

**Varenzh**

# My Town of Varenzh

By Sarah Ben-Yaakov

The town of Varenzh was in Eastern Galicia, close to the border with Congress Poland, near Sokal.

It's location is not identified on a map of the country. The comics among us would describe its size like the size of a farmer's wagon. The eastern wheels reach one end of the town, and the back wheels the second side of the town.

Upon entering the city, it looks like the road is paved with stones. There were wooden houses on both sides of the road; one beside the other, and alike in appearance. There were stores in the center of the houses. On the principal street, a large oil lamp flickered that was lit on national holidays such as: Pilsudski's birthday, May 3, etc. The lot of those who lived on the principal street was better. They could walk easily on the paved and flat road. However, those who lived on the side streets did not have a road. When it rained those who went out on the street would suffer from mud and refuse.

The community of Varenzh was an old one. Our comrade Shimon Gerstenfeld tells that when he was young, he would go to collect money during the month of Elul for the Talmud Torah, which he conducted in the cemetery, where it was customary to come and pay respects to the graves of ancestors in the month of Elul.

There, he saw graves dated 1640, and older than that, whose state of deterioration made it difficult to read.

An additional piece of evidence comes from the tales of the *Hasidim* about a Jew from Varenzh whose name was Kahati. He was one of the younger students of the *Baal Shem Tov*. After the *BESH" T* passed away he turned to R' Leib Sarah's. R' Kahati would recite the *Kedusha* prayer following the custom of the people of Varenzh, and the people of Varenzh assumed the burden of reciting the *Kedusha* of R' Kahati.

Varenzh stood on the foundation of *Hasidism*. The Jewish people there were observers of God's Torah and its Commandments, and continued with their way of life going forward, in their traditions; customs and dress and no new force found or not found there, moved them from their stance and did not change their minds.

In Varenzh – the Rabbi, the *Hasid* and the working man all dressed alike. During the middle of the week [they wore] a black hat and a long kapote to match, and on the Sabbath they would put on a *shtrymel*. A beard and long curly sidelocks reaching down to the shoulders surrounded the faces of the men. The women *Hasidim* were first to have their heads shaven [after marriage] and a tight kerchief was worn down to the forehead.

Because Varenzh was close to Belz, most of its men were Belz *Hasidim*. During weekdays, the custom was to travel to the *Rebbe* and to pour out complaints before the *Tzaddik* – in the form of a

'*kvittl*' that they gave to the *Gabbai* – all the troubles that pain their hearts such as: the travails of raising children, a marriage for an eligible daughter, matters of making a living, etc.

The blessings of the *Rebbe* imbued the heart with hope, and gave encouragement. What arose from this was travel to Belz for the Sabbath and Festival Holidays. They would come to take shelter in the *Rebbe's* shadow, to hear words of Torah and to eat *shirayim*, which bring good luck.

A great movement that was out of the ordinary could be seen on the roads to Belz with the arrival of the High Holy Days. The *shtetl* was practically empty of its resident *Hasidim*. In the streets, Jews were seen that looked like they had just purified themselves by going to the *mikva* anticipating the Day of Judgement. Instead of the usual bundles, containing cooked chicken and challah as food for the journey. The *Hasidim* lived the life of a group of working men: on the Sabbath their custom was to set up a party for *shaleshudes* and *melave malka*. For *shaleshudes* they were content with challah, salted fish (herring?) And whiskey.

A group of *Hasidim* on the Sabbath followed an obligatory custom over a small glass of whiskey to tell of the wondrous deeds of the *Rebbe*, to review the teachings of the *Tzaddik*. Hasidic songs were heard, and they went up higher and higher. The stars covered the skies and the Sabbath was over – however, the Sabbath singing continued. This was a difficult transition from the spirit of the moment, and to add the transition back to the secular from the sacred. – From the moment the candle was lit and *Havdalah* was recited, there was no dispersion, and the *melave malka* celebration continued. In order to compensate the body for the feast of the Sabbath that had gone, they ate hot soup, that one of the righteous women had donated to be cooked. And the singing grew louder, and the truly inspired went out to dance until they dropped. This is the way they fulfilled the dictum of 'worshiping The Lord with joy.'

A great deal of attention was given to the education of sons. The entire wish and desire of parents was to see that their sons became Torah literate, and God-fearing. Education began in early childhood. At the age of three the children were sent to *Heder*, to learn the basics, and they continued, as it is written, to the study of the Pentateuch at age five. At ten they moved on to *Mishna*, at thirteen to performing *mitzvot*, and at age fifteen to the *Gemara* and as they matured, they continued to exhaust themselves in studying the Torah independently in the *Bet HaMedrash*. In order to descend deeply into the thinking of the Sages, the youngster needed help and direction. These lofty directors among the congregations should be remembered favorably for their endeavors, and be blessed for their skill in pleasant direction, and dedicated their work to the youth in the *Bet HaMedrash* and showed them the way to effect proper study and in this manner, encouraged them to continue with the study of the *Gemara* that provides the design for traditional Judaism – which is on a high plane.

A distinguished place in this undertaking was earned by R' Aharon son of Berisz the *Melamed*, who directed those first steps in *Gemara* study, when he was a *Gemara Melamed*. And also R' Sholom Menashe's, the *Hasidic* Jew that set himself the goal of dealing with the young people studying at the *Bet HaMedrash*.

## **R' Aharon Dov (Berisz)**

He was a gifted teacher to children in the study of *Gemara*, and was the father of R' Aharon Berisz. As a scholar himself, he instilled a deep understanding in the children about the sea that was the *Talmud*. But along with this, he concerned himself with opening in them the traditional character traits. To encourage, and root into them a love of Torah study, and the doing of good deeds.

He used a variety of methods to accomplish this lofty goal. Regarding each issue, he emphasized the nature of the tradition and the understanding and also rounding out the study he told all manner of tales about *Tzaddikim* and miracle men, about their good deeds, and the love of Israel that was a lamp unto their feet, etc. The children paid intense attention because his words came from a believing heart with an unflinching faith. He believed that the seed planted in the pure souls of the educated will yield fruit, and they will grow into God-fearing and complete Jews. The students in the Bet HaMedrash would come to our house and they came to hear Torah from my father's lips, and to be helped with difficult passages in the study of the *Gemara*

We were located in Congress Poland. When the Enlightenment movement in the city of Krylov began to spread, and the young people began to throw off the yoke [of Torah study], my father feared for the education of his children, and he left the city. He was happy to move to the *shtetl* of Varenzh because in Varenzh he found an environment that was good for his children's education.

My father was a God-fearing man prepared to give up his life in *Sanctification of the Name* in the form of 'be killed but don't cross over.' He told us a daring story of what he did for the sanctity of the Sabbath. During The First World War, he was drafted into the military to do hard labor for the army. All week long, he accepted the maxim that 'the law of the country is the law, and he did the work that was given to him, however, with the arrival of Thursday, he trembled,[asking] what will be the case on the Holy Sabbath? Is it the will of the Holy One, Blessed be He, to set a test before him?

R' Aharon Berisz, who had strictly observed the Sabbath his entire life, took the responsibility upon himself to endanger his life and not to work and transgress, God forbid, the prohibition against work on that holy day. He girded himself with strength, and wanted to step over the gate, but the gate was closed, and inside a guard was lying down with a pistol in his hand. The guard lying down was in deep sleep. My father took the edges of his garment and he managed to move the side. He opened a very narrow passage, and pushed himself through it. He hid himself near his friend R' Israel Werschner for several weeks. When the soldiers discovered him, it was not enough that they punished him, but they even gave him a prize for his daring.

My father dedicated strength and energy to the education of his children. He rooted into them the love of Torah study, and fear of God, and he was supported in this by my mother Chaya Bilhah who was a Righteous Woman. She carried herself elegantly, taking note of the times for prayer, and doing good deeds. This she did even though the circumstances of her life were difficult; we had narrow living quarters and limited income. She took paupers as guests into our poor home. And fed them

everything she had that was good.. My father lived to see an honest, blessed generation, sons that continued in his direction, until *The Abrogator* came and wiped out everything. I was the only survivor of my family.

R' Sholom Menashe's was a respected figure to the entire community of *Hasidim*, because he was an ardent *Hasid* and one who visited the *Rebbe* from time-to-time, and would stay there for weeks. He knew the teachings of the *Rebbe* thoroughly, and would convey that to the *Hasidim*. A boon fell into R' Sholom's life in that he was privileged to marry a *Woman of Valor*, and her name was Chana Golda. Chana Golda sat in their woven goods store during the day, dealt with the buyers, and he was free from worries about earning a living so he could deal with [the study of] Torah.

R' Sholom Menashe's was gifted with the attributes of a quiet man, honesty and charity, and in this way he had an influence on the entire vicinity. He undertook many initiatives on behalf of the youth sitting in the *Bet HaMedrash*, and taught *Gemara*. There were even times when he went through the entire *Shas* before coming to lecture his students, and he had the capacity in a unusual way to inculcate a basic understanding in the learning of the *Gemara*. From time to time, he would specialize in a number of tractates until he knew them by heart, and when he would come to his students, the sitters in the *Bet HaMedrash*, he would be able to explain and interpret the subject in a clear and understandable way. Using this kind of teaching method, the studies conveyed to the students stuck strongly in their minds.

The people of the *shtetl* knew what sort of hidden blessing the youth was receiving from the efforts of R' Sholom. As a sign of their respect for him, each and every year, on the Final Day of Passover, when the '*Song of the Sea*' was to be chanted, and it was a sign of great respect in our *shtetl* when someone was awarded the recitation of this song.

The centers of life in our *shtetl* were the various synagogues and houses of study. When a Jew entered a synagogue, a warmth enveloped him. The warm air from the oven that was fueled during the cold winter months, and a warm air from encountering friends and neighbors.

It is no wonder that during free hours, all the Jews of the *shtetl* would orient their footsteps to the synagogue. At the doorstep to the synagogue, he leave the concerns of making a living behind him, the quarrels between people or the gentile buyer who is hesitant about coming into the store, and from which they are able to earn their poor morsel of bread. In the synagogue they were suffused with happiness and friendship derived from the sacred atmosphere. There, one could hear the words of Torah from the mouths of Sages.

The entire synagogue could hold only 150 people seated. In the evenings, during the winter, there was little space to be had for each group that gathered there. The walls of the *Bet HaMedrash* were loaded with pages and with books. The library was a Torah library, rich, beginning with the *Shas* with *Poskim* the interpretations of the *Rishonim* and *Akharonim*, finishing with a book of *Mussar* of the *Chafetz Chaim* and R' Israel Salanter. This abundant library was sufficient to provide books of study for every oration. There were those who studied by themselves, and there were those that

studied in groups that were self-organized. Everyone participate in a group commensurate with their level and capability; a Mishna group, A, interpretive group and Eyn Yaakov, and study of the *Gemara*. From among this group, there arose personalities that volunteered to engage in the work of Holy Writ and to lead a lesson for each and every group.

– R' Lyubl Barfiss, a leather merchant, took a set hour out of each day to give a *Mishna* lesson to his listeners.

– R' Yitzhak Szpritz's was an ardent *Hasid*, who would periodically visit the *Rebbe*. Even though his work was in a marketplace, he set aside time to do work for the community. Every day, he would give a lesson in the synagogue in oration and *Eyn Yaakov*.

– Another Torah personality in the synagogue was R' Chaim David. He was a Sage fluent in the entire *Shas*, and *Poskim* whose teachings were fluent in his speech. He resided in the depths of *Halakha* and his Torah was his faith. In the morning, before daybreak, and before you could hear the Shammes bang his hammer on the shutters to call the congregation to do God's work, you could hear the tread of R' Chaim walking to the synagogue. For most of the day until a late hour of the night, he sat in the synagogue, bent over the Holy Writ.

R' Chaim gave a lesson in *Gemara*. People knowledgeable in the *Gemara* would gather around him and he brought them special 'calming waters' from the 'sea of the *Talmud*.' It was R' Chaim's thinking that study of the Torah was not for purposes of Torah knowledge, but the role of the study was to bring the *Halakha* into real life day-to-day. For this reason, he gathered about him a group of listeners and taught them the *Halakha* of daily life and the laws thereby. R' Chaim spread Torah to the masses not to gain any prize. R' Chaim was one of the pillars of the synagogue, and apart from *Talmud*, he also led the *Musaf* service and read from the Torah. After R' Chaim David was gone, R' Jonah Gerstenfeld inherited his place in leading *Musaf* services, and R' Isaac Dornberg in reading of the Torah.

– R' Jonah Gerstenfeld was a leather merchant. Because of his ability and honestly everyone respected him. Gentile segments also place great trust in him. If a gentile customer made an error in his calculation, and gave more than he should have, R' Jonah would run after him until he reached him, and returned the [extra] money. R' Jonah was a learned and God-fearing Jew not counted among the ranks of the *Hasidim*. He used to say: 'If there was one *Rebbe* for all the *Hasidim*, I would also be a *Hasid*, but the sayings of the *Rebbes* don't lead to the desired unity. Therefore, I am not a *Hasid*.'

R' Jonah was active in the *Hevra Kadisha*, and was the *Gabbai* of the *Hevra*. After R' Chaim David, who led *Musaf* services, passed away, R' Jonah was designated to lead this service, and the congregation derived much pleasure from his sweet voice.

Every year at the time of *Tu B'Shvat*, the *Hevra Kadisha* put on a royal feast. Tauba, the wife of R' Jonah took on a significant part of the preparation of this feast. Tauba Gerstenfeld was a help to R'

Jonah in business matters, and looked after earning a living. Apart from this, she was a very capable housekeeper. The roasted geese and stuffed fish were the handiwork of Tauba Gerstenfeld that was arranged by the *Hevra Kadisha*, and they deserved praise.

– R' Isaac Dormberg was a noble character, everything about him spoke of dignity. He was a Hasid, a learned and God-fearing man. He was a Jewish man of pleasing appearance, given his tall height and his clean and well-ordered clothing. As befitted a Torah Sage there was not a blemish in his dress.

R' Isaac never attended a gentile school, and at his own personal effort learned a number of languages fluently. He had about him an air of Torah and of wisdom. Anyone who was in need of a consideration turned to R' Isaac. His beautiful penmanship and his polished style got the desired result.

Important guests who visited the shtetl were hosted at the home of R' Isaac. His home was outstanding in its cleanliness and good order. There were *Rebbes* among these guests, sons and grandsons going back three generations in Belz. R' Isaac held R' Pinia in high regard, who was the son-in-law of R' Sholom of Belz. He was in the habit of saying that the rabbinical seat that had been filled, should have gone to R' Pinia, because he was alert and a great Torah Sage. The *Hasidim* thought otherwise, and they designated R' Aharon as the *Rebbe*, who was the son of the *Rebbe* of Belz. When R' Pinia visited our *shtetl*, he was received with great honor by R' Isaac in his house.

R' Isaac had a business that dealt with iron. Despite being occupied with business affairs, he did turn to attend to community matters. After the passing of R' Chaim David, he was the regular Torah reader at the synagogue. He did not seek high praise or stature in Torah matters in dealing with other Torah Sages, he would direct his efforts to the Jewish working man. On the Sabbath, R' Isaac would teach them from the *Pentateuch*, using *Rashi* commentary, and on weekday evenings *Eyn Yaakov* and Oration.

### **The *Bet HaMedrash***

The synagogue served as a center for the *Hasidim*, but the *Bet Hamedrash* was the place of rest for prayer and study for the working men of the *shtetl*.

There were dedicated Jews, who before going to work, would rise to recite several chapter of the Psalms, to recite prayers with a quorum, and after 15 hours of hard work, ran to the synagogue to recite afternoon and evening prayers. After the evening prayers, they would listen to a lesson drawn from *Eyn Yaakov*, an oration, or the portion of the week, the *Pentateuch* and *Rashi*.

The working people of our *shtetl* were known as the 'roof group.' The nickname 'roof group' was due to a tale told to us because of a deed of generosity and support by these good Jewish men, whose eyes were alert to every disorder or communal inequality in the community.

And here is the story of the ‘roof group:’ when the *shtetl* was built all of the roofs were covered in straw. With the passage of time, about 50 years before the Holocaust, during the time of the reign of R’ Avigdor as Rabbi of the city, the straw roofs were torn off and replaced with tiled roofs. Among the tiled roofs, the roof of R’ Avigdor remained as it was originally, made of straw. The *Rebbe*, R’ Avigdor was a *Tzaddik* and a scholar, far removed from worldly matters. His head was oriented to the study of Torah. He survived on little. And he did not see forms from the outside world. The roof did not interest him, the extent of his interest was in studying ‘*Abaye* and *Rava*.’

The first ones who took note of the difference between the roof of their Rabbi and the tiles of the rest of the houses in the *shtetl* were the working men. They came together in ‘*Agudat Hevrat HaGag*, and donated from their meager earnings to raise a roof for their *Rebbe* like all the others in the *shtetl*. From that time on, the working men in the *shtetl* were called ‘*the roof group*.’

*Abraham the Carpenter* worked about 15 hours a day at his job. He loved his work not only because it gave him a living, but also because of the challenges of artistic creation it offered.

Despite the tiredness from manual labor, he would get up early in the morning in order to study chapters of the *Mishna* and recite Psalms. He stood out for taking in guests. He built a separate room for poor guests, and was a good-hearted Jew, with an open hand to give to *Tzedakah* and good causes.

– *Shlomo Schiller Sarid* of the *shtetl* was privileged to reach *The Land* after many wanderings, and to be buried on Sacred Soil. He drilled wells. He was an honest and good-hearted Jew. The people of the *shtetl* knew to tell of the good deeds done by the Schiller family for the community, and especially the extensive support they gave their neighbors, especially the support to R’ Eliezer Kindler the butcher, a lowly pauper, having his hands full of children and a sick wife – R’ Shlomo Schiller supported his neighbor with love and dedication. The home of R’ Schiller was open wide to the needy. R’ Shlomo Schiller thought about the needs of the community, and from time-to-time he would donate wood to the synagogue, to fuel the oven.

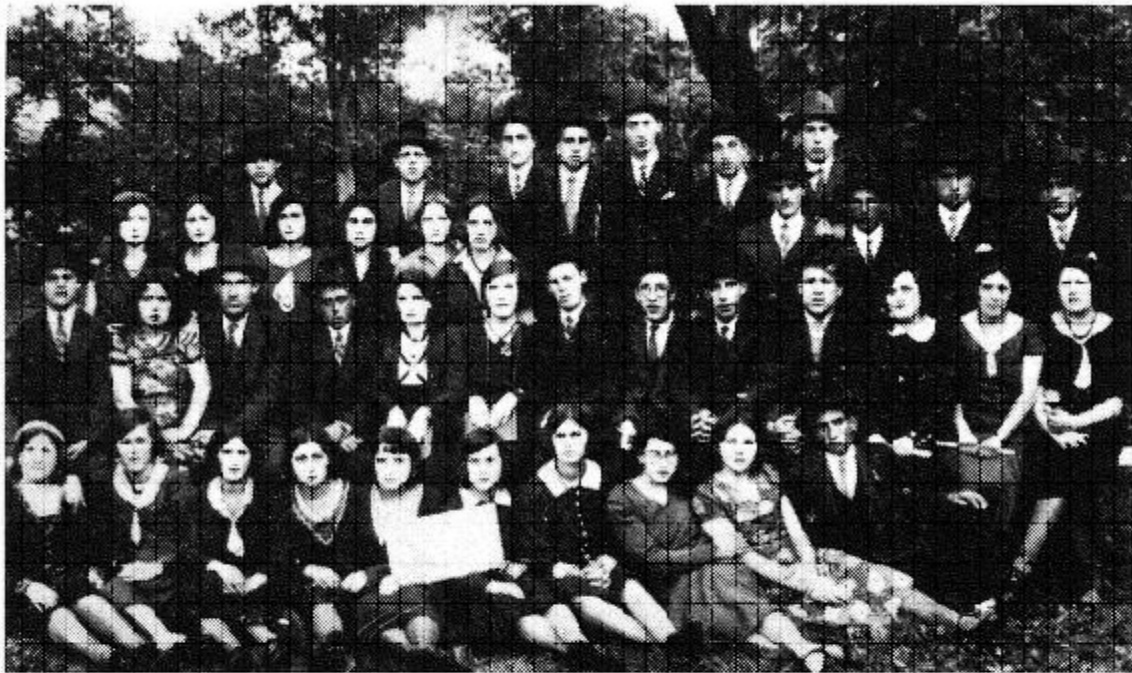
*R’ Itzik the Carpenter*, who was called Itcheh [should be included] as well as his wife Gita, and here is the details regarding their good works. R’ Itcheh was a simple Jewish man, however he had a deep affection for Torah Sages, and was wry appreciative of the rabbinate. He worked and exhausted himself at his hard work, in order to be able to provide his children with a good education. He sent his sons to Yeshiva, and they studied there for years until they were ordained as Rabbis.

There was a difference of opinion in the *shtetl* as to who had earned the good fortune to have such sons, who committed themselves to the tent of Torah; Itcheh the Carpenter of his wife. There were those who said it was because of the father – who was a good Jew and provided for all of their needs, and there were others who said, it was because his wife was such a *Righteous Woman*. Her entire life consisted of a long chain of deeds of *Tzedakah* and generosity to the community. To a bitter soul, and a bad fate. She would provide challah and bread for the poor from donators. She would collect money for a dowry for a poor bride so she could marry. She looked after the sick, providing them with a good meal and would sleep the night with them.



– Among the craftsmen in our shtetl was one called R' Moshe the Tinsmith. When R' Moshe studied Pirkei Avot, and saw that great wise men were craftsmen as well, such as R' Yokhanan the Shoemaker, he learned from this that by strong will and dedication of a willing soul, it is possible to meld Torah to a life of decency. In his lifetime, R' Moshe realized days of eating (bread and salt) as well as drink, that you will sleep on the ground, and you will live a life of sorrow, if you work hard at Torah (study). He lived in one room that served as his house, and a workshop together. He was occupied with caring for children and the support of a sick mother who was a yoke around his neck. For lack of the means to repair broken glass windows that the winds broke, he sealed them with tin.

When the glass in his spectacles broke he made do with one lens. R' Moshe's life was oriented into the Torah, and all of the difficult obstacles that barred his way, did not break his spirit and did not cause him to yield. R' Moshe set specific times aside for Torah (study), and in every minute or hour that he had free, he turned himself to bend over a book and recited '*thus saith Abaye and Ravah.*' R' Moshe worked diligently and his hard work yielded fruit. He attained the level of Torah Sage in the shtetl, and everyone respected and admired him.



סניף „מזרחי“ בורנו' בשנת 1935  
 נשארו בחיים: שוחט פייגה—בישראל, גייער יהודית — בקנדה, דורנברג חיה — בצרפת,  
 טישלר רחל—בארגנטינה, וולנצברג פייביש ואשתו—בבראזיל

Page 453:

*The 'Mizrahi' Branch in Varenzh in the Year 1935*

Survivors: *Feiga Shokhet – in Israel, Yehudit Neier – in Canada, Chaya Dornberg – in France, Rachel Tischler – in Argentina, Feivusz Wilzenberg & Wife – in Brazil*

– The *shtetl* adhered to the thread of the legacy of its ancestors, and together with this, it not dissipate its observance, though the reverberations of the news of the Zionist movement reached them, and took hold in the hearts of the young. Let those who established the Zionist movement in the *shtetl* be remembered for a blessing, Hirsch Leib Dornberg and his friend Manoss Neier, and separated for life, Yitzhak Unger and Ben Zion Book – these were loyal and beloved comrades, and they promoted a change in the life of the *shtetl* youth. They organized themselves into 'Tze'irat Mizrahi.' A minority of them organized themselves into *Hitakhdut*.

Zionist activity breathed life into the hearts of the young men, since they found in it a purpose and goal for their lives that were heretofore absent. They committed themselves to the Land of Israel with all their might. They gathered money for institutions, taught Hebrew, in the branch they sang Israeli songs, and oriented themselves to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, and participate in building it. When guests came from the Land of Israel (Ilka Frakel, sister-in-law of Dr. Gangel) they listened intently to her stories of evenings in Canaan, on observance, about night time dances after a hard day of work and a tiny meal. Each listener imagined that he was personally there.

Zionism gave birth to a change in the life of the young people. The boys and girls, once they saw themselves as '*Halutzim*,' whose responsibility was to resuscitate the desolation of *The Homeland*, and for purpose of acquiring skills, went to an agricultural training facility in Hilcz and did hard labor in the fields. Among those who left for such training were the brothers Neier, separated for life, the Unger brothers, and the daughters of the lady *shokhet* Shosha, and others from the Zionist movement including the writer of these lines.

The Zionist movement awakened opposition from the *Hasidim*. They argued that Zionism represented (an added) burden. Two among the *Hasidim* who stood out in their fanaticism and struggle against Zionism were: R' Falik Affner, and R' Azriel Rimon.

– R' Falik Affner oversaw exceptional restraint on the members of his household, and his eye was cast on them to assure that his sons and daughters would not associate with the Zionists.

His daughters Proyva and Frieda followed their father's will, and separated themselves from the other girls. They did not read modern books that were considered 'out of bounds.' Proyva was committed to merchandising, and from morning until late at night, she stood in the market store, she weight things and dud sums. It was possible to rely on her because she had begun in this business as a young girl, and did not know a childhood from then on. The sun, the environment and nature were as if not created for her. She didn't see them for the entire day. From standing so long, her backbone was affected, and she became bent over.

A theater group once came to the *shtetl* to perform the play, *The Dybbuk*. It became clear that even Proyva had an desire to see something new. Se defied h father's prohibition, snuck out of the house, and went to the theater. This matter did not remain a secret. R' Falik sought advice how to get his daughter out of the theater, and to forbid attendance at performances. And so, as the curtain went up he burst in among the audience shouting: 'Proyva, Proyva, your mother doesn't feel well.' The entire audience was silenced, and this was the way R' Falik won out, and the play was not put on.

R' Falik got himself in order with his daughters and son Eliezer. He did not obtain *nachas* from his first born son R' Raphael nor from his oldest daughter Eydl; they did not give in to their father: They leaned towards Zionism. The tension between the fanatical father and his daughter Eydl reached a peak during her marriage. Eydl refused to shave off the hair on her head and because of this her father saw a streak of rebellion in her, and refused to accept presents on her behalf and the ritual

*Seven Blessings* that were brought to him there was a custom in the *shtetl* that the *balebatim* would send a 'kugel' (*p'tchah*) and wine.

When the 'progressive' young men began to shave off their beards with a razor, the *Hafetz Chaim* sought to make an ordinance in order to stem this outbreak and he permitted to use of a 'poison' of sort for this purpose. When the book '*Nidkhei Yisrael*' arrived in R' Falik's hands with the directions of the *Hafetz Chaim*, he archived and hid it out of excess anger, because he saw in it as if the *Hafetz Chaim* had lent his hand to breaking open the gate (to the outside world).

– R' Azriel Rimon, head of the *shtetl* community, was among those who opposed Zionism. He was a man of solid build exuding energy, and he did not stand out in scholarship but the fire of fanaticism burned within him regarding anything that was new. The struggle between him and the Zionists was a difficult, hard one. Since he had some control in the local affairs, by informing him, the branch was closed down from time to time. However, the stubbornness of the membership grew stronger, and the branch was opened and its initiatives fulfilled. Before the elections to the Polish Sejm, about 20 of the favored Zionists were arrested on the grounds that they should not vote for the Jewish candidates because they desired that Belz vote for the régime.

The condition of those who adhered to R' Azriel was difficult. There were among them those that were paid for their service – the Ashkenazic Rabbi of the *shtetl*, a man of gentle and refined nature, an Enlightened man who knew several languages, a scholar, a Torah Sage, and a lofty speaker. He came from Bukovina in order to take over the Rabbinical seat of his son-in-law BB"D from the selection of '*Minchat Chanoch*.' R' Azriel Rimon suspected him of being a Zionist, pursued him for his like, until he destroyed him.

The widow Shosha, the wife of the *shokhet* who passed away had 3 daughters and one son. The daughter Zlata learned from the books of the *Hafetz Chaim* and R' Yisrael Salanter, and attempted to master the lore of *Mussar* in her life. She found no contradiction between the teachings of the Great Jewish Scholars and the desire to make *aliyah* to the Holy Land. However, R' Azriel Rimon did not view this favorably, and he tried to use force to stop the family of the *shokhet* with the completion of this study, and that she should no longer come to the branch. There is much to tell about the carrying-on of R' Azriel Rimon until the war becalmed it all, and all thought of the Zionists as observers of the Torah and its commandments.

And the Zionist youth was largely Enlightened. There was the essence of knowledge of the *Shas* that was a legacy of their time in the *Bet HaMedrash*, and a great thirst to acquire knowledge of Zionism.



קבוצת חלוצים בוורנז' לרגל עלייתו של יצחק אונגר (יושב באמצע) לארץ־ישראל בשנת 1931

Page 455: *A Group of Halutzim from Varenzh At the Time of the aliyah of Yitzhak Unger (Sitting in the Middle) to The Land of Israel in the year 1931.*

The kiosk of R' Fyvel Galim served as the gathering place for the youth. He was the son of the Rabbi in the city of Leszczuk in Congress Poland, who married the daughter of respectable people in Varenzh. He had a gentle soul, and a good heart, and his (political) outlook was communist. However, insofar as his dress and religious demeanor, this was not obvious. He wore a long kapote, his face was bedecked with a beard and side locks, and he was punctual with the time of prayer. He detested money, and saw in it a flaw that corrupts man's mind. When he received the ample dowry, he divided it among the poor until he ran out of money, and was compelled to support himself from a kiosk that served as a committee house for the sages.

In R' Fyvel's kiosk it would be possible to see a *Hasid*, Zionist and communist, sitting beside each other and having a good conversation about things happening all over the world. When Fyvel participated in the discussion, and leaned toward the side of the communists, he was asked: how are we to evaluate you Fyvel, and how can we discriminate between your communist outlook and your religious behavior? R' Fyvel would answer, know that there are two Fyvels. One Fyvel through which the blood of three Rabbis flows in his innards, and the second Fyvel who is the rejectionist communist. And there is a constant struggle between these two Fyvels. When the hand of the Rabbinical Fyvel is dominant, Fyvel goes to synagogue, observes commandments, but if the communist Fyvel takes over, all of this religion is tossed to the side.

*'Tze'irei Mizrahi'* In their commitment to Zion saw a need to repair and inject order into the life of the community, to establish organizations and to help the needy friend who needs financial help, through a *Gemilut Hasadim* Bank. Zechariah Lipman rose to this challenge. His had was open to everyone asking for help. From most of his spare time, he learned what many of the needs of the community were, and the resources of one person were not sufficient to help everyone who made such demands. His friends Abraham Neier and Dr. Gangel joined him, despite the fact that he was a communist, he had a good Jewish heart, and the issues of the community occupied a lot of his time. These three founded the *Gemilut Hasadim* Bank in our *shtetl*. The *Gemilut Hasadim* Bank did much to provide help to the ordinary Jews to arrange their affairs and the same was true of the help of the *'Halutzim,'* who did not have the means to be able to make *aliyah*. As a result, many of our scions that are in the State of Israel owe their thanks to the founders of the *Gemilut Hasadim* Bank and its supporters.

As the houses of the *shtetl* were built of wood, there would be fires from time-to-time. The Jewish youth organized a 'Fire Brigade' in order to extinguish these fires as quickly as possible, and did not depend on the 'good will' of the gentile fire brigade. R' Yitzhak Unger was one of the workers in the 'Fire Brigade.' The Jewish Fire Brigade even in the midst of their gentile counterparts.

Few remain from the *shtetl*. Among those handful that did manage to reach The Land after wanderings and much suffering, it was Handil Unger, a God-fearing man who was a Gabbai of the synagogue. He passed away here and was privileged to be buried in the country of Israel.

– I have attempted to tell about the Jews of Varenzh, about the issues that affected their lives, lives of purity and charity, who worked themselves tirelessly in Torah and left it as a legacy to their children. About the youth of the *'Halutzim'* whose love of Zion burned within them, and who exerted themselves with all soul and energy and tried to reach the promised land.

If it were only possible to have the benefit of them, these, our sons would contribute much momentum to the building of *Our Land*. And for those who didn't make it, let this be an eternal memorial to their pure souls that were lost to the world in such a cruel manner.

# Joseph-Hersch the Itinerant Village Merchant<sup>110</sup>

By Shlomo Strauss-Marko

In this manner I wish to erect a memorial to my poor *shtetl*, my home, where I was born and raised. Where I spent my childhood, my beloved *shtetl* Varisz, which pitifully was so gruesomely eradicated from the earth.

In this manner I also wish to erect a memorial to my family, my friends and comrades, all the Jews of Varisz, all those I knew and those I didn't know.

My heart cries for the name of each one of them, for every memory from the smallest side-street or tiny *shtibl*. Before my eyes stand the cherry trees along the way, which we had planted as children beside the road. Luzer's hill, from where, in the winter we would ride on sleighs; the small buildings on the marketplace; the Cracow Road and around it the blooming fields; the little boys and girls, who after having their Sabbath meal would go for a stroll to the thick and blooming forest; the little river by the mill with its bent over weeping willow at the edge, whose branches dipped into the water. Jews would bathe there on a late Friday afternoon. All of this is so deeply baked into my heart, so dear...'

(From the foreword to his book).

It was still good and dark outside. A frosty wind banged against the small frozen windows of Joseph-Hersch, the itinerant merchant's little house. The entire house party was deliciously asleep. Mixed in with the falling snow, which were filled with badly flicked feathers – a sign, of old green tiles fallen from above, or tiles from the walls.

People breathed with difficulty when they entered the heavy (dust-laden) air of the small *shtibl*.

Joseph-Hersch was no longer asleep. His workday had already begun. On the small table pushed against the wall, a small oil lamp had already been lit with the half-broken and bent bulb and a bad odor drifted from the badly pointed knot, which was literally offensive to the nose.

The shadow of a hunched figure was reflected from the wall, bent over a large gray sack and his poor merchandise was laid out, with which he was making ready to go approach the villages.

First he put in a few small containers of salt that he took from a hill near the business of Asher Meiseles, a couple of grains of pepper and a small package of yeast, which was cut into eight pieces, several tens of needles. Additionally, Joseph-Hersch tied the sack in half, and began to put in the second half of his merchandise, which could not lie next to the foodstuffs. Among other things he had – several pieces of cheap soap, two small bottles of oil each a quarter liter, several candles and other articles of this kind.

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<sup>110</sup> A fragment from Sh. Strauss-Marko's book, 'Once There Was a Shtetl' which was published in Warsaw, the Yiddish Bukh Verlag, 1965.

In the pocket of the old, worn out shoulder sack Joseph-Hersh put in a small portion of rye bread, with a little bit of salt, wrapped in some sort of dark kerchief, in order to have something to refresh himself along the way. His wife Min'cheh would prepare such a package for him for every day the night before, before she went to sleep.

The over sack was buttoned on its five buttons, each of them being of a different design – as if using a *gartl*, he took up the half with a thick rope, which was woven out of a small bowl of material. This was to keep him warm.

I think everything is ready – he said to himself.

Now Joseph-Hersh threw the sack over his left shoulder, such that one half rested on his back and the second half – on the front against his chest. His neck border put down over his ears, he went over to kiss the mezuzah, crossing the threshold with his right foot – and Joseph-Hersh set out on his way.

The night chased him out of the house, and the night brought him back home.

In place of his sold, or better said, distributed merchandise, Joseph-Hersh brought back a bit of flour, a small container of grain, several kilos of potatoes, and very little – raw material, which he went to sell to wholesalers, and used the money so earned to pay the debt for the merchandise taken.

By the time he left the house, Leah'leh the water-carrier crossed his path with two empty pails. She even ran back from the road, seeing a Jewish man with a sack on his back who is taking off on the way, but Joseph-Hersh was heavy-hearted. This should be no wonder, a little detail – two empty pails and a Jewish woman.

And that's the way it was... In his heart, Joseph-Hersh was not mistaken. Already in the first village, Lifcza, he earned nothing. He knocked on the tens of doors of the peasant huts in vain, and left everywhere with nothing.

But there are days when nothing is accomplished – so he attempted to pour out his heart. It is not so bad, we will succeed tomorrow, or the day after, possibly they still have salt or oil from the past week, that I brought them.. but like a clap of thunder in the middle of a fair day, the idea struck Joseph-Hersh in this village Hilcz the peasants had opened their own store. And the first entrant, the peasants of Hilcz greeted him was: 'Yosh'keh, from now on you won't have to come here, we have our own store – a Christian one, there we will not be swindled.'

Joseph-Hersh answered nothing to this. But his blue eyes looked sad, as if he had dived into an endless dark pit.

With a broken heart, and pained energy, the poor village itinerant went further on to make a living...

The goal was now Zhnyatin – a village that was about five kilometers from Hilcz.



The way to go was doubly difficult. A frosty wind blew, penetrating his worn out overcoat, literally penetrating to the bones. The feet carried the tired body with a deficiency of energy. The boots, tied on with rags, made a peculiar sound along the slippery way, as they wanted to support him. With his head down on his chest, a step at a time Joseph-Hersh moved further and further from that place, where he had to earn something for his dried piece of bread for him, his wife, and children. Now he no longer felt tired, but the words of the Hilcz peasants rang in his ears: Yosh'keh, from now on you won't have to come here, we have our own store – a Christian one, there we will not be swindled.'

He heaved a deep sigh, and tore open his chest. – Master of the Universe he croaked hoarsely, raising his eyes to the sky – why did you punish me with this was of making a living?... You, dear Papa, you know the truth... what am I then, have I spoken falsely? – I am a poor itinerant merchant for the peasants bring them merchandise from the big businesses. I woke my blood out to earn my pittance of a living. Constantly chased and harassed. No time for rest. Weighed down day and night. Now when there is thunder and lightning, storms and rains, at the time when the summer sun burns down, or when a frosty wind blows into the eyes, and also the time when a wet snow falls – I am the only one weighed down, with my heavy sack on old shoulders... whom have I swindled?... I many tears rolled down over his face, being stopped only by the wide, already graying beard and immediately were transformed into bits of ice...

It started to get dark. From a distance snow started to appear lighted by candles peeping out of small windows of the peasant huts, which stood by the wooden bridge, that led into the village... it was here that Joseph-Hersh made his first sale...

– Yosh'keh, have you brought sugar for my pets? – the old maczal'ekeh<sup>111</sup> asked, as she petted the flax- light hair of her grandson's head.

Yes, yes, yes – Joseph-Hersch answered lovingly, and began to unpack the sugar cubes, that stuck en-masse to the paper.

For a few extra gulden, give me another small bottle of oil, and you will get three eggs for that, and a small container of barley grains.

Joseph-Hersh transacted the deal and went on to other peasants...

It is necessary to go a little faster – he said to himself – I still have a long way to go home as well, and there my wife and children are waiting for an evening meal, that I have yet to earn today...

Joseph-Hersh drew near to the buildings of Bahniuk, which was surrounded by a brown-colored wooden fence... maybe I will earn something here? – he thought to himself. Vasil Bahniuk is a rich peasant and there is always something short in his house, and besides, his wife also told me that I should bring yeast.

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<sup>111</sup> An elderly woman.

Joseph-Hersh stuck his left hand over the little door of the gate, raised the lever and gave himself the way to the house that emitted so bright a light, shining from all windows.

They are eating their scheduled evening meal. Therefore it might be better to wait a bit and not inhibit – Bahniuk is a builder, and additionally he has no love for Jews... Joseph-Hersh began to take smaller steps.

But suddenly, strong blows from two canine paws knocked him down on the ground. He let loose a shout out of fear, which only incited the dogs further. When Joseph-Hersh attempted and tried to stand up, he grabbed the calf of his right foot and deeply bit into it with his forward pointed teeth.

Joseph-Hersh lay pressed to the cold earth under the heavy animal. At his shout, the master of the house himself came outside.

– Who is this? Bahniuk called out angrily – To me! *Kudlaty*<sup>112</sup>!

In this order from his master, the dog let go of his victim, and with several leaps was beside him and began to lick his boots, wagging his thick tail happily.

Joseph-Hersh barely was able to stammer out the words: – your wife asked me to come with yeast...

– We no longer need your Jewish yeast, we already have our own store in Hilcz, and I don't want to see you here anymore...

– But it was your own wife who asked me to come — Joseph-Hersh pleaded.

I already told you once, leave this place, dirty Jew! – Showing him the door with his hand – and you, 'Kodlaty' he bent down to the dog, go into your house, petting him on his big head.

Joseph-Hersh picked up his sack from the ground, from which the broken eggs leaked, that he earned at the maczaleh's and threw it over his back. Limping, he made his way back in the direction of the little door at the fence. Drops of blood from his bitten leg marked his path over the yard of the rich peasant, who drove out the poor and hungry, Jewish itinerant merchant out into to cold winter night

Leaning on his knotty stick, the sack over his back, a beaten man, Joseph-Hersh the village itinerant set himself on a course to go home on that cold, frosty and confusing winter night.

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<sup>112</sup> Shaggy one.

# סטוינוב

## Stoyanov

All of us, in a hidden room,  
Carry the City where we were born...  
Always and forever, because it is the station  
From which our first journey began,  
And there we will experience in our final station  
On the Day We will carry our last burden.

**(From the poetry of Shimon Meltzer)**

# Regarding My Small Shtetl of Stoyanov

By Aryeh Warband

(Haifa)

There are those among us who awake in the nights from the enfolding sleep and we will turn from side to side. Our eyes are heavy and our thoughts take us to different stations of our past life, the distant past. Before our eyes, scenes pass by whose impact left within us the ineradicable mark, and we live with them.

Out of this dark cloud images rise before us, clear images and blurry ones, they disappear, and come back, and appear yet again.

At times like these, my *shtetl* looms before my eyes, in which I first saw the light of the sun. I also hear the voices . Those that filled the space of the shtetl, its streets and houses. And a feeling arises in me, is it possible that these voices no longer exist, and with the disappearance of the *shtetl*, these voices were silenced and disappeared?

In this dream state, with eyes shut tight I move over my being to the tiny dot, to the *shtetl* of my birth, and I see myself there, alive, and wandering around as if everything still exists there. I try to recover what my eyes are seeing, and to raise from the depths the oblivion, those precious images that are so with us, and no longer exist...



From the south, a stone-paved road, pitted and full of pits from the autumn rains brings you to the *shtetl*. On both of its sides there are drainage canals to take away the rain waters, where here and there are strewn tree branches that lead to the yards of the gentiles. There are the houses of farmers, and surrounding them is fencing and gardens. Sharp odors of manure the barking of dogs reach your visage, and a row of trees lead you to a crossroad. You still have to pass the church built of red brick with its plantings with care, and the row of fragrant bushes and in its extension, a fruit orchard that reaches up to the home of the Jews. Before you is the *shtetl*.

This poorly kept road continues to the center of the *shtetl*, on the outside, and turns to go towards the nearby *shtetl* to the north, on the left side, a dug out drainage channel is there, and from the left these are spread out and connected by oak boards that serve as passage during the rainy season. And here are a row of houses one story high, built of wood and finished in plaster. He houses to your left seem a bit higher because they stand on a small hill, and look like they are facing the 'market.' These houses did not only serve as residences only, because in their middle was a place of business for the sale of marketplace products, flour and salt, salted fish in barrels, and barrels of oil and shoe polish, a linen store, and a leather and haberdashery store.

And there is a display sign on all of the houses under the molding that tells what the business is, and who the owner is, in accordance to the permissions granted. And the entrance to these houses

involved going up a number of stairs and before entering the layout there is to be found in almost all of the houses of the town a place, in order to clean the mud off of one's feet, and to wait if there is a sudden rainfall, and only to sit on it on the Sabbath or summer evenings a gathering place to converse with neighbors. Here, the well-to-do of the city live, and the respected people, among them the Rabbi, the Ritual Slaughterer, and their families. This is the place of the 'thriving' businesses, grain and lumber merchants, and ordinary well-connected families that were the envy of the town. This row of houses continues in a gently curved arc, until you come to the train station. This part of the principal street of the town, called 'The Third of May.'

If you return in the same direction as you came, and to your right you will see residential houses and various stores for iron and vessels for the home, and a store for cigarettes and tobacco whose franchise was granted to a widow burdened with caring for her daughters and one son. In continuing on the street, a rundown inn testifies the signs of wealth when the street was relatively new can still be recognized, and when it lost its prominence, and with the closing of an abandoned house, it instilled a fear among the children of the vicinity. Further on there is a bakery that serves a somewhat small part of the citizenry with bread and related foodstuffs, which most of the local people don't have the means to buy even bread, and they would bake their own challahs on Friday to last them all week.

At this point, the road fans out to side streets, that in the autumn months bear the extra burden of danger from drowning in muddy streets. Further on there is a stone house that was renovated and opened as a clothes store, and this was a big innovation in a small town. And it was here that the 'market' spread out before you. It was a large parcel surrounded on rectangular four sides by houses close to each other. This was the center point of commerce of the town, and a place to stop and leave wagons that were bringing their merchandise for sale. This was the place that 'fairs' were held, and circuses performed, with carousels from time-to-time, and to this day, it constitutes an attraction that draws most of the town and the gentiles of the vicinity.

In the center of the market, literally beside the sidewalk, there are arrangements of trees in the form of quadrilaterals with slating roofs, that served as a place for the sale of candies, and soda water, it is here that young people who are so motivated, sell 'tickets' to the Zionist congresses, and follow the ways of Weizmann and Jabotinsky with regard to the labor movement in *The Land*. It is in this place that the British conquerors are 'driven out' from the *Chosen Land*, and found in its place a Jewish country.



There were stalls standing in a straight line in the direction of the synagogue, continuing a line of houses very little different from the others. Here was a prosperous inn for guests, a house blessed by being steeped with good fortune in its premises. And further on there were houses populated by large families scattered to the wide world. Here and there, the poverty peeks out from every corner, and an abandoned dwelling, cracked walls, burst out widely, and yards that are empty. Hear you can hear the lowing of cows, the bleating of hungry goats, and the crowing of abandoned chickens.

Close to the *Bet HaMedrash*, turn again to the right, since we have not yet closed the four-sided 'market,' but takes us to a row of old and worn houses, some of which have been repaired and freshly painted. Here, a new porch has been added with stained glass windows, there they will have installed a new door and a window will have been installed. And from the nearby house they took down the rotten wooden tiles and exchanged them for sparkling tin in the light of the sun. and across from these houses, the Great Synagogue, the bathhouse, and additional units for dwelling that were added. Further on were the cooperative butcher shops that sold Kosher meat. All around them, hungry dogs would prowl without owners, these dogs were not dangerous, and there was no reason to fear them, including the children from the *Heder*. Quite the opposite, they would give into any pushing and react with vocal yelping at every stone thrown and hitting them, and then flee.

It has been some time since a stone memorial was placed here, and around it were steps that served as a sitting place for the elderly and idlers, and it was here that children played the game of hidden 'stones.' At the top of the memorial, at one time a tribute flag was flown to the Austrian Kaiser, and with his defeat, the head was taken down, and it rolled around for many years in the yards of the Jewish people and served as a piece in the game 'kings' to the children of the area, until, from the heavens, they took pity on him and it vanished.

During the summer, on a daily basis, the farmers of the area would bring products from their fields and fruit from their trees – cherries, apples, pears and plums. Here. The children would gather and converse with the gentile, while others stealthily took stuff out of the sack, full of the produce of sweet fruit, without payment, and disappear amid the shouts of the simple gentile.

During the cold winter days, the farmers would bring wagon loads of wood to sell for heating the impoverished homes of the Jews.



You now pass over a jumping spot between two houses is too narrow to be traversed by an ordinary walk, and a wagon would pass with only great difficulty. This is the second largest neighborhood. Here live the grain merchants, craftsmen, elementary school teachers, and ordinary Jews who make their living – by traveling to the villages and buying everything that came to hand.

In one of these houses, Rabbi Yitzhak the Dairyman ran his business, while his wife was engaged in the making of butter and cheese for the residents of the city. This butter was different from all butters in its special taste. The butter was weighted out and packaged in very smooth paper that was transparent. The couple was childless but they loved children. A child who came to purchase something would get his portion with a friendly or a loving pinch in the cheek. R' Yitzhak was appreciative of the Cantorial art, and cast his eyes toward Zion. In his house hung a large picture of Jerusalem, the Holy City, and the surrounding hillside, and also the location of the Temple was identified in Hebrew Letters.

There were two water wells in the neighborhood. The one to the north was the oldest and preferred. It was very deep, and its waters were cold. The water was transported by means of a pure vessel that was hung on an old pillar that would creak when a load full of water was drawn.

A second well was dug not far away, and was not<sup>5</sup> deep, found at the side of the road in the neighborhood. Water could be drawn without difficulty, even by just pulling on a rope. This well had one special feature, on Rosh Hashana, most of the congregation would come here for 'Tashlich' services, led by its dignitaries, a parade of many participants, mostly women and children. Beside the well, the elderly Rabbi would lean and his voice resonated and filled the neighborhood. 'Who is like unto thee O Lord, forgiver of sin, overlooking transgressions to the remnants of his legacy, not holding on to his anger forever, because he is One of Generosity<sup>113</sup>,'

After the prayers, the mood of the onlookers improved. And the group bursts into song for the entire length of the road leading back to the synagogue. This singing already has an augury of the impending arrival of the *Sukkot* Festival that is imminently arriving.



There is a corner before you which is a wood working shop. A Jewish man or gentile, who was planning to marry off a son or daughter, would come here to order his furniture or the rest of his wooden things. The carpenter is doing manual labor, and he gets up at a very early hour. There are workers here, and a residue of Jews and gentiles. And he had already raised a generation of carpenters competing for this meager income. His sons are already looking to the big city, and they will not practice this trade.

Now continue to the western neighborhood, there you will find the Jewish builders, who put up the skeletons of houses for the Jewish people and gentiles of the *shtetl*. There is no one in the town or the vicinity that knows how to do this work like them. If a man is looking to build a house, he will buy logs in the forest, have them stripped and taken to the workplace. The rest of the work will be done by the craftsmen for many generations now. The families of the guards are known through the entire area. They will count and evaluate the wood to identify if they should be used for walls or pillars to hold up the roof. A building will rise in a matter of weeks, without an architectural plan. They orient themselves to be in line with existing structures, and they make the decisions. But their best luck comes when they can build a house in one operation. A Jewish man who decides to build a house not in one year, will build it, but not in two years. Over the years, he will buy cut wood trimmings when the opportunity presents itself, and they will be put here exposed to the sun, the autumn rains, and snow. During the summer, they will serve as playthings for *Heder* children and as soon as they begin to build the foundation, again, it will be left for some time, 'to breathe in the air,' and after some time, they will continue with their work. For this reason and lack of work, the builders spend the better part of their time in the surrounding villages, putting up houses for the gentiles and the 'Nobility.' During the week, their meals consisted of dried bread and plants, because they were God-fearing men who kept Kosher, and avoided contact with forbidden food. On Saturday nights, when they would come to the synagogue for prayers, they would sit tired over their open prayer books, and fall asleep.

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<sup>113</sup> A quote from the prayers said at the 'Tashlich' ceremony



There are other neighborhoods to be found in the town that border of the houses of gentiles, and parts of their fields on the east side, and to the east you will find the residences of the wagon drivers. These are the ones who go to the big city every Sunday to bring goods and produce for the merchants in the town, returning on Thursday or Friday and come back at night. There are times when they will be late on Friday because the roads are not passable, and they were ashamed to come to synagogue and after the Sabbath, they will go to the Rabbi to justify themselves and with a bent head, and a feeling of a heavy guilt, they would discuss this with him, and promised that this will not occur again. These men were trustworthy, and of a straight heart. Their work was hard, and their pay was limited, their children, naked and without shoes, their houses cold in the winter. Also for free, and without taking money, they would take packages of food to residents of the town who were to be paid in the Big City, and bringing back lively regards to their families – they would also bring a bundle of white goods for washing, deep shoes that were torn and to be fixed that had been damaged in use, and a letter of longing for the mother of the house.



There is an old house on one of the side neighborhoods. Young people, and seekers of Torah knowledge are drawn there. Studies there are in Hebrew with an Ashkenazic accent, as well as secular studies, such as mathematics and geography. Not every young person is privileged to be accepted into this group, because it is out of respect for the individual rather than any ulterior motive. Almost everyone studies together. This is not a school with a curriculum that is set by fixed hours. If you finished your studies at this school, did all the lessons, learned the syllabus with a *Melamed*, then you can go there. The participants are local people, sometimes regular students. An example involves an interesting story involving a meeting with [Chaim Nachman] Bialik, and exchange of correspondence with Schneur and Tchernikhovsky, and his friend and comrade AZ'R. He also conveys critiques on the literature of the times. It happens that he sometimes falls asleep in the middle of a class out of exhaustion, and the students sit quietly, and wait patiently.

In the attic of his house, he has a small room and he stays alone there and writes until his students get together. There, the walls are covered in bookcases. And the students are not allowed to enter without permission. It is only in the winter months that this room is heated, and classes are conducted there. In a stifling heat, but pleasant, the students sit and fix their eyes on the forest of books that surround them. And the books are in German and Russian, and books in the Holy Tongue published by 'The Society for the Promulgation of the Hebrew Language in Odessa.' Here, the students first meet to sing the love songs of the young composer My'khL who died in his youth and with the monthly '*HaShakhar*' of Smolenskin.

There are also two books whose origins are lost, written in hand – pearls of the written word with notes and geometric figures (using a *kamatz* instead of a cross). These books are by someone who could not get them published for lack of funds.

And the oldest is a man in his eighties. His beard is wide and combed out, his dress is modest, and he wears glasses in a golden frame. He speaks gently, and is listened to intently, and every word,



and pearl, is etched into memory and guarded there. Out of respect, the pupils there do not know how to address him other than as 'Rebbe' or 'My Teacher.' When he fell sick towards the end of a summer, and was taken to the big city for an operation from which he did not return, nothing is known about the fate and disposition of his books.

Nevertheless, with his passing, his teachings did not vanish, and spread to areas outside of the  
With the passage of time, his students published the fruits of his poetry published in memory of 'The Talented Teacher R' Tzvi Elimelech Falk ז"ר.



In one of those days an ardent Drama Club was formed, with the objective of presenting the plays of Goldfadn, Gordon, and others. I do not know from where or whom this idea came. Young men and women, most still in school, would get together in the evenings in a small house in the center of the city for rehearsals. The set date for the play finally arrives, and the overwhelming success augured a promising future for all the participants...

Among the actors, you encounter Zippora with dimples. Her lips full of a radiant smile, and Penina, the serious one with the sharp mind, and Hen'chi the tall one with captivating emotion even during ordinary talking. And pale Chay'chi so dear, whose soft voice could be heard only with difficulty during the plays. And the young men with red forelocks like fire, with a powerful and gentle voice, and Itzi and Azriel and Baruch and others, and about them Meir circles around, he is not prepared to accept a part, but his hand is in everything. He is the living soul of the endeavor, from the time of the secret appearances without the knowledge of his parents. And I do not know when this group disbanded...



On one day, a young girl came to our *shtetl*, lean and short, but full of life, her two braids were tied to her sides. She speaks rapidly, and exhibits a sharp speech, always laughing. This was Penina, our Hebrew teacher, a graduate of the Teacher's Seminary. With her appearance, an 'upheaval' occurred in the town, and there was a difference of opinion as to whether or not to establish a school. Not many days went by when a 'committee' was formed among the young people that began to organize for its erection. They rented a house, brought in benches, and students materialized. Her first task was to replace the names of the students with Hebrew ones, Feigl was changed to Zippora, Reizl to Shoshana and Varda, and how great was the joy of the students to hear the sound of their Hebrew names resonating.

And the beloved teacher succeeded greatly, even among the members of the 'committee.' Everyone tried to win over her heart, and she, the teacher could not withstand refusal among the attention and kisses among those who didn't see.



קבוצת צעירים בסטיינוב ע"י ביתו של ש. ל. דיסטנפלד — בשנת 1937  
יושבים מימין לעמאל: משה וולדמן, שמעון כץ, ישראל גבלר, יצחק שניידר, מאיר דיסטנפלד,  
ברוך חר"ג, יצחק לויטון, איצ'י חלף שטימפלד, איכר ברם, א. ד. ורבנר  
עומד מאחוריהם: ליפה קריגסהבר

Page 470: *A Group of the Youth in Stoyanov Beside the House of Sh. L. Distenfeld – 1937*

*Sitting from Right to Left: Moshe Waldman, Shimon Katz, Israel Gabler, Yitzhak Schneider, Meir Distenfeld, Baruch, the Head of the Group, Yitzhak Loytun, Itzi Wolf Shtimfeld, The Farmer Baram, A. D. Varband*  
*Standing Behind Them: Lipa Kriegshaber*

Days go by, and the Hebrew language is heard in the streets of the *shtetl*. The songs of *The Land* are sung in a choir, and plays are put on for children in Hebrew, and if she encountered a boy or girl along the road, or naturally, she would address them in the Hebrew language...



Hesitantly and with trepidation I approached the writing of these words about my beloved city. It was only in the cause of writing, was it proven to me how great was the mission and how limited were my energies regarding the memories of the past, the experiences of those times, the events and precious personalities. I saw this from the point of view of putting back flesh and blood on the dried out bones in the *Valley of Sorrow*... The writers and poets of the *shtetl*, which had the power to eternalize it with the pen, accurate stories, were exterminated together, and now no trace remains.

I said to myself, perhaps a day will come when there will be found among the descendants of the surviving remnant that are in *The Land*, a person with the power of articulation, and at least from a second source will be able to provide a further description of our beloved *shtetl*.

## Memories of My Shtetl

By Moshe Yekhiel HaLevi Segal

Dedicated to the memory of my parents: Yitzhak Zvi & Freida My brothers: Elchanan Eliyahu and Zundl Yehudi



תלמידים ומורים של בית הספר העממי בסטוינוב בשנת 1935

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Before The First World War, the *shtetl* of Stoyanov belonged to Austria, but after the creation of the [new] Polish régime, it was added ultimately to this country. It was on the border of the part of Poland called 'Wolhyn' not far from Sokal. The county seat of Stoyanov was Radzhikhov, and the valley city was the city of Tarnopol.

There were approximately 5,000 people in the shtetl, of which 800 were Jews, most of whom made their living from merchandising and retailing. There were also craftsmen among the Jews of the *shtetl*, and also jobbers.

We had three places of worship: one synagogue and two *Batei Medrashim*. The synagogue was constructed from large wooden walls, from top to bottom without plaster. There, prayers were said only on the Sabbath and Festivals. There was a large *Bima* there, also constructed of wood. Around the *Bima* there were benches and between the *shtender* where the leader of services stood before the Ark, on the south and north sides stood two boxes full of sand, and that is where candles were placed to light the synagogue. In addition to the four large copper candelabras were hung in the four corners of the synagogue with iron chain, and in each candelabra there were six holders, and it was in them that the Shammes R' Hersh Brutman, called Hersh of the side locks, would put a candle into each holder and light them, because at that time there was no electricity in Stoyanov.

The Gabbai of the synagogue was Leib'chi Kandel. He was a special personality, who was born to be a community activist, and from childbirth on, he was first of all head of the *Hevra Kadisha*, and a member of the community committee. He was a straight and honest man.

It was a special experience to pray in the synagogue during the High Holy Days, when those who led services in front of the Ark were the Rabbi R' Yitzhak Sztumfeller, and the Ritual Slaughterer R' Sholom Shtricker. The entire congregation, from the smallest to full-grown men and women prayed intensely and with ardor. And also the village Jews who lived in locations where there was no proper *minyán*, would come to the *shtetl* on the High Holy Days to pray.

During regular weekdays, the entire congregation would pray at the large *Bet HaMedrash*, whether it was summer or winter. There were *minyans* there from the dawn to midday. At the first *minyán*, those who prayed were those who needed to travel to fairs. All the prominent people of the *shtetl*, *Hasidim* and working men prayed in the large *Bet HaMedrash*.



קבוצת חברי 'תורה ואבודה' בסטיונוב בשנת 1930 במרכז האורח מארץ ישראל ישיהו ברנשטיין

Page 473: *A Group of the Members of 'Torah VaAvodah' in Stoyanov in 1930 in the Center is the Guest from the Land of Israel, Yeshayahu Bernstein*

There was another small *Bet HaMedrash*, even though they were both under one roof. In that place the progressives and Zionists prayed, as for example, R' Moshe Karp who was an Enlightened man, knowledgeable in literature, and also read secular books. He was a member of 'Mizrachi,' and he could not pray with Yankl Lerner, the congregational head, who was a Belz *Hasid* of fiery fanaticism. In this small *Bet HaMedrash*, Yankl'eh Fur prayed, who would compete against Yankl Lerner in the council elections, and in the final years he actually beat him, and became the congregation head. And his son, Yehoshua Fur, completed a number of gymnasium classes before The First World War, and was already thought of as a member of the 'intelligentsia.' He was a general Zionists and a member of the town council. The same was true of Yaakov Ramler or Gershon Zuckerkandel, the son-in-law of Moshe Berisz, who were, as they say, 'to God and to respectable people.'



ב"ת טרומפלדור" בסטוינוב בשנת 1932

Page 474: 'Brit Trumpeldor' in Stoyanov in the Year 1932

In the little *Bet HaMedrash*, prayers were recited on the Sabbaths and Festival Holidays, and during the summer they would pray there during the middle of the week as well, because during the winter they would have to fire up the oven, and as a result, they would only fire up the Big *Bet HaMedrash*. During the winter with short days and long nights, when by three o'clock in the afternoon the day grew dark, the entire congregation would assemble for afternoon prayers, and between the afternoon and evening prayers they would study the *Mishna*. It was R' Yitzhak Sztumfeller who led the learning of the *Mishna* chapter, and there were about two minyans worth of people who participated. Among the participants were also R' Yaakov Matityahu Katz, and Yaakov Shtricker, the fathers of the two brothers Sholom and Joseph Shtricker. Sholom Shtricker was in the Land of Israel, but because of catching influenza, he was compelled to leave The Land and return to the Diaspora. These two Jewish men, who were exceptional scholars, when they would lock horns over whether something was Halakha, or an interpretation, would sometime get to shouting, as if that would cause the other to give into him.

After evening prayers, the knowledgeable *balebatim* would take seats, each with his own *Gemara*, and they studied until a late hour of the night. Even the young men studied alone, or a few young men together. Those that did not know how to study, sat themselves near the warm stove, and would tell each other all manner of stories, of incidents and stories of what happened to them during The First World War.

Jewish men who returned from the fairs would come to the *Bet HaMedrash* to warm up and to dissipate the cold that had penetrated to their bones because of being out of doors all day, and to tell

anecdotes about how and what they did at the fair.

There were very interesting Jewish men there such as Yitzhak Elfant, the dairyman, my *Melamed* R' Chaim Shlomo Tzigman, who would loiter about all day, he and his wife in a village in one of the houses of the farmers and would sell them all manner of goods in trade; They would provide the farmers with linen in exchange for grain, eggs or chickens. R' Chaim Shlomo would return to the homes of the farmers only before noon, during the time when we, the students were studying in the secular school, and at that time he would study by himself. In order to



קבוץ הכשרה של החלוץ המזרחי בסטונוב

refresh himself and rest, after study, or in the middle of study between chapters, he would stop. We would seat ourselves and did a sort of 'celebration of a *Tzaddik*.' A bit of whiskey was brought in order to drink a '*L'Chaim*,' and after a light drink, we would tell tales about the *Tzaddikim*. It was a pleasure to hear, as if from the other world, how R' Shlomo would elaborate on these stories genially, how he would analyze and take apart these stories, and how he would stroke his white beard, and the Ark and all those around it would cock their ears, in order, God forbid, not to lose so much as a word from one who dispensed verbal pearls, he was that intelligent.

There was another interesting Jewish man there: R' Mordechai'li Parnes was his name, and this man was crowned with remaining Jewish learning because he knew how to learn a great deal, he was an excellent Torah reader who knew the entire Torah by heart along with the proper cantillation notes. How did R' Mordechai'leh make a living? He had a small store, but the core of his earning came from bringing yeast from Lemberg and would sell them wholesale to storekeepers. He was also a *Melamed*, and he would teach the boys who already knew the *Gemara* with *Tosafot* commentaries. During High Holy Days, he would lead services before the Ark in the small *Bet HaMedrash*.

I will try to put down in writing a few other personalities of our *shtetl*: there was a Jewish man named Yossl Walechker. This man Yossl was an expert when it came to wood and forests. He was employed by a lumber merchant mostly in the Carpathian [mountains]. There were many forests there, and the merchants would buy the wood from the 'nobility,' the owners of the forests, and they

would uproot the trees count them, and send them to sawmills to be cut into walls and boards , and for such work Yossl was the appointed overseer, and he was never at home most of the year except for the holidays, when he came home. He was a cheerful Jewish man, and loved to tell stories, in which of all these stories he would exaggerate a bit. Because of this he was already known for this in the town, that before holidays, what time Yossl Walechker would come home, and he came back loaded with a load of stories and deeds done.



I am reminded of a unique experience that made a very strong impression on me, when after the *Mincha* service on *Rosh Hashana*, almost the entire group went to perform *Tashlich*, apart from a cordon of Hasidim from Ruzhin, whose custom was to go to *Tashlich* on the dat the thirteen attributes in *Selichot* before Yom Kippur. The river as far from the city, outside the boundary, and therefore they did not go to the river, but rather to the edge of the well. The prayer houses were on the east side of the city, in a large open parcel, and the well, in a small square beside the house of Itzik Warnber, the carpenter. I pass this picture before my eyes, how many hundreds of worshipers from the young to the old pass through the streets of the city in music and singing, which had the Rabbi and the Ritual Slaughterer, and alongside was Uri Shtricker, who had a strong baritone voice and was among the lead singers. He too, was a special person in our time. He has a flaw in his feet, and had hands were deep, but despite this he was the Secretary of the community committee, and it was interesting to see how he wrote with these deep hands.

Yaakov Shtizl was a help in their singing, having a pleasant voice, he was very poor because he was lax in his work; he was a shoemaker that was because he was nor very successful a it. Nevertheless he continued and persevered in his work, deriving his living in order to support his large family. But he was better at returning to entrances.

After this procession walked along quite briskly, in melody and song to the side of Abraham Gabler's house, which stood at the east end of the principal street, Pisudski Street, and then cross the main road beside the house of the Shtricker family, and one traverses the alley between the two houses of the shtricker family and that of Rachel Hochman, the wife of Ziskind Hochman and reach the well, at that point the Rabbi begins to recite the lines of *the thirteen elevated qualities*, line by line in order that the group following him can repeat after the Rabbi word for word. With the completion of this prayer, the pockets are shaken empty and their contents are thrown away in lieu of sins. And then they return to their houses of worship, in melody and song, and feeling good-hearted, to recite the *Maariv* prayers.



After The First World War, and after the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the adherents of national Zionism grew among the Jewish youth, increasing in number, and the numbers of those wishing to realize the Zionist dream grew. To make *aliyah* as a *Halutz* came up against the opposition of the will of parents, Those young people left their homes in order to join the branch of *Halutzim* and went out for training, and to get used to living under degraded circumstances, and to become accustomed to do hard labor.



At the outset, this group of youth worked for the *Keren Kayemet L'Israel*, and participated in every project tied to the Land of Israel. For example, among other things was the sale of *Etrogim* from Israel. Our Halutzim undertook an effort that Jews had to and were responsible to buy *Etrogim* only from the Land of Israel, as opposed to the very religious among the *Gabbaim* of the synagogue, who promoted the *Etrog* from Corfu as equivalent, if not better than the Israeli *Etrog*.



בית ספר עברי בסטוינוב בשנת 1937

I remember one year, it seems to me, that it was the year 5684 [193x], on the first day of the *Sukkot* holiday (as was usual, the *Etrog* was found at the residence of the Rabbi), a large part of the congregation, after ablutions in the *mikva*, was in the habit of going to the Rabbi, in order to recite the *Lulav* blessing in his *sukkah*. But no everyone did this, and those that did not goto the

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Rabbi, recited the blessing over the four kinds of fruit in the *Bet HaMedrash* during prayer, standing in a line and whenever it was someone's turn, they would recite the blessing over the *Lulav*.

Suddenly! Surely from the heavens... an accident occurred.. The tip of the *Etrog* was broken off, and there are witnesses that saw Abraham Grossman that broke off the tip, and the congregation was let without an *Etrog* [fit for ritual use].

Police came and arrested Abraham Grossman, who awaited a pending *aliyah* to *The Land*. I think I saw a trial and he was declared innocent, and afterwards made *aliyah* to *The Land of Israel*, and was among the first who settled in— today [called] *Sdey Yaakov* and he resides there to this day.

## **R' Moshe Yekhiel Segal ז"ל**

**By Elimelech Rosenbaum**

(B'nai Brak)

With the completion of the Yizkor Book for the communities of Sokal and its vicinity, in a sudden move, one of the Jewish survivors of Stoyanov was seized away from us, R' Moshe Segal ז"ל, an honest and straightforward man, who enjoyed his manual labor, and was content with his lot.

One's hand trembles out of disbelief, that this is the manifestation of our great pain, and R' Moshe is no longer with us, and he still was in the good years of his life.

It is difficult to describe in these few numbered lines what his way of life was, his integrity, his modesty that aligned itself with modest people the way precious R' Moshe that always had a smile pasted to his lips, interesting himself in issues of a communal nature, such as his questions about personalities, who ran to perform a mitzvah, valued and respected Rabbis, set time aside for Torah study and prayer, was suffused with a love of Zion and the Land of Israel without bounds, and overall was one who practiced being just, and spoke the truth from his heart.

Close to twenty years after I was privileged to make aliyah out of the Valley of Death, I had the privilege to meet up closely with the deceased ז"ל, through family connections and also through correspondence which we carried on while I was in the Diaspora. I saw in him a model of a pious international Jew, in the full sense of those words, he was modest, and of delicate spirit, by the way he wrote about himself, his town and birthplace, Stoyanov, using this type of expression:

'As I approached the task of writing down something about the *shtetl* of Stoyanov and its vicinity, I asked myself, Who am I and what am I that I should suddenly become an author in Israel. But from the outset, I saw in this a sacred duty and the time was ripe and this was the last opportunity to record something in writing to that very shtetl and to those honest and straight people that were murdered by the cursed Nazi troops, and their accomplices the Ukrainians and Poles יז"ש. And I am but a supplication to *The Name May He Be Blessed* to give me the strength and clarity of thought to suffice in describing the lives of the people in the *shtetl* as it really was, without any personal biases.'

Who is the one who sees, but is fortunate to see – so said our *Sages of Old*. In words of the final opportunity, an a prayer to *Hashem May Be Blessed* to give me the strength and intellect, so did the deceased ז"ו react when he knew his time was short in this earth, and with a broken heart he describes our shtetl and the annihilation of his dear ones and pleads for heaven's mercy, and finishes with, but we need a great deal of mercy. The mercy of heaven, help you people and bless their legacy.

I have neither the physical nor emotional strength to even give a short excerpt from his unique way of life, from the time he made *aliyah* to *The Land* years before The Second World War, as a wondrously pious *Halutz* in order to build up the Land of Israel in the spirit of the Torah, but e have no choice but to take solace and learn from his ways, and to realize to the extent possible, his desires to erect a repaired group, whose honesty and justice will be a role model, and with this we will provide emotional comfort to his holy soul in the *World of Truth*. /v/cm/b/T/u

## A Little Bit of the Memories of My Shtetl

By Leah Ben-Yehuda  
(Of the Tzuckerandel Family)  
(Israel)



קבוצת חלוצים בסטוינוב בשנת 1934  
בשורה ראשונה מימין: ברוך חרי"ג, אריה זרבנר, ישראל גבלר — בשורה שניה מימין: שמעון כץ,  
אברהם זב זרבנר, אלתר בריקנשטיין, יהושע האבל — בשורה שלישית מימין: האבל (זאח הצעיר),  
מאיר דיסטנפלד, מרדכי כץ

Page 479:

*A Group of Halutzim In Stoyanov in the Year 1934*

(In the First row, from the right): Baruch d"rg, Aryeh Farbaner, Israel Galber.  
 (Second row, right): Shimon Katz, Abraham Rav Ravn, Alter Brickenstein, Yehoshua Havel.  
 (Third row from the right): Havel (The younger brother), Meir Distenfeld, Mordechai Katz.

I was young when I left Stoyanov, and it is my desire to raise some of the flickering from the great light that we left there. At the end of the year 1939 I left my parents, brother and sister, my grandfather and grandmother – well-branched out families and their descendants, and all friends, male and female, at the same time that the tread of *The Scourge* a"nh. This because – I feared that I will not get to see The Land, and the goal was to get thee by all means.



קבוצת הלוטצים באסטרייח בשנת 1938

Page 480: A Group of Halutzim from Stoyanov, 1938

Stoyanov was a small *shtetl* surrounded on all sides by Ukrainian, Polish and German gentiles.

As was the case in all towns, in our *shtetl* we had a large synagogue built of wood, with large windows, and two locations each serving as a *Bet HaMedrash*, a place for community institutions and a public bath.

I remember my youth when there was activity and alertness to everything going on in *The Land*. All were united in one central desire to make *aliyah* to *The Land* and build it up.

This, and the fact that most others in the land were closed to them.

My father, Gershon ש"ג, was a very pious Jew committed to tradition, yet a Zionist in heart and soul. For his entire life his desire was to go to Zion. He belonged to the 'Mizrachi' group.

In the house we breathed Zionist air. I recall the nights of *Tisha B'Av* when my father ש"ג used to recite 'Lamentations.' At that hour we all felt the destruction of The Temple, over which my father cried and in truth mourned for real. In my ear, the words of [Isaiah] echo: 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people...' that I will never forget.

I remember a scion of our *shtetl* named Rabbi Alter. He was a poverty stricken man, broken under the yoke of caring for children, all of his interest lay in Zion. Each and every day, he would come into our house, glance at the newspapers and took an interest in every item pertaining to The Land of Israel. No other subject interested him, and even the concern about making a living did not distract him.

From the time that the Tel-Aviv harbor opened, and he learned that the first one taking off his back at the harbor will have his picture in the paper, his joy was boundless. With tears running from his eyes he said: all I wanted to do was be a porter in our harbor, the harbor of Tel-Aviv, and sustain myself by eating one orange a day, apart from being in *The Land*. But he did not achieve this, and his fate was like the fate of the rest of the resident population, that were annihilated by *The Scourge* a”nh.



קבוצת צעירות בסטינוב לקראת עליית ארצות של חברתן שפירא בשנת 1937  
 חדוה ולדמן, נסייה חולצמן, דבורה פלאנצ'ר, נחמה שראגר, ציגנה לעזיסה, חנה שומער

*Page 481: A Group of Young Women from Stoyanov on the Occasion of the aliyah of their friend Szifra in 1937. Hedva Waldman, Nissya Holtzman, Dvora Flavner, Nechama Schrager, Cira Leotun, Chana Shomer*

An added incident, that left such an unforgettable impression on me was the *aliyah* of the two young men from the best of Stoyanov, to The Land of Israel. It was on the Sabbath, with a delayed Tisha B’Av, Aryeh Weinbaner and Nathan Kahana went out with their faces toward The Land of Israel. They did this trip by ship in “Walus” by the planned way – *Aliyah Bet* (Not legal). All the people of the town, mostly the adults, escorted them to the train station. All of us were emotionally moved. We sang the song ‘Tekhezakna,’ and when the train began to move Aryeh Weinbaner stuck his head out the train window, and in waving his hand he sang with us ‘Let not your spirits fall...come as one shoulder to the aid of the nation.’ The train moved and disappeared, the escort dispersed, and I could not forget the last words of the song sung by both parties at this occasion.

I thought a lot about these words, and how a thin line of a few had the privilege to be on the heels of the aliyah of the first to extend help to the nation – truly the saving of the nation.

## Our Brother A. D. Warbner

Szifra Rosenfeld, Malka Landi  
(of the Warbner Family), Zvi Warbner

Our brother Abraham Dov Warbner was born in the month of Sivan 1910 in Stoyanov. When he was fourteen years old, he had already to write poetry and stories, plays that he prepared were dedicated to the subject of '*Hibat -Tzion*,' in which there are the heart of rhymes and the melodies were written by himself

At this age, he published stories, and songs, in the papers and bulletins of the *Halutz* movement. To continue his studies, he moved to Lvov, where he studied at an intermediate-level school. After this he continue his studies in the Jewish Teachers Seminary, headed by Prof. Netaneli-Rotman

At the beginning of the thirties, he would publish in the daily papers of '*Der Morgen*' '*Khvalleh*' and '*Heint*' and the weekly leading publications of the '*Hitakhdut*,' '*Dos Nyeh Vort*.' '*Volk und Land*' and in a like manner he participated in writing articles for them.

In a like manner he published his writing and poems in the literary newspaper '*HaSoleil*,' that appeared in Lvov under the editorship of Prof. Netaneli-Rotman. The products of his pen could also be found in many other papers.

During this period he published a novel, in parts, in the paper '*Der Morgen*,' called "The Year 1933 of 1934?" It was a story that described the preparations being made by the German Nazis in preparation for the future war.

In 1934 he published in Lvov a folio of poems called 'Horrors.' Most of the poems represented a warning to the world about the Holocaust that was drawing ever near.

Like most of his friends, he studied in school under very difficult and hard circumstances, but he never once lacked for food. This influenced his spirit, and especially his health. His fragile health influenced the course of his spirit, and in this poetry is where he took the order of the world to task.

Most of the poems he wrote between 1934-1938 are suffused with sadness and despair.

In the period between 1934-1938 he published in the teachers newspaper '*Tenuateynu*' that appeared in Lvov.

Dov was suffused with a pioneering spirit and longing for the Land of Israel, which he expressed in his poetry and plays. His connection to *The Land* were also expressed in stories and poetry that he sent to *The Land*,' '*Davar LiYeladim*,' and others. These appeared in the newspapers: '*Turim*,' '*Davar*' '*Davar LiYeladim*' and others.

Up till the year 1938, the year he made *aliyah* to *The Land*, he was engaged in teaching at Hebrew school during the week. In the year 1938 he made *aliyah* to *The Land*, and signed up for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. These were days of unstable events in *The Land*. His parents, who had come at an earlier time, found a very hard and difficult condition, and very difficulty to become acclimated

His poem "Your Father Is Not Dead" is dedicated to the victims of the 5796-5799 [Hebron] riots:

"Your father is not dead,  
Your father is alive  
In the root of the tree, and in the shadow of the branch  
In Degania A' and Degania B'  
Your father is not dead..."

In a like manner, he writes a poetic prayer to the son, who goes out to work amid danger, and it is his father's prayer that accompanies him on his way:

"Protect the paths of Zion, Almighty One!  
For the sake of the father who awaits his son  
On this night, indeed, this night  
Amen..."

In that same year, he returns to the Diaspora for purpose of bring his wife back.

It took several days before he received the required consents to proceed to *The Land*, closed by the malfesance of *The Scourge*.

For the entire time of the war, we have no news in hand. During the Russian capture he was still in touch with us. With the entrance of the German Army to promote slaughter in Galicia, this contact stopped.

One of those who was saved from the Holocaust, Eliezer Unger, wrote about him in his book 'Zakhor' which was published in *The Land* in 1945. In this book there are a few details about the life of Dov during wartime.

In a conversation with him, Unger told us that Dov had several serious works in prose and poetry that he dreamt of publishing, however for lack of the means, he was unable to do so. We know nothing of these details and do not know what happened to him, all trace of him was lost.

## Regarding Yaakov ben Joseph Grossman ז"ל <sup>114</sup>

Szifra Rosenfeld,  
Malka Landi & Zvi Warbner

Even before we had gathered here to unite with the memory of our martyrs and sanctified ones that were annihilated in the Holocaust, it was imposed upon us that we make sure to unite with the memory of one of the finest people of our city, Yaakov ben Joseph, may his memory be for a blessing.

It was only yesterday, before sunset, that the heavens wept for our loss, and he was brought to his final resting place and the grave was dug in the form of *Sdeh Yaakov* in the valley of Jezereel. In a grove among a stand of pine trees of the *Keren Kayemet*. Which, in his day he personally planted, and worked over them – that is where he was laid to rest.

Yaakov's character needs to serve as a model for us in making do with the least, and of commitment to the community. A scion of our city, in eulogizing him yesterday beside his grave said 'the greatest of the mitzvot are the ones that involve one person doing something for another.' And in this respect Yaakov rose high in his commitment and concern for impaired and the suffering.

His path in life was hard, and his life was one long chain of troubles and suffering, however, he did not complain, and quietly accepted his pains, and was content with his lot.

They remained as three orphan brothers in their youth when their parents were killed in the First World War. Their grandmother raised and educated them, they were forged in want and poverty. While still in their youth, they began to work to support themselves, and to everyone's surprise, grew to be intelligent people who were seekers of knowledge. They studied and completed this work on their own. One of the brothers, Yehuda ז"ל was involved with teaching for many years in Tartakov and Sokal, until he was exterminated in the Holocaust. His brother Abraham, separated for long life, was a man of the fields and he lived in *Sdeh Yaakov*. Yaakov was a beloved friend to all. He had a wondrous memory, and was like a fountain growing in vigor. In the later years, he was involved in the study of the Tanakh, and in reading books. He was a living encyclopedia regarding people and events. He remembered the people and events of our town as if by a miracle. And if there was ever a question on some event, they would go to him and ask for his answer.

He made *aliyah* in the year 1925 but was compelled to return for family reasons. For all the years until his second *aliyah*, he was involved in the affairs of 'HeHalutz' and we were the ones who were his trainees and pupils.

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<sup>114</sup> Things said at the second annual memorial meeting of the Émigrés of Sokal, Tartakov, Varenzh and Stoyanov on December 30, 1963 in the Zion House in America.



When he arrived for the second time in 1936, all the well-known burdens of acclimatization were heaped on him: illness, unemployment, and an inability to sustain himself. During the periods of unrest, he volunteered himself as a guard and was even wounded in this regard.

After a difficult struggle, it looked like he had finally come to a legacy of peace, and a sudden death took him.

It was only a year ago that he moved to Haifa, he built a new house, but had not even dedicated it – and he bowed and fell. He will be missed greatly. He will be missed by all those who relied on him in troubled times

May his memory be for a blessing.

## **Stoyanov – In the Years of Nazi Captivity**

**Y. Kremnitzer**  
(Ramat Gan)

The first day, June 22, 1941, – at 4AM in the morning. The thunder of explosions reached my ears, but in my sleep, I did not understand what they meant. I did not know that this would be my last night I which there would be tranquility: Noise emanating from Hitler drilled holes in my back from second to second, and I did not know that this was the last night that the terrifying night would descend, one that would last for four years. When I aroused myself from my sleep, I found the entire family, standing beside my bed with frightened eyes, as if the question floated about their mouths: What does this mean? My father-in-law ז"ל, Abraham Galber, attempted to soothe the spirits by saying that this was merely a military exercise, by I and others understood that this explanation stood alone: it is a war, and one that caused something terrifying and compelling for the fate of every Jewish person. We ran to the street, to be among Jews, and to become informed. There, we found the others who were gathering and coming together, with the same look of fright in their eyes and the same question on their lips. There were those who attempted to comfort and calm, or perhaps believed in this as the end of Hitler, that Russia would break his bones that with it, will be the end of the troubles for the Jews. But most of the Jews did not believe this, And I don't know why, they believed in Russian power, and though of the Russians as 'dummies on wooden legs.' The gunshot continued to become more intense, the sound of the explosions drew more and more close, on the firmament of the sky a fire went up, and in the areas, a huge smoke cloud floated. (The Russian-German border was only twenty kilometers from Stoyanov). Suddenly a hordes of fleeing people appeared, each running for their lives (these were the Russians that worked on building the railroad tracks, and their families). At 10 o'clock the voice of Molotov carried over the environs of the city, that informed us that the enemy secretly had invaded our homeland. It was then that the reason for the gunfire and flames, the smoke and fleeing people became clear. The movement of the fleeing from the border became more and more clear, and the speed of the fleeing became faster and faster, taking on the appearance of a run of panic, a fleeing from death. In the city itself there were many Russian families that had been designated to guard the rail tracks and other things. In short order,

it became evident that these people were quickly packing up their belongings, putting them on freight trucks, and joining their fleeing fellow countrymen in their flight. My brother-in-law, Israel, worked for an officer of such a unit, for whom a freight truck stood by, and he decided to ride on it himself. Israel burst into the house on the run, with the observation that, but opposite to the gaze of my worried mother, a look full of worry and love, but more on his disposition. He came into the house several times, waiting for some sign of agreement, but the desired signal was not given. Four of his friends answered the call, joined the Russians, and remained alive.

Only these four left the town. The Jews stood and looked at the fleeing Russians, some in vehicles, some in wagons, some on foot, and they stood there like stones and did not move from their places. True, it was practically impossible to flee – there were no vehicles, and it was not possible to get far away on foot, the front was too close, and the Germans were moving too fast, but there was not even an attempt to move. The reasons for this are different: there was no faith in the Russians and their power, they did not believe they could stand the conflict against the Germans. Letters that had come from the environs of Siberia instilled terror and fear of a possible joining and connection with the Russians. At the time that my brother-in-law was indecisive – to travel or to remain? An intelligent and understanding Jew, named Yehoshua Faber entered the house and said: ‘I will not leave my house, in order to turn and wander into Russia. If I must die – better to do so in my home. There was an added reason — Jews that fought with the Germans in The First World War, Jews who were familiar with the German culture that had been lost, and the image of a person that came from Hitler and his colleagues, and just plain Jews, could not conceive or imagine for themselves what the Germans were planning to do to them by day, in the eyes of the entire world of the twentieth century. They hear different things, read the newspapers, but a descent to such a [low] level was beyond their grasp, and as a result they could not believe what they heard, and because of this remained behind.

The fleeing stopped at about 12 o’clock. The gunfire ceased as well. In the town itself, one did not see any Russians or Germans. A lack of presence and the island of stillness grew from hour to hour. There was a feeling that this was a calm before a storm, which people felt in their gut and hearts. Those Jews that came from the gentile areas told of a substantial happiness there, and that the gentiles were making ready to confront something. In our house, we began to search about to see if there might be anything that is suspicious or would cast suspicion. First, we burned all the books and newspapers. This was do to ensure that the Germans would not find an excuse that they had found communist literature. And so in this way we burned all the books and newspapers. It was particularly hard for my wife to burn the jubilee book of ‘*Heint*,’ that she had received as a prize. My father-in-law buried a number of whiskey bottles that were in the house, out of a fear that they would get drunk and shoot in their drunkenness. They hid things of value, because they suspected plunder. But, to hide things in an atmosphere of fright is not easy. Wherever you put something – it is not secure, and for this reasons items were carried from place to place. The burning of books was the most difficult of the decisions to make. Books were burned slowly and with difficulty, because if one hurried you add smoke from the pile, and someone is bound to think this is something belonging to the enemy. After this, came an assessment of life? If among the gentiles there is any discussion about money, or some other basis, was this now not an opportunity to potentially exact vengeance? The truth of the matter was that we feared the local gentiles more than we feared the Germans. We knew

that they were enemies to the soul, and were only waiting for an opportunity to even the score. My father-in-law had one such enemy, that on top of everything else was strong, a thief who spent a number of years in jail, and this only magnified the terror. When this very gentile would pass by the house, the fear grew boundless. And this is how the night fell. The Jews sat in darkened dwellings (they were afraid to light a candle), and when from time-to-time a Jew went to inquire of his neighbor: what's new, and what is going to happen?

On the morning of June 23, 1941 as I stood by the window, I could detect the presence of Russian tanks moving from the direction of Radzhikhov. These were five new Russian tanks. They went through the town alongside our house, in the direction of the railroad station. A spark of hope leapt up among us, that perhaps the Russians had overcome the Germans. But after a while, the tanks returned the way they came, and not far from our house in front of them appeared German tanks from the direction of Sokal: And these began to fire towards the Russian tanks. In the house, a panic ensued. We grabbed everything that came to hand, and we fled the house. This battle finished quickly, and we returned to the house. Later on, not far from the town, we uncovered the five Russian tanks as being burned, and their crews were all killed.

Immediately with the end of the battle, the town was flooded with a wave of German soldiers. The first came on bicycles, after them tanks and freight trucks loaded with soldiers. Like a powerful stream of water the German Army poured through the town, vehicle after vehicle, vehicles in the tracks of prior vehicles, to tens, hundreds and thousands after them, trod the Germans on foot. They came as a horde with deafening sounds of insane victory, as if a cloud had passed over – that is how they descended on the town. Young, robust, stand straight, armed from head to foot – that is the way they walked. In a like manner they entered Jewish houses to bathe and shave. In their pride and a sense of personal confidence, their arrival made the impression that they were not going out to do battle, but to hunt or attend a party. After some time they were ordered not to enter Jewish houses because their residents were dirty unkempt and dangerous. After the length of the main street only Jews lived, and so the Germans stood beside their vehicles, and the Jews brought water out to them to wash outside. The German Army that went through our town using a countless number of vehicles. People and supplies, mechanical and medical were organized in a wondrous way, and it canceled out the hopes and expectations leaving only the loss of hope, resignation, and a deep aggravation too heavy to bear.

In the town, in a short period of time, a Ukrainian rule appeared, with Ukrainian police. The Ukrainian populace met the German Army with flowers and applause. Very quickly a victory gate was erected, decorated with Ukrainian and German flags. As a side note, about a year and a half before this, they erected a tower decorated with different flags, when the Soviet Army entered. This is the way the German Army marched, the strongest of armies in the world, the Germans sang the 'Horst Wessel' song that tells of 'Jewish blood spilled by a dagger...' and the Ukrainian populace preceded them with an ecstasy of liberation, and a sea of flowers.

The Jews sat in closed-up houses that were locked with bitter souls; all their possessions were treated as worthless. And so began the 'huts' for Jews and their assets. They drafted the sons of all those of all ages, mature men, women, to do labor. The Ukrainian army and police during one interval. The

army took the Jews out to work on the roads, and the Ukrainians to different hard labor in the town. The drafting to do work was done with no plan, as if one hand doesn't know what the other is doing, and in an invasive and degrading manner. Jews were forced to clean the lavatories, etc.

When completing one job, a person would frequently be grabbed on his way home, tired and hungry, he was immediately sent to another job. The Ukrainians erected offices to direct them, and the Jews gave all their assets and furniture and all other necessities. Jewish girls were ordered to wash windows, clean the floors, under a hail of imprecations, mockery and beating.

The third day, June 24, 1941, early in the morning two German soldiers entered our house. Shouting: '*Juden – Raus!*' (They did not speak to any Jews, the special look on their face was the equivalent of a shout) 'Take all your work tools and get out!' By 'work tools' they referred to implements used for digging. Without such an implement, a Jew was not permitted to be found in the street. The shovel was a sign and symbol of his going to work, or returning from it. We went out into the street, there, all the Jews of the town were already gathered, among them the Rabbi and the *Shokhet*. All of us were taken to the place of work, which was the road on the way to Sokal. Our mission was to repair this road, and make it usable for vehicular transport (this road was all dust). The tanks and loaded freight trucks made deep pits and we were ordered to fill these pits with dirt, so that the moving army that did not stop would be able to continue to move without disruption. We took the dirt out of the channels on both sides of the road, and we were ordered to make those channels as straight as a ruler, and since the pits were more than deep, we went to the nearby forest, we cut branches, we put them into the pits, and covered them with dirt. If a vehicle became stuck in a pit of this type, we had to quickly come out of the channels and free the vehicle, and all this at maximum speed in order that the remaining vehicles would be able to move ahead, and not be stuck there. To the sound of a shouted order of the soldiers that stood guard, we jumped out of the channel, we grabbed the vehicle on all sides and tried to get it out of the pit. When we did not succeed in this, the vehicle drivers tied ropes and we Jews took hold of the ropes on both sides, under the shouts of 'Hurry up, you cursed Jews!' The vehicle is freed, and immediately there were leaps back into the channel to do the work of hauling out dirt, until the next vehicle got stuck. The first day of work went by without anything. We worked diligently it was hard, but our strength still held up. The Ukrainians worked as well, but they worked in a group separated from us. The recesses and guard changes of the Germans also were opportunities for us to rest; they ate their lunch at 11:30AM. We sat three Jews to a group, guarded by an older German soldier, he looking around at his surroundings, and quickly put down a loaf of bread near us, and disappeared. The truth of the matter is we were not hungry. At 15:30PM we were let go from work with the Ukrainians, and sent to our homes, but on our way back to our homes, may were grabbed by Ukrainian police and sent to do further work. This is the way we went back and for to work each day. We worked but we were fortunate in working outside of the city, because the work in the city was much worse. The fear there was much greater. There was no set time for doing work. From time-to-time, a German soldier or a Ukrainian policeman would take out the remaining Jews left in the city to do, and did it in a way that he accompanied it with pushing and beating. When they returned from one workplace, it was possible for another soldier to that individual to other work, again being taken under the cover of insults and beating.

## Black Friday

Friday June 27, 1941 almost all of the grown up Jewish men of the city were taken out for work outside of town. At the beginning, the work began as usual as on every day. At about 10 o'clock we took note that the soldiers guarding us had armed themselves with staves, and immediately afterwards an 'aktion' began. We stood in the channels and dug out dirt; when a loaded freight truck stopped and the guards began to shout: 'Hurry, outside.' We came out of the channels and they began to beat us with the staves, in order to quicken the pace of unloading the truck.

We surrounded the auto, and attempted to free it, while they shouted 'Hurry!' and they beat us. When the vehicle was freed, and went on its way, a shout came: 'quick, back to work' and we returned to the channels amidst being beaten. In the fear and confusion that was created, it was hard to find the specific working tools, and the evidence that they were not found intensified the beating of the Germans. The work began only when a second vehicle appeared and there was a repetition of coming out of the channels accompanied by cruel beatings. Here, beside the vehicle, the pushing started. Everyone wanted to be as close to the body of the vehicle and thereby be at a distance from the beating Germans. About eighty men surrounded one auto, and it was the last who received the most intense portion of the beating. For extra heavy vehicles, ropes and cables were attached and part of us pulled on them, while others pushed the vehicle from the sides. And the soldiers kept beating and shouting: '*schnell, lus Jude.*' It was their habit, out of maliciously and we were compelled to free the stuck heavy vehicle by ourselves. A rope was torn, the Germans would argue that we tore it, and they intensified their beatings. A rain started to fall. The ground turned to mud. The heavy and sticky earth stuck to our shoes, to our hands and intensified our efforts until our strength gave out. The Germans intensified their beatings and shouted that this was our last day and we will no longer return to our homes. We walked and grew weak. There were those among us who became injured as a result of their weakened state, while we were trying to free the vehicles. By contrast with previous days, we remained to work until a late hour in the night, and we got nothing to eat or drink. At about 9PM, when movement along the road was halted, we were ordered to sit down on the wet ground and they went to take counsel as to what they will do with us. They told us that we would no longer see our homes or families. We were certain they would fulfill this. As we sat, this is what we quietly said to one another. Together with the Rabbi, we recited a '*Vidui.*' After about an hour, the officer appeared called to the Rabbi that he is responsible if we all do not return tomorrow to the same place. When I returned home, late at night, I found all the members of my family sitting beaten. When I hadn't returned from work at my usual hour, they thought something terrible had happened to us, and we would no longer return to see the. On top of all this my wife and sister Jocheved had a difficult day. At first they worked together with the other Jewish women, in the train station loading and unloading heavy stones, and after that, until a late hour at night, they worked at the school that had been transformed to a military hospital, in the washing of military uniforms soaked in blood from other hard labor.

On the Sabbath, I rose early and after a night of difficult soul searching and suffering, I decided not to return to this same work. It was forbidden to stay home. Accordingly, I walked to a different workplace – on the road to Radekhiv. And we had all decided to do this, even not having spoken to

one another, and decided as if with one mind. Groups were created, and each group worked in a different place but as far as possible from our original workplace. I worked with a group of Jews far from the city. At 8 o'clock two Ukrainian police approached us on bicycles. They ordered us to return to the city as quickly as possible. When we returned to the city, we saw other groups being brought there. Solitary individuals succeeded to flee through the grain fields.

When we reached the city, the soldiers from yesterday were already waiting for us. They arranged us in groups of three and brought us to our previous place of work. They placed the aged Rabbi, Yitzhak Sztumfeller ז"ל at the head. As we left the city, the order was given 'To run!' quickly, and from time to time 'more quickly!' Whoever could not run – was beaten. The worst of them was a soldier on whom, and when someone of us was ordered to return it, and had a Red Cross scarf over his neck, when he broke his staff across our backs he began to wield his steel helmet. The Rabbi who ran first weakened, and asked a young fellow that was running after him a bit of water from his canteen. The German detected this. He took the canteen, hit the young man with a staff, and pointed for him to hit the Rabbi in order to make him move faster, this did not happen. This was the way we ran for the entire distance. To our luck, the Germans were forced to run, and when they grew tired, and sluggish, we were convinced that we were running to our death. However, when we reached the work place, the soldiers and guards received an order to commence work. In their place came other soldiers, and work began as usual.

A few days afterwards four Jews were arrested: Mordechai Eliphant, Benjamin Beryl, Kleinman, and David Segal. We found them afterwards shot on our way to work in the grain fields, in an open pit not far from the city. With a great deal of effort, we received permission to give them a Jewish burial. There was a rumor that the local head Ukrainian priest together with the Germans, conducted a secret trial. And sentenced them to death, for the crime of doing work with the Soviets. This was the way the Germans behaved in every city they reached.

The front moved quickly away, and the Germans decided to run the town by German rules. A *Judenrat* was created, that consisted of five people. The head was Yehoshua Faber, an intelligent ardent Zionist, and as became clearer much later, a very honest Jewish person. The remaining members were: Hona Segal, Sholom Shtricker, Ephraim Gerstner, and Katriel Holzmann. All were honest Jewish men, and possessed good will. The *Judenrat* of Stoyanov was subordinate to that of Radzhikhov, the county seat, that was also the county *Judenrat*. A Jewish police force was also created whose purpose was to support the *Judenrat*, in carrying out its orders. The *Judenrat*, in a limited fashion, attempted to align itself in assisting Jews in need, to the range of its possibilities and ability; and on occasion was able to postpone pogroms or other assaults. And because of the *Judenrat*, the Jews initially felt a measure of lightening of their plight.

## **The Elderly Jew**

When a German saw an elderly Jew, he would literally lose his composure. It is not possible to describe the murderous sadism in which they 'dealt' with the elderly Jew. First they laughed and mocked him, afterwards they grabbed him and cut him with a knife. There were instances where they

would set a beard on fire. As you can understand, the Jews began to tell their elderly people about this. There was also a demand by the Judenrat that in order to escape torture, the Jews should reveal their old people, and anyone who regardless refused to do so, was put in solitary confinement, did not show himself in the street, and it was bad and bitter for the Jew who did this, if seized by a German in his house when his old man shaved his beard. The Jews went out into the street with shortened beards, looked at one another and burst into tears of embarrassment and sorrow.

The prohibition to leave one's house – The Germans issued an order in which the Jews were forbidden to leave their homes, and to come in contact with the Christian populace. The Jews remained in the town, and it was forbidden for them to visit a village. And how were they to live? And from where will they get food?

## **The Sadistic German Soldier**

A German soldier suddenly appeared in the town (the army having left the town for some time) who set himself a goal of playing with and entertaining the Ukrainian populace using means of torture and abuse of Jews. Woe unto any Jew who fell into his hands. My father-in-law – a Jew at his full strength, who was a junior officer in the Austrian army in The First World War, among those who were not prepared to live under Soviet rule, and wait for change – was one of his victims. One day, on his return from work, he was seized by this soldier. When my father-in-law returned home it was hard to recognize him. He told that immediately after being seized by this soldier, ten of Ukrainians gathered around him (this was on a Sunday). First he subjected him to military discipline. He ordered him to run and fall, to return, and run and fall again. And because this was after a rainfall, and there were puddles of water, and he was ordered to fall into the water, and all of this to the laughter and enjoyment of the Ukrainians that came to see these games of fooling around. Afterwards, he directed him to walk on all fours like a cow, and in the end to pasture like a cow, to eat grass. It was thorny grass, and other sadistic tortures.

## **The Decree to Wear a White Armband with a Star of David**

Approximately four weeks after the entry of the Germans, an order was given that every Jew aged ten and above must wear a white armband with a Star of David. According to this order, the band had to be cut from white linen about 15 centimeters wide. A Star of David was to be sewn in the middle using blue thread. In its center was to be a personal number of each and every Jew. A Jew would be seized without this recognizable sign in the center would be sentenced to death – the order said. The women and girls sat a whole night sewing these bands. On the next morning, all the Jews were wearing this sign. It was possible to identify a Jew from quite a distance. And this was the objective of the Germans.

## **Sending Jews to the Work Camp at Kuzaki**

At the beginning of December 1941 the Stoyanov *Judenrat* was asked by the *Judenrat* of Radzhikhov under order of the Germans to send thirty-two young Jewish men to the Kukazki work camp (Kuzaki was a place beside Zloczow, about 70 kilometers from Stoyanov). It was additionally said that the implementation of this order would be assisted by the Ukrainian police, and that is when the confusion and running about began: who shall be sent? It was understood that those who would be sent are not likely to come back.

The *Judenrat* came into the picture in order to help decide the question and offer advice. Additional Jews were added to the sitting group that were not members of the *Judenrat*. They joined, but were unable to help decide the question. They did not have much time. Whenever the Germans demanded anything from the Jews, it was to be done on the spot immediately. In this case the matter lasted into the morning of the next day. If they arrive at a decision, the Germans will take whom they want and as many as they want. In the meantime, the matter became known in the city. Mothers began to run to the place of the meeting crying and screaming. They argued that when it came to a mother, it did not matter which of her sons they took. All children were seen to be unique. The members of the *Judenrat* were cast into a great quandary. At the end, the decision was taken to take unmarried men from families that had more than one unmarried son. But every finger cut off leads to the same pain. Even members of the *Judenrat* had unmarried men and boys. Here it is important to say something both to absolve and praise Yehoshua Faber, that kept his patience and included both his brother and brother-in-law in the sent group. Thirty two young men were selected, who were healthy. Children of poor families who had nothing of their own or *Judenrat* supplies with boots warm clothing and food. They were promised that food would be sent along in time, and they will be relieved by others. And as a result as long as this went on, they were sent food by wagons and even changed some of them out. Hona Segal – a member of the *Judenrat* – accompanied the wagons whenever food was sent, and a number were switched.

## **Aktionen of Clothing**

At the end of December 1941 an order was issued for the Jews to turn over all the clothing they possessed. (Gold, silver, and valuables had been plundered previously in a similar manner). This clothing consisted of : adult jackets for men and women made from fur, linings of fur and fur scarves. The *Judenrat*, as usual was held responsible for carrying this order out exactly. and Yehoshua Faber, the Rabbi my father-in-law and two addition Jews were taken as hostages and brought to the German police in Radikhezow, The *Judenrat*, as usual was held responsible for carrying this order out exactly. Jews were approached while at work and it is understood implicitly that the Jews turned all this over to the Germans. On the morrow, it was possible to see Jews dressed in Jackets with no linings and without scarves.



## The Mood Amidst the Jews

The Jews were locked up in their houses. They were denied the ability to exit for any purpose. After nine o'clock no Jew was to be seen in the streets, by order. Jews encountered one another at work, and also at night, a Jew would sneak into a neighbor's house for conversation. The Jews wished each other well, and asked: When will the liberation come? When will his (e.g. Hitler's) downfall come? What did the Jews discuss?

In the half-darkened but not sealed off houses, as they lend an ear to hear if there is a knock, and they are not coming to take anyone to work or to plunder and even to kill, or perhaps someone from the *Judenrat* is coming and he has bad news. They conveyed what they know about what was going on at the front, what they read in the Ukrainian newspapers (Jews did not receive newspapers), and all news from the front or information between parties which they wanted to spread with a spark of hope, as a basis for his eventual downfall. There was a great thirst to take vengeance. There were those who were willing to give it all to see his [Hitler's] downfall. Not one among the Jews, and my father-in-law among them said that they were prepared to sacrifice themselves in order to do battle with the Germans, but what about the others: The collective responsibility that the Germans introduced in their form of punishment, reached to any uprising and vengeance. Religious Jews sought for signs of the Messiah in everything. They began to believe in all manner of portents and prophecies. One young man stood on the street and took note of a couple of birds that were fighting. He immediately designated one as Hitler and the other as Stalin, and the result of this conflict was that 'Stalin' had prevailed, and the entire city knew about this in a very short period of time. The trouble and beatings that were made harder and more intense fell on the Jews one after another. Life was replete with suffering of hunger and fear. Food on which to live was obtained from Gentiles by trading away house items, clothing for a small amount of potatoes. Potatoes were the most essential form of food, and on rare occasions accompanied by a small amount of bread and oil. The women became experts at preparing potato dishes. The gentiles would come in and demanded that we give them valuables that were most dear to us, not only because of their financial worth, but also because of their religious and emotional value, such as Saturday clothing, of a family artifact that had been passed down from generation to generation, their argument being: 'in any event you won't need these anymore!' There were those gentiles that refused to stand on Jewish property complaining that it was unclean and sinful. In the middle of the winter, news reached us from Lvov that a ghetto had been constructed, and that ghettos were erected in other places as well, or that they moved Jews from a town to such a ghetto. This news caused additional troubles to sprout. What is to be done with the few valuables that had been guarded for generations, up to the time of the assaults and after plundering? To hide these things, that is, to bury them in the ground – they would have to clean out the entire house and this would be done with maximum speed, so there would be no time to remove these valuables. If they don't hide these things, then the transgressors will come, Ukrainians or Germans and steal them. The Jews were in the habit of praying, but only individually. The synagogue and Bet HaMedrash had been destroyed by the Germans immediately after they entered the town. They took out the Torah scrolls, tore them, spread them out on the floor and violated the sanctity of this sacredness. When a Jew prayed, there had to be a guard to watch for any German that might approach. On Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur the Jews prayed in secretly concealed houses. There

was always a Jew who stood watch outside to warn of impending danger, if it should come. The Shofar was blown into an enclosed container, in order that its sound not be heard outside.

As Purim of 1942 began to draw near, they began to talk of *aktionen*, that the Germans were carrying out in cities and towns. Everyone already knew the implication of these *aktionen*. Five days before Passover 1942, the Judenrat of Radzhikhov arranged for a joint meeting with the *Judenrat* of the nearby towns, including Stoyanov to be held in secret. At this meeting, it was made clear that the Germans were planning an *aktion* in this vicinity in the coming days; when the *Gestapo* made it known, that if the Jews would make an effort and turn over a set sum of gold, they would only take those Jews whose names were written down in lists that the *Judenrat* would prepare for this purpose, and maybe a slightly larger number. If the *Judenrat* would not engage in such an activity. They will take whoever they please and how many they please, and the first in that line would be the members of the *Judenrat* and the Jewish police. This meeting took place in the house of the head of the Radzhikhov *Judenrat*: Adolph Krantz. Apart from the members of the *Judenrat* who participated were the dignitaries of the city and important people. The discussions were penetrating and painful, and they would argue: who are we to take the sentence of death on ourselves of other Jews. And perhaps even on our fathers and mothers?

Others argued: if fate wills it this way, we have no choice. It is forbidden to think of ourselves only. We have to be concerned with the future of the Jewish people, that might remain to act as witnesses, to advocate the essentials, and take vengeance. And so they decided to prepare a list of the oldest, the maimed, and in this way to save the young and the strong for the purposes just mentioned. Here, a wave of questions took place: who are the elderly and the maimed? Lo, these are our fathers and mothers, and the answer was: and if they take the sons together with their parents, will the situation be better? Or maybe they should take the sons, and leave the parents behind, is this what you want? The discussion went on until the morning, and they did not reach a conclusion. The Germans, for their own reasons, did not carry out the *aktion*, but this was just a delaying tactic.

## **The Last Aktion**

The *aktion* was implemented two days after *Rosh Hashana* 1942. The writer of these lines was not in the town at the time. He was with his wife staying with his mother, Chaya, in the town of Barilov, and they hid themselves there. Immediately after the destruction, the day following, we came to Stoyanov. The town was empty of Jews. Only a few individual scattered families remained. Those who were left were only traces of families. There were almost no completely intact families. Children wandered about without their parents or parents who had lost their children. The first one we encountered was Brunya, the daughter of the *Shokhet*, who was fourteen years old. She wandered about alone beside her empty house. She was the only one left of her entire family like a 'chick under the wings of the *Shechinah*.' As to my wife's family, her mother was left who was sick and could not stand on her legs, and her sister, Esther. They succeeded in hiding themselves in a nearby shop. The rest of the family was seized during the *aktion*: the father, Abraham Gabler, my wife's sister, Rachel, and her husband Yaakov Podhoretz and their year-and-a-half old son – Mordechai, the brother Israel and his wife, Leah, and their son Dov, also a year and a half old.

In the town at that time were: Yaakov Ramler and part of his family, Shaul Zuckerkandel who was the sole survivor of a large well-branched out family, Khona Segal and Ephraim Gerstner – members

of the *Judenrat*, Mattl Warbner, an intelligent girl and an ardent worker all of whose spiritual energy was dedicated to the Land of Israel, and the members of that family who were lucky enough to get to the magical land of choice (she remained alone in the Diaspora because of a sorrowful incident) she tried to save herself, but did not succeed, as was the case with a number of additional families.

The survivors told us that immediately in the morning of the *aktion*, and even during the night before this day, the town was surrounded by German and Ukrainian police. In the morning, they fell upon the Jewish houses and took all the Jews to the street and put them all in one place, all of them – the young, and old, women and infants, sick and healthy, mothers with babies in their arms. Jews who attempted to flee into the field or forest were seized by the gentiles, returned to the town, and handed over to the police. Jews that attempted to hide with gentiles whom they knew as friends and neighbors in the past, were thrown outside on their hands at the critical moment. My sister-in-law Rachel hid herself with her baby in her arms in the premises of a gentile who knew her, whose daughter was a friend of hers or quite some time already having gone to school together. They took her in and promised that she would find shelter by being with them until the *aktion* was over. When the *aktion* unfolded in its full scope, she was thrown out – with her baby in arms – into the street, to the devouring animals, to death. When all of the Jews were so gathered, they took them to Radzhikow to the trains, where they were loaded onto freight cars headed for Belzec. Whoever could not walk was shot on the spot. They told us that the German police wanted to retain the head of the *Judenrat*, Yehoshua Faber. He refused and answered that he will go with his family and members of his community. The Jews walked on the road, while gentiles stood on both sides of the road, yesterday's neighbors, that laughed at them and mocked them. Afterwards, they turned on the Jewish houses that were left unoccupied to plunder and abuse them.

Two weeks after this, they brought those Jews that remained to the ghetto at Radzhikow. The only ones left were: Yaakov Ramler with a son and daughter, Ben Zion Ramler, Moshe Waldman, Mordechai Wiliczka, Khona Segal as experts in the branch of gynecology. Doctor Lancziner as the only doctor in the town, Mr. Schleib Shargel and his family, Itzik Gabler. Bracha Brash and her husband – these were the rich Jews. They believed that their existence would be forgotten, and in this way succeed in hiding. All of these mentioned were exterminated after the extermination of the Radzhikow ghetto.

A few days after the remnants of the Stoyanov community were taken over to Radzhikow my wife and I came from Radzhikow to Stoyanov. We wanted to get cyanide from Doctor Lancziner. Initially, he promised to provide it, but took that promise back later. His argument was: as long as a person is alive, he should not lose hope. In passing the Jewish houses, we heard powerful knocking. This was the report of the 'work' of the gentiles who broke the wall, uprooted posts from the floor, dug into the earth to look for hidden Jewish treasure. When you entered a Jewish home, everything had been plundered, books rolled around on the floor, sacred Jewish texts, phylacteries and prayer shawls, and pictures – there was no end to the pictures, pictures of old Jews, women and children pictures of weddings, a forest of pictures trampled on by the feet of this human nobility, devouring animals, devouring animals with the appearance of being human.



Explanation of this Page Follows

# **List of the Martyrs**

## **That Were Exterminated in the Holocaust**

In the rubric pictured below this title, is a classic version of the prayer 'El Moleh Rakhamim' that is used to invoke the blessings of the Almighty on the deceased. It is also recited at those times when people make visits to the cemetery to pay homage to members of a family at the occasion of a Yahrzeit. It is also an honor extended to friends, family and distinguished members of a community at such a time, especially if they were victims of the Holocaust.



They are often slightly customized, but the message is the same. I call your attention to the third line which calls out the names of the cities and towns of:

### **Sokal, Tartakov, Varenzh and Stoyanov**

At the far left end of that third arc is a characterization of the deceased in the most noble and tender terms. It says:

All are Sanctified (as martyrs), Pure, among whom are to be found The Very Righteous (*Tzaddikim*) and Cedars of Lebanon (A metaphor for a giant among the people).



# Necrology

**Translator's Note:**

*The order in which these names appear has been made to conform to English alphabetization, and therefore does not follow the same order as they appear in the original Yiddish text. To assist the interested reader, each entry has been given a serial number that corresponds to its place in the original Necrology in Yiddish, found on pp.519-559.*

*This Necrology contains many instances of names that appear to be duplicates. However, without the intimate knowledge of this community, it would be presumptuous for an uninformed third party to suggest that such duplications constitute errors. Accordingly, special care has been taken to assure that all of the entries in the original document were carried over into the translated version. Additionally, special care was taken to preserve 'nicknames' or 'names of endearment,' that were used to help better identify individuals in that community. While such nomenclature may not serve future generations quite in the same way, it is undoubtedly a sacred obligation to assure that they are brought forward for posterity, as they were used during their lifetimes.*

# Family Names

Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name
			A							
521	Right	27	Adadowsy	Zisza	Son of Chaim & Dreizl	521	Right	22	Altzenfrum	Rachel
521	Right	4	Adelman	Chana	Daughter of Sender and Zlot'i	519	Left	4	Angl	Juta
521	Right	5	Adelman	Freida	Daughter of Sender and Zlot'i	519	Left	2	Angl	Makh't
521	Right	9	Adelman	Malka	Daughter of Sarah	519	Left	3	Angl	Yekhie
521	Right	8	Adelman	Rachel	Daughter of Joseph & Malka	521	Right	10	Anser	Esther
521	Right	7	Adelman	Shmuel	Son of Joseph & Malka	521	Right	11	Anser	Yehosh
521	Right	6	Adelman	Zlot'i	Daughter of Freida	519	Right	8	Ardman	[-]
520	Right	1	Adler	[-]	Son of Mordechai	519	Right	9	Ardman	[-]
519	Left	31	Adler	Aharon Zelig	Son of Mordechai	519	Right	10	Ardman	[-]
519	Left	20	Adler	Avigdor	Son of Shimon & Sarah	519	Right	15	Ardman	[-]
520	Right	3	Adler	Bash'eh	Daughter of Eliezer & Chana	519	Right	4	Ardman	Asher
519	Left	21	Adler	Berisz	Son of Shimon & Sarah	519	Right	5	Ardman	Chana
519	Left	12	Adler	Bluma	Daughter of Abraham & Itt'l	519	Right	12	Ardman	David
520	Right	6	Adler	Chana	Daughter of Moshe & Batya	519	Right	16	Ardman	David &
519	Left	14	Adler	Chava	Daughter of Nahum & Itt'l	519	Right	11	Ardman	Eli
519	Left	22	Adler	David Shaul	Son of Meir Leib & Sarah	519	Right	1	Ardman	Gitz'l
519	Left	29	Adler	Dvora	Daughter of Shmuel	519	Right	3	Ardman	Israel
520	Right	4	Adler	Esther	Daughter of Moshe & Batya	519	Right	6	Ardman	Nissan
519	Left	18	Adler	Golda	Daughter of Shimon & Sarah	519	Right	14	Ardman	Penina
520	Right	7	Adler	Israel	Son of Moshe & Batya	519	Right	2	Ardman	Peshi
519	Left	11	Adler	Itt'l	Daughter of Abraham	519	Right	13	Ardman	Sarah
519	Left	10	Adler	Leah	Daughter of Yokhanan & Sheva	519	Right	7	Ardman	Yitzhak
519	Left	26	Adler	Malka	Daughter of Meir Leib & Rachel	519	Right	20	Arnort	Baylah
519	Left	24	Adler	Meir Leib	Son of Joseph & Sarah	519	Right	26	Arnort	Esther D
519	Left	5	Adler	Menachem Mendl	Son of Yokhanan & Sheva	519	Right	25	Arnort	Israel
519	Left	7	Adler	Mordechai	Son of Yokhanan & Sheva					
519	Left	15	Adler	Mordechai		519	Right	24	Arnort	Mordechai Ge
520	Right	5	Adler	Mordechai	1 Son of Moshe & Batya & 2 Children	519	Left	1	Arnort	Naphtali He
520	Right	2	Adler	Moshe	Son of Yokhanan & Juta & 5 Children	519	Right	23	Arnort	Sarah
519	Left	25	Adler	Rachel	Wife of Yaakov	519	Right	22	Arnort	Sor'l
519	Left	19	Adler	Rivka	Daughter of Shimon & Sarah	519	Right	21	Arnort	Yaakov Shm
519	Left	16	Adler	Sarah	Daughter of David & Mali'ti	520	Right	18	Auerbach	Abraham
519	Left	17	Adler	Shimshon	Son of Aglum, Blind Samson	520	Right	22	Auerbach	Dvora
519	Left	27	Adler	Shmuel		520	Right	19	Auerbach	Fradl B
519	Left	30	Adler		The Engineer	520	Right	20	Auerbach	Joseph
519	Left	8	Adler	Todros	Son of Yokhanan & Sheva	520	Right	21	Auerbach	Shmuel
519	Left	13	Adler	Tova	Daughter of Abraham & Itt'l	520	Right	23	Auerbach	Simcha
519	Left	28	Adler	Yaakov	Son of Shmuel & Malka	521	Left	5	Avelbaum	-
						521	Left	4	Avelbaum	Esther
						521	Left	2	Avelbaum	Israel
						521	Left	3	Avelbaum	Sarah E
519	Left	6	Adler	Yitzhak	Son of Yokhanan & Sheva	522	Right	8	Axler	Chaim
519	Left	23	Adler	Ziss'l	Wife of David	522	Right	5	Axler	Fradl
519	Left	9	Adler	Zvi	Son of Yokhanan & Sheva	522	Right	4	Axler	Leah
520	Right	11	Advokat	Fyvel	Son of Gershon & Freiba	522	Right	9	Axler	Malka
520	Right	9	Advokat	Gershon		522	Right	6	Axler	Nathan
520	Right	12	Advokat	Leib	Son of Gershon & Freiba	522	Right	7	Axler	Yekhez
520	Right	14	Advokat	Minna	Daughter of Leib & Tauba					
520	Right	13	Advokat	Nahum	Son of Leib & Tauba					
520	Right	10	Advokat	Rachel	Daughter of Gershon & Freiba	525	Right	8	Babad	Aryeh
520	Left	8	Affel	Hennie	Daughter of Berisz & Baylah	525	Right	7	Babad	Dvora
521	Left	14	Alter	Abraham	Husband of Mindl	525	Right	3	Babad	Eli
521	Left	13	Alter	Mindl	Daughter of Leibusz & 3 Children	525	Right	9	Babad	Leah
521	Right	23	Altzenfrum	Aharon	Husband of Rachel	525	Right	6	Babad	Reizl
521	Right	24	Altzenfrum	Anyuta	Daughter of Aharon & Rachel	525	Right	2	Babad	Sarah
						525	Right	4	Babad	Yitzhak



525	Right	5	Babad	Ze'ev	A Shokhet from Belz, 6 Children	523	Right	24	Behr	Issacha
524	Left	23	Bach	Abraham	Son of Chana, 6 Children	523	Right	20	Behr	Jonah
525	Right	19	Bach	Baruch	Son of Mordechai & Makhla	522	Left	21	Behr	Leah
524	Left	22	Bach	Chana	Daughter of Eliezer's Wife	525	Right	27	Behr	Malka Daugh
524	Left	21	Bach	Eliezer	Son of Abraham & Risha	523	Right	18	Behr	Meir
525	Right	20	Bach	Esther	Daughter of Mordechai & Makhla	523	Right	25	Behr	Miszk(i)ut
524	Left	27	Bach	Hinde	Daughter of Abraham & Risha	525	Right	25	Behr	Moshe
525	Right	18	Bach	Hirsch	Son of Wolf & Sarah	523	Right	21	Behr	Naphta
524	Left	29	Bach	Leah	Daughter of Yaakov, 2 Children	523	Right	23	Behr	Sarah
525	Right	15	Bach	Makhla	Daughter of Yitzhak & Hassia	525	Right	26	Behr	Yaakov
525	Right	21	Bach	Moshe	Son of Mordechai & Makhla	523	Right	22	Behr	Yitzhak
524	Left	28	Bach	Nachman	Son of Abraham & Risha	523	Right	14	Behri	Tzippa
						523	Left	8	Berger	Baylah
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	522	Right	20	Berger	Berisz
						522	Right	11	Berger	Chaya D
524	Left	24	Bach	Risha	Wife of Abraham	522	Right	14	Berger	Feiga
525	Right	17	Bach	Sarah		522	Right	19	Berger	Hirsch
525	Right	16	Bach	Wolf	Son of Mordechai & Makhla	522	Right	15	Berger Kaylah	Daughter f
524	Left	25	Bach	Yehudis	Daughter of Abraham & Risha	523	Left	4	Berger	Leibus
524	Left	26	Bach	Yente	Daughter of Abraham & Risha	523	Left	5	Berger	Lifzesh
525	Right	1	Bach	Zissl	Daughter of Nachman & Leah	522	Right	18	Berger	Margal
525	Right	22	Bach	Zissl	Daughter of Moshe	522	Right	12	Berger	Meir
524	Left	1	Balaban	Malka	Daughter of Israel & Sarah	523	Left	7	Berger	Mindl
524	Left	12	Barfuss	Chaim Yehuda	Son of Sholom & Esther, 3 Children	522	Right	17	Berger	Mordechai Yehuda S
524	Left	14	Barfuss	Esther Rachel	Daughter of Chaim Yehuda & Esther Rachel	522	Right	13	Berger	Schrage F
524	Left	17	Barfuss	Hennie	Wife of Mendl	522	Right	10	Berger	Shimon
524	Left	15	Barfuss	Melech	Son of Chaim Yehuda & Esther Rachel	523	Left	6	Berger	Yitzhak
524	Left	16	Barfuss	Mendl	Son of Sholom & Esther, a Child	522	Right	16	Berger	Zippora Dau
524	Left	13	Barfuss	Rosa	Wife of Chaim	523	Right	8	Bergstein	Ben-Zio
524	Left	18	Barfuss	Zvi	Son of Mendl & Hennie	523	Right	10	Bergstein	Eli
524	Left	9	Barrar	--	Children of Ephraim	523	Right	5	Bergstein	Fradl
524	Left	7	Barrar	Chaya	Daughter of Ephraim	522	Left	25	Bergstein	Hersch
524	Left	3	Barrar	Ephraim	Son of Zvi	522	Left	27	Bergstein	Jonah
524	Left	4	Barrar	Lana	Daughter of Israel	523	Left	21	Bergstein	Jonah Y
524	Left	6	Barrar	Michael Leib	Son of Ephraim	522	Left	28	Bergstein	Miriam
524	Left	8	Barrar	Pesha	Daughter of Ephraim	523	Right	11	Bergstein	Miriam
524	Left	5	Barrar	Yehoshua Zvi	Son of Ephraim	522	Left	26	Bergstein	Pearl
524	Left	2	Barrar	Zvi	Son of Michael Leib	523	Right	1	Bergstein	Reizl
524	Right	26	Baum	Baruch	Hersch	523	Right	2	Bergstein	Shlome
524	Left	29	Baum	Breineh	Daughter of Baruch Hersch	523	Right	3	Bergstein	Tauba
524	Right	27	Baum	Golda	Wife of Baruch					
524	Right	28	Baum	Malka	Daughter of Baruch Hersch	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
524	Left	30	Baum	Sarah	Daughter of Yehuda Shimon					
523	Right	32	Beck	Aharon	Son of Shlomo	523	Right	9	Bergstein	Yaakov
523	Left	2	Beck	Baylah Rachel	Daughter of Moshe & Matt'l, 2 Children	523	Right	4	Bergstein	Yehosh
523	Left	3	Beck	Yaakov	Husband of Baylah	523	Right	6	Bergstein	Yitzhak
523	Left	1	Beck	Yenti	Daughter of Joseph & Feiga	523	Right	7	Bergstein	Ziss'l
522	Left	23	Behr	-	Wife of Abraham	523	Left	17	Berman	Aharon
522	Left	24	Behr	-	Children	524	Right	25	Berman	Bash'eh
522	Left	22	Behr	Abraham	Son of Lipa & Leah	524	Right	19	Berman	David
523	Right	26	Behr	Abraham		524	Right	17	Berman	David J
523	Right	17	Behr	Ben'di	Son of Ben-Zion	524	Right	21	Berman	Dvora
523	Right	30	Behr	Breineh Rivka	Daughter of Abraham & Miszkit	523	Left	15	Berman	Freida D
523	Right	28	Behr	Eli	Son of Abraham & Miszkit	524	Right	18	Berman	Hersch
523	Right	27	Behr	Frimet	Daughter of Abraham & Miszkit	523	Left	19	Berman	Krein'o
523	Right	19	Behr	Golda	Wife of Meir	523	Left	16	Berman	Meir
						523	Left	20	Berman	Melech
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	524	Right	22	Berman	Mendl
						524	Right	23	Berman	Ozer
523	Right	29	Behr	Hersch	Son of Abraham & Miszkit	524	Right	20	Berman	Pesh'i

524	Right	24	Berman	Rivka	Daughter of David Joseph & Fradl	522	Left	15	Butknecht	Aharon
523	Left	22	Berman	Shayndl	Daughter of Pesach & Esther Gittl	522	Left	6	Butknecht	Dreizl
523	Left	18	Berman	Zvi Wolf	Son of Meir & Freida	522	Left	8	Butknecht	Dvora
523	Left	9	Bernstein	Bluma	Daughter of Joseph & Gittl	522	Left	4	Butknecht	Feiga Marn
523	Left	13	Bernstein	Breineh	Daughter of Joseph & Gittl	522	Left	14	Butknecht	Hudi
523	Left	11	Bernstein	Gittl	Wife of Joseph	522	Left	17	Butknecht	Isaac
523	Left	14	Bernstein	Huna		522	Left	9	Butknecht	Israel
523	Left	10	Bernstein	Joseph	Son of Yaakov Ben-Zion & Breineh	522	Left	2	Butknecht	Juta
523	Left	12	Bernstein	Kreineh	Daughter of Joseph & Gittl					
523	Right	31	Bittner	Israel	Son of Lipa	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
524	Right	16	Bloch	Abraham	Son of Zvi & Esther					
524	Right	10	Bloch	Chaim	Son of Zvi	522	Left	10	Butknecht	Malka
524	Right	4	Bloch	Chaya Malka	Daughter of Joseph Avigdor & Sarah	522	Left	7	Butknecht	Meir
524	Right	14	Bloch	Dikha	Daughter of Zvi & Esther	522	Left	11	Butknecht	Moshe
524	Right	9	Bloch	Esther	Wife of Zvi	522	Left	16	Butknecht	Oonie
524	Right	7	Bloch	Frimet	Son(?) of Meir & Chaya Malka	522	Left	13	Butknecht	Rachel
524	Right	5	Bloch	Meir	Husband of Chaya	522	Left	12	Butknecht	Tol'chi
524	Right	15	Bloch	Menucha	Daughter of Zvi & Esther	522	Left	3	Butknecht	Yehosh
524	Right	6	Bloch	Shmuel Eli	Son of Meir & Chaya Malka	522	Left	5	Butknecht	Yitzhak
524	Right	11	Bloch	Yehoshua	Son of Zvi					
524	Right	12	Bloch	Yitzhak Isaac	Son of Zvi					
524	Right	13	Bloch	Zecharyahu	Son of Zvi	548	Left	15	Citron	Tal'tzi
524	Right	8	Bloch	Zvi	Son of Yaakov Yehuda & Menucha	548	Left	14	Citron	Ze'ev
525	Right	10	Blonder	Baruch	Son of Aharon & Bina					
						528	Left	11	Dagan	Baylah
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	529	Right	16	Daks	Aharon
						529	Right	15	Daks	Brein'e
525	Right	14	Blonder	Bina	Daughter of Baruch & Sarah	529	Right	14	Daks	Jonah
525	Right	11	Blonder	Chana	Daughter of Baruch's Wife	529	Right	17	Daks	Rivka Mir'l
525	Right	12	Blonder	Juta	Daughter of Baruch & Chana	528	Left	25	Daruch (?)	Joseph
525	Right	13	Blonder	Sarah	Daughter of Baruch & Chana	528	Left	26	Daruk	Feiga
522	Right	22	Brand	Dubie	Daughter of Yehoshua	528	Left	12	Darusz	Aryeh
522	Right	21	Brand	Nessie	Daughter of Yekhezkiel & Ettie	528	Left	14	Darusz	Golda
522	Right	23	Brand	Pini	Son of Aharon Hirsch & Jocheved Pakhmar	528	Left	13	Darusz	Pess'l
522	Right	24	Brand	Rivka	Daughter of Aharon Hirsch & Jocheved	529	Left	3	Deitcher	Aharon
523	Right	13	Breuner	-	Son of Abraham, Son of Shayndl	529	Left	4	Deitcher	Bluma
523	Right	12	Breuner	Shayndl	Bride of Moshe	529	Left	2	Deitcher	Leibus
523	Left	27	Bringer	Baruch	Son of Chaim & Rivka	529	Left	1	Deitcher	Malka
525	Right	24	Bringer	Baruch	Son of Chaim & Sarah from Khlovicz	529	Right	23	Dienstfeld	Ben Zic
523	Left	24	Bringer	Chaim		529	Right	22	Dienstfeld	Itt'eh
523	Left	30	Bringer	Chaim Leib	Son of Zlata	529	Right	18	Dienstfeld	Meir
524	Right	2	Bringer	Chaim Leib	Son of Menachem Mendl & Bash'eh	529	Right	25	Dienstfeld	Puah
523	Left	26	Bringer	Feiga	Daughter of Chaim & Rivka	529	Right	24	Dienstfeld	Tova
524	Right	1	Bringer	Menachem Mendl	Son of Chaim Leib & Feiga	529	Right	19	Dienstfeld	Tzuvta
523	Left	28	Bringe	Nathan	Son of Chaim Leib & Feiga, 2 Children	529	Right	20	Dienstfeld	Wolf Z
523	Left	23	Bringer	Rivka	Daughter of Moshe & Shifra	529	Right	21	Dienstfeld	Yitzhak
523	Left	25	Bringer	Yass'l	Daughter of Chaim & Rivka	528	Right	18	Dinter	Abraha
525	Right	23	Bringer	Yass'l	Daughter of Chaim & Sarah from Khlovicz	528	Left	3	Dinter	Abraha
524	Right	3	Bringer	Yehoshua	Son of Nathan & Zlata	528	Right	16	Dinter	Baylah
523	Left	29	Bringer	Zlata	Daughter of Joseph	528	Right	26	Dinter	Baylah
523	Right	15	Brizner	Esther	Daughter of Raphael S(h)emelis	528	Left	4	Dinter	Ben Zic
523	Right	16	Brizner	Joseph	Son of Yaakov, Son of Esther	528	Left	9	Dinter	Berisz
524	Left	10	Brot	Abraham						
524	Left	11	Brot	Rivka Heni	Daughter of Hertz	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
524	Left	19	Bruner	Gittl	Daughter of Moshe (&) Feiga, 4 Childen					
524	Left	20	Bruner	Yaakov	Husband of Gittl	528	Left	19	Dinter	Berisz
522	Left	19	Bukhner	-	Wife of Leib	528	Right	21	Dinter	Borko
522	Left	18	Bukhner	Leib	Son of Chana & Idd'l	528	Right	24	Dinter	Esther
522	Left	20	Bukhner	Nachman	Son of Leib	528	Right	32	Dinter	Esther
522	Left	1	Butknecht	Abraham						

528	Left	2	Dinter	Esther Bina	Daughter of Israel & Sarah Baylah	529	Right	9	Dyskall	Leib
528	Right	19	Dinter	Hersch Leib	Son of Abraham	529	Right	4	Dyskall	Mendl
528	Left	5	Dinter	Hinde	Daughter of Golda	529	Right	11	Dyskall	Mendl
528	Left	10	Dinter	Israel	Son of Mordechai & Zlot'i	529	Right	13	Dyskall	Mendl
528	Left	1	Dinter	Israel'ik	Son of Abraham & Esther Bina	529	Right	10	Dyskall	Miriam
528	Right	12	Dinter	Jonah	Son of Yaakov & Miriam Rivka	529	Right	6	Dyskall	Sarah
528	Right	25	Dinter	Joseph	Son of Yaakov Israel	529	Right	8	Dyskall	Yitzhak
528	Right	17	Dinter	Leah	2 Sons					
528	Right	29	Dinter	Leibusz	Son of Abraham & Esther Bina					י
528	Left	7	Dinter	Leibusz	Son of Abraham & Esther Schitz	521	Right	31	Edelstein	David
528	Right	14	Dinter	Miriam Rivka	Daughter of Joseph Avigdor & Freida	521	Right	30	Edelstein	Leah
528	Right	15	Dinter	Mordechai	Son of Abraham	521	Left	1	Edelstein	Tzivia
528	Left	17	Dinter	Mordechai	Son of Abraham & Esther Bina (Possible Dup?)	520	Left	12	Ehrlich	-
						520	Left	22	Ehrlich	Chana
528	Left	16	Dinter	Pearl	Daughter of Leibusz & Tauba	520	Left	14	Ehrlich	Chaya
528	Right	11	Dinter	Reizl	Daughter of Yaakov & Miriam Rivka	520	Left	20	Ehrlich	Joel Son
528	Right	27	Dinter	Reizl	Daughter of Joseph & Baylah	520	Left	16	Ehrlich	Liba Da
528	Right	31	Dinter	Sarah	Daughter of Leibusz & Tauba	520	Left	15	Ehrlich	Michael
528	Left	15	Dinter	Sarah	Daughter of Leibusz & Tauba	520	Left	11	Ehrlich	Moshe
528	Left	6	Dinter	Sarah Baylah	Daughter of Abraham & Esther Schitz	520	Left	13	Ehrlich	Moshe
528	Right	30	Dinter	Tauba	Wife of Leibusz	520	Left	17	Ehrlich	Naphtali Jos
528	Left	8	Dinter	Tauba	Daughter of Abraham Eisenstein					
528	Right	13	Dinter	Yaakov	Son of David & Chaya	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
528	Right	20	Dinter	Yekhezkiel	Son of Abraham					
528	Right	22	Dinter	Yekhezkiel	Son of Abraham (Possible Dup?)	520	Left	19	Ehrlich	Shaynd
						520	Left	21	Ehrlich	Sheva
528	Right	23	Dinter	Yitzhak	Son of Abraham	520	Left	18	Ehrlich	Yaakov
528	Right	28	Dinter	Yitzhak	Son of Joseph & Baylah	521	Right	3	Ehrman	-
528	Left	18	Dinter	Zlot'i	Daughter of Issachar	520	Left	23	Ehrman	Chaim
528	Left	22	Dornberg	Leibusz	Son of Shlomo Israel & Hennie	520	Left	24	Ehrman	Freida
528	Left	21	Dornberg	Michael	Son of Shlomo Israel & Hennie	520	Left	27	Ehrman	Joseph Son of
528	Left	24	Dornberg	Sarah	Daughter of Yitzhak & Pess'i	520	Left	25	Ehrman	Moshe
527	Left	20	Dornberg	Sender	Son of Yekhiel & Michal	521	Right	1	Ehrman	Sheva
528	Left	23	Dornberg	Shlomo	Son of Joseph & Sarah	521	Right	2	Ehrman	Tauba
527	Left	19	Dornberg	Yekhit	Daughter of Eliezer, Wife of Sender	520	Left	26	Ehrman	Yehuda S
528	Left	20	Dornberg	Yitzhak Issac	Son of Shlomo Israel & Hennie	521	Left	26	Eisen	-
529	Right	28	Dovschitz	Chaya Itt'eh	Daughter of Joseph & Sarah	521	Left	25	Eisen	Israel Chair
						521	Left	29	Eisen	Leah
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	521	Left	27	Eisen	Mindl
						521	Left	28	Eisen	Yehuda
529	Right	29	Dovschitz	Malka	Daughter of Mendl	520	Left	5	Eisenberg	Benjan
529	Right	30	Dovschitz	Mindl	Daughter of Joseph & Sarah	520	Left	3	Eisenberg	Bracha
529	Right	26	Dovschitz	Zeld'i	Daughter of Joseph & Zlot'i	520	Right	25	Eisenberg	Chana
529	Right	27	Dovschitz	Zlot'i	Daughter of Joseph	520	Left	2	Eisenberg	Hirsch
528	Right	4	Duner	Chana	Daughter of Yehoshua	520	Left	1	Eisenberg	Malka
528	Right	5	Duner	Chana Tauba	Daughter of Simcha & Chana	520	Left	6	Eisenberg	Mendl
528	Right	10	Duner	Elimelech	Son of Dov & Chana Ba'sheh	520	Left	4	Eisenberg	Morde
528	Right	6	Duner	Nahum	Son of Simcha & Chana	520	Right	26	Eisenberg	Pincha
528	Right	7	Duner	Sarah Gittl	Daughter of Simcha & Chana	520	Right	24	Eisenberg	Yaakov
528	Right	8	Duner	Sheva	Daughter of Simcha & Chana	520	Left	7	Elbaum	Israel
528	Right	1	Duner	Shlomo	Son of Ze'ev & Sarah, 2 Children	544	Right	18	Evrass	-
528	Right	2	Duner	Vita		544	Right	17	Evrass	Gersh
528	Right	9	Duner	Ze'ev	Son of Simcha & Chana	544	Right	14	Evrass	Krein't
528	Right	3	Duner	Zhila	Daughter of Shlomo & Chana	544	Right	15	Evrass	Yitzhak
529	Right	5	Dyskall	Abraham David	Son of Yitzhak & Chaya	544	Right	16	Evrass	Zelig
529	Right	1	Dyskall	Aharon	Son of Yitzhak & Chaya					י
529	Right	7	Dyskall	Chana Ba'sheh	Daughter of Wolf & Miriam	544	Left	8	Faffer	Moni R
529	Right	3	Dyskall	Chaya	Daughter of Issachar Behr	546	Left	23	Falk	Czarn'i
529	Right	12	Dyskall	Hinde	Daughter of Leib & Miriam	546	Left	22	Falk	Ethel
529	Right	2	Dyskall	Juta	Daughter of Joseph & Chana Ba'sheh					

547	Right	8	Falk	Ethel	Daughter of Isser Falk & Czarn'i	545	Right	25	Feiffer	Rivka
546	Left	21	Falk	Mordechai	Daughter of Isser & Czarn'i	545	Left	15	Filker	Joseph
547	Left	24	Fallenberg	Aryeh	Son of Saul, Husband of Zippora	545	Left	14	Filker	Tzila
547	Left	25	Fallenberg	Saul		546	Right	20	Fink	Aryeh
547	Left	23	Fallenberg	Zippora	Daughter of Yekhezkiel & Juta	546	Left	25	Fink	Chaya
546	Left	14	Farber	Chaya Reizl	Wife of Jonah	546	Right	18	Fink	Esther
						546	Left	24	Fink	Mendl
						546	Right	17	Fink	Moshe
						546	Right	19	Fink	Rivka
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	547	Right	13	Fischer	Esther
546	Left	12	Farber	Jonah	Son of Israel & Malka	547	Right	15	Fischer	Isaac
546	Left	13	Farber	Michael	Son of Jonah & Chaya Reizl	547	Right	14	Fischer	Joseph
546	Left	16	Farber	Mordechai Elyahu	Son of Yitzhak & Chana	547	Right	12	Fischler	Abraham
546	Left	15	Farber	Yehoshua	Son of Jonah	547	Right	29	Fischler	Fyvel
546	Right	23	Farr	Beni	Son of Pearl	547	Right	24	Fischler	Khien'l
546	Right	21	Farr	Juta	Daughter of Pearl	547	Right	28	Fischler	Leah
546	Right	22	Farr	Yitzhak	Son of Pearl	547	Right	25	Fischler	Melech
545	Left	7	Farse	Aharon Reuben	Son of Leibusz & Sarah, 2 Children	547	Right	33	Fischler	Moshe
545	Left	6	Farser	Chaya	Daughter of the Olinsky Family	547	Right	32	Fischler	Noah
545	Left	8	Farser	Chulya	Wife of Aharon Reuben	547	Right	26	Fischler	Sheva
545	Left	11	Farser	Etti		547	Right	30	Fischler	Sheva
545	Left	10	Farser	Leibusz	Son of Aharon Reuben & Chulya	547	Right	31	Fischler	Tauba
545	Left	5	Farser	Mali	Daughter of the Treasurer' (?)	547	Right	27	Fischler	Yehosh
545	Left	9	Farser	Sarah	Daughter of Aharon Reuben & Chulya	547	Right	11	Fitgar	Malka
545	Left	12	Farser	Uri		545	Left	13	Flaschner	Shayna
546	Right	14	Feder	Abisz	Son of Lieber	547	Left	12	Fleischer	Abraham
545	Left	19	Feder	Breineh	Daughter of David & Sarah	547	Left	14	Fleischer	Juta
546	Right	12	Feder	Chana		547	Left	13	Fleischer	Mir'l
545	Left	20	Feder	David	Son of Shmuel Zanvl & Chana, 5 Children	547	Left	11	Fleischer	Yehuda
546	Right	4	Feder	David	Husband of Mir'l	547	Left	15	Fleischer	Zanvl
546	Right	7	Feder	Aydl	Daughter of Shmuel Zanvl & Chana	547	Right	1	Fodor	Golda
545	Left	24	Feder	Frieda	Daughter of David & Sarah	547	Right	2	Fodor	Menucha
545	Left	18	Feder	Israel Michael	Son of Shmuel Zanvl & Chana, 5 Children	547	Right	3	Fodor	Shlomo
545	Left	23	Feder	Joseph	Son of David & Sarah	547	Right	4	Fodor	Yaakov
546	Right	9	Feder	Joseph Leib	Son of Lieber & Gutt'l (Gittl?)					
546	Right	6	Feder	Leah	Daughter of Mir'l	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
546	Right	5	Feder	Lieber	Son of Shmuel Zanvl & Chana, 3 Children	546	Left	29	Fogel	Baylah
546	Right	2	Feder	Mir'l	Daughter of David & Sarah	546	Left	31	Fogel	Malka
545	Left	16	Feder	Ozer	Son of Joseph Leib & Hennie	546	Left	30	Fogel	Michael
546	Right	1	Feder	Rachel	Daughter of David & Sarah	544	Left	3	Folk	Abraham
546	Right	3	Feder	Reuben	Son of David & Sarah	544	Right	25	Folk	Eliezer
546	Right	13	Feder	Rivka	Daughter of Shmuel Zanvl & Chana	544	Right	24	Folk	Fradl Dau
546	Right	10	Feder	Rivka Hennie		544	Left	2	Folk	Frieda
545	Left	21	Feder	Sarah	Daughter of Leib, Wife of David	544	Right	22	Folk	Juta
545	Left	17	Feder	Shmuel Hirsch	Son of Joseph Leib & Rivka Hennie	544	Right	23	Folk	Morde
546	Right	11	Feder	Shmuel Zanvl		544	Right	21	Folk	Moshe
546	Right	8	Feder	Tova Frieda	Daughter of Lieber & Gittl	544	Left	4	Folk	Sarah
545	Left	22	Feder	Wolf	Son of David & Sarah	544	Right	20	Folk	Tzir'l
545	Right	21	Feiffer	Baruch		544	Right	19	Folk	Yaakov
545	Right	24	Feiffer	Eliezer	Son of Baruch & Miriam	544	Right	26	Folk	Zelda
545	Right	22	Feiffer	Esther	Wife of Baruch	544	Left	1	Folk	Zlata
						547	Right	5	Frankel	Joseph
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	547	Right	7	Frankel	Pina
547	Right	9	Feiffer	Feiga	Wife of Chaim	547	Right	6	Frankel	Rivka
545	Right	19	Feiffer	Gittl	Daughter of Eliezer & Leah	546	Left	19	Freund	Baylah
545	Right	26	Feiffer	Jekuthiel	Son of Eliezer & Leah	546	Left	20	Freund	Rachel
545	Right	23	Feiffer	Leah	Daughter of Zecharyahu Yitzhak & Miriam	546	Left	17	Freund	Sarah
547	Right	10	Feiffer	Moshe	Son of Shimon & Chana	546	Left	18	Freund	Saul
545	Right	20	Feiffer	Pinchas	Son of Eliezer & Leah	546	Left	1	Freundlich	Abraham
547	Right	16	Feiffer	Reiz'i	Daughter of Dov					

547	Left	22	Freundlich	Abraham	Husband of Rosa	544	Left	20	Friedman	Sholom
546	Right	28	Freundlich	Aharon	Son of Yehoshua & Sarah	545	Right	5	Friedman	Sholom
546	Right	30	Freundlich	Beni	Son of Uri & Zeld'i					
546	Right	32	Freundlich	Frieda Rachel	Daughter of Azriel & Chaya	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
546	Right	29	Freundlich	Mala	Daughter of Hirsch David					
546	Right	25	Freundlich	Moshe Leib	Son of Yehoshua & Sarah	544	Left	14	Friedman	Todros
547	Left	21	Freundlich	Rosa	Daughter of Azriel & Chaya	545	Right	1	Friedman	Todros
546	Right	31	Freundlich	Sarah	Wife of Beni	545	Right	10	Friedman	Todros
546	Right	26	Freundlich	Sarah (Bat?)	Five Children	544	Left	23	Friedman	Yaakov
546	Right	24	Freundlich	Uri	Son of Yehoshua & Sarah	544	Left	17	Friedman	Yitzhak
546	Right	27	Freundlich	Yehoshua	Son of Uri & Zeld'i	545	Right	11	Friedman	Yitzhak
546	Left	27	Friedberg	Feiga	Daughter of Moshe, Wife of Yaakov (Wolf?)	545	Right	8	Friedman	Yitzhak
546	Left	28	Friedberg	Leib	Son of Michael Shlomo Son of Kalman Zvi & Baylah	547	Left	5	Frimer	Aharon
546	Left	26	Friedberg	Yaakov Wolf	Son of Hirsch & Juta	547	Left	8	Frimer	Freida
547	Right	20	Frieder	Aharon	Kalman	547	Left	2	Frimer	Leib A
547	Left	19	Frieder	Baylah	Daughter of Azriel & Chaya	547	Left	3	Frimer	Melech
547	Left	18	Frieder	Joseph	Son of Shmuel & Miriam	547	Left	4	Frimer	Moshe
546	Left	9	Frieder	Juta	Daughter of Zvi	547	Left	7	Frimer	Sarah
						547	Left	6	Frimer	Shayno
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	547	Left	1	Frimer	Yekhez
						545	Right	29	Frizinger	A Son
546	Left	10	Frieder	Lipa	Son of Yitzhak Aryeh & Czarn'i	545	Right	32	Frizinger	Abraham
546	Left	8	Frieder	Mordechai	Son of Yitzhak Aryeh & Czarn'i	545	Left	4	Frizinger	Chaya
547	Right	22	Frieder	Mordechai		545	Right	27	Frizinger	Ephraim
547	Right	21	Frieder	Rachel		545	Right	31	Frizinger	Aydi
547	Left	17	Frieder	Shmuel		545	Left	3	Frizinger	Fzirl
547	Left	20	Frieder	Tova	Daughter of Azriel & Chaya	545	Right	30	Frizinger	Israel H
547	Left	16	Frieder	Yeshayahu	Son of Joseph & Pesh'l	545	Left	1	Frizinger	Kaylah
547	Right	23	Frieder	Zvi		545	Left	2	Frizinger	Malka
546	Left	3	Friedler	Baylah	Daughter of Joseph	545	Right	28	Frizinger	Miriam
546	Left	6	Friedler	Joseph	Son of Shmuel	546	Right	16	Frosting	Chaya
546	Left	4	Friedler	Miriam	Daughter of Joseph	546	Right	15	Frosting	Yenti
546	Left	5	Friedler	Shmuel		547	Right	19	Frum	Breine
546	Left	2	Friedler	Tova	Daughter of Joseph	547	Right	18	Frum	Wolf
546	Left	7	Friedler	Yeshayahu	Son of Joseph					
545	Right	16	Friedman	Chaim	Husband of Esther	525	Left	20	Gabler	Aharon
545	Right	6	Friedman	Dina	Daughter of Sholom	525	Left	19	Gabler	Feiga
544	Left	22	Friedman	Dvora	Wife of Hersch	525	Left	22	Gabler	Hinde
545	Right	9	Friedman	Esther	Daughter of Yitzhak & Feiga	525	Left	23	Gabler	Sarah
545	Right	15	Friedman	Esther	Daughter of Yitzhak & Feiga	525	Left	21	Gabler	Zissl
545	Right	12	Friedman	Feiga	Wife of Yitzhak	526	Left	30	Garbler	Chaya
544	Left	16	Friedman	Frimet	Wife of Naphtali	526	Right	17	Garfinkel	-
544	Left	19	Friedman	Frimet	Daughter of Yitzhak & Reizl	526	Right	18	Garfinkel	Gittl
544	Left	21	Friedman	Hersch	Son of Joseph Avigdor & Sarah Dvora	527	Left	6	Gelber	Wolf
545	Right	18	Friedman	Israel	Son of Chaim & Malka	527	Left	9	Gerstenfeld	Chaim Mordechai S
545	Right	3	Friedman	Jonah	Son of Todros & Lieb'eh	527	Left	7	Gerstenfeld	Chaya Da
544	Left	24	Friedman	Joseph	Son of Hersch & Dvora					
544	Left	26	Friedman	Joseph Avigdor	Husband of Sarah Dvora	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
545	Right	2	Friedman	Lieb'eh	Daughter od Folk & Sarah					
545	Right	7	Friedman	Mir'l	Daughter of Jonah	527	Left	10	Gerstenfeld	Frimet
545	Right	13	Friedman	Mordechai	Son of Yitzhak & Feiga	527	Left	11	Gerstenfeld	Hersch
545	Right	17	Friedman	Moshe	Son of Chaim & Esther	527	Left	8	Gerstenfeld	Raphael
544	Left	15	Friedman	Naphtali	Son of Joseph & Sarah Dvora	526	Right	19	Gimpel	Chaim
545	Right	4	Friedman	Pearl	Daughter of Moshe, Wife of Jonah	527	Left	16	Gimpel	Chaim
545	Right	14	Friedman	Pini	Son of Yitzhak & Feiga	526	Right	20	Gimpel	Sheva
544	Left	29	Friedman	Rachel	Daughter of Shimon & Retz'i	527	Left	17	Gimpel	Sheva
544	Left	18	Friedman	Reizl	Daughter of Naphtali & Frimet	527	Right	1	Glabert	Miriam
544	Left	27	Friedman	Retz'i	Daughter of Moshe & Esther	527	Right	17	Glazer	Baylah
544	Left	25	Friedman	Sarah Dvora	Daughter of Fishl & Esther	527	Right	16	Glazer	Berisz
544	Left	28	Friedman	Shimon	Son of Rachel	527	Right	18	Glazer	Chana

527	Right	19	Glazer	El'keh	Daughter of Golda	525	Left	27	Groder	Feiga
527	Right	14	Glazer	Friba	Daughter of Hesh'l & Mir'l	525	Left	25	Groder	Freida
527	Right	13	Glazer	Frim'chah	Daughter of Hesh'l & Mir'l	526	Right	7	Groder	Frimet
527	Right	15	Glazer	Golda	Daughter of Hesh'l & Mir'l	526	Right	6	Groder	Meir
527	Right	20	Glazer	Reizl	Daughter of Golda	526	Right	8	Groder	Mendl
526	Right	11	Globard	-	The Family	526	Right	2	Groder	Morde
526	Right	10	Globard	Chaim		526	Right	3	Groder	Moshe
526	Right	15	Gold	Baylah	Rachel Daughter of Shlomo Israel & Henie	526	Right	1	Groder	Rachel Risha Daugh
526	Right	14	Gold	Jocheved		526	Right	4	Groder	Sarah
526	Right	16	Goldberg	Mattl	And Her Children	525	Left	24	Groder	Shepsl
527	Right	28	Goldstein	Baylah	Daughter of Hersch & Sarah	525	Left	28	Groder	Shlomo W
527	Left	1	Goldstein	Baylah	Daughter of Gershon & Chaya Reizl	525	Left	26	Groder	Yehoshua Me
527	Left	5	Goldstein	Chaya Reizl	Daughter of Leibusz & Hinde	527	Left	13	Grossfeld	Abraham
527	Right	29	Goldstein	Gershon	Son of Hersch & Sarah	527	Left	12	Grossfeld	Chava Da
527	Left	4	Goldstein	Gershon	Son of Mendl & Lieb'eh	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
527	Right	27	Goldstein	Hennie	Daughter of Hersch & Sarah					
527	Right	25	Goldstein	Hersch	Son of Gershon & Chaya Reizl	527	Left	14	Grossfeld	Chava
527	Left	3	Goldstein	Lieb'eh	Wife of Mendl	527	Left	15	Grossfeld	Shlomo
527	Left	2	Goldstein	Mendl	Son of Gershon & Chaya Reizl	525	Left	2	Grossman	-
527	Right	26	Goldstein	Sarah	Wife of Hersch	525	Left	3	Grossman	-
527	Right	30	Goldstein	Yaakov	Son of Gershon & Chaya Reizl	525	Left	5	Grossman	-
526	Right	13	Gott	Chaya Rosa	Daughter of Chaim Meir, Wife of Moshe	525	Left	10	Grossman	Bina
526	Right	12	Gott	Moshe Isser	Son of the Gabbai	525	Left	9	Grossman	Breine
527	Right	8	Gottlieb	Bluma	Daughter of Fy'szi & Hennie	525	Left	4	Grossman	Chaim
527	Right	12	Gottlieb	Chaim	Husband of Malka	525	Left	8	Grossman	Chay'tz
527	Right	6	Gottlieb	Fy'szi		525	Left	12	Grossman	Juta
527	Right	5	Gottlieb	Hennie	Daughter of Joseph & Bluma	Leibusz				
527	Right	10	Gottlieb	Joseph	Son of Fy'szi & Hennie	525	Left	18	Grossman	Leah
527	Right	9	Gottlieb	Krein'eh	Daughter of Fy'szi & Hennie	525	Left	6	Grossman	Leib
527	Right	11	Gottlieb	Malka	Daughter of Israel & Miriam, 3 Children	525	Left	11	Grossman	Leibusz
						525	Right	28	Grossman	Moshe
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	525	Left	13	Grossman	Moshe
						525	Left	15	Grossman	Moshe
527	Right	7	Gottlieb	Moshe	Son of Fy'szi & Hennie	527	Left	18	Grossman	Retz'i
527	Right	24	Grauer	Malka	Daughter of Mindl	525	Left	1	Grossman	Shayno
527	Right	23	Grauer	Mindl		525	Left	17	Grossman	Shlomo
526	Right	25	Gree(n)baum	Joseph		525	Left	16	Grossman	Vitya
526	Right	26	Greenbaum	Reizl'eh	Daughter of Mordechai, Wife of Joseph	525	Left	14	Grossman	Yaakov
526	Right	28	Greenwald	Dvora	Daughter of Sarah Chana	525	Right	29	Grossman	Zalmar
526	Left	1	Greenwald	Esther	Daughter of Dvora	525	Left	7	Grossman	Zissl
526	Left	3	Greenwald	Esther	Daughter of Mordechai and Makhla	526	Right	24	Grosstern	Dvora
526	Left	5	Greenwald	Glick'l	Son of Israel & Esther	526	Right	21	Grosstern	Joseph
526	Left	6	Greenwald	Golda	Daughter of Israel & Esther	526	Right	23	Grosstern	Moshe
526	Left	4	Greenwald	Israel	Husband , (and?) Esther	526	Right	22	Grosstern	Yaakov
526	Right	27	Greenwald	Pini & Rosa		527	Right	21	Gruber	Aydl Daug
526	Left	2	Greenwald	Wolf	Son of Dvora	527	Right	22	Gruber	David
526	Left	13	Griner	Chaya	Daughter of Nehemiah & Charn'i	526	Left	29	Gruber	Miriam
526	Left	10	Griner	Feiga		526	Left	23	Gushes	Aharon
526	Left	8	Griner	Gittl	Daughter of Itchi, Children	526	Left	22	Gushes	Chaya
526	Left	7	Griner	Itchi		526	Left	21	Gushes	Feiga
526	Left	28	Griner	Leibusz	Son of Joseph Azriel & Charn'i	526	Left	19	Gushes	Moshe Son of Y
526	Left	14	Griner	Miriam	Daughter of Leibusz	526	Left	24	Gushes	Reizl Daught
526	Left	9	Griner	Pesach	Son of Urtchi Aharon	526	Left	25	Gushes	Rukhar
526	Left	15	Griner	Shimon	Son of Gershon	526	Left	27	Gushes	Sarah
526	Left	12	Griner	Susha	Daughter of Nehemiah & Charn'i	526	Left	18	Gushes	Tema Daught
526	Left	11	Griner	Wolf	Son of Feiga	526	Left	26	Gushes	Yehosh
526	Left	16	Griner	Yitzhak	Son of Gershon	526	Left	20	Gushes	Zissl
526	Left	17	Gristenfeld	Freida	Daughter of Mordechai					
526	Right	9	Groder	Dani	Son of Meir & Frimet	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
526	Right	5	Groder	Ethel	Daughter of Yitzhak Isaac & Rivka, 4 Children					

527	Right	4	Gutman	Hodl	Daughter of Wolf	529	Left	10	Holtzman	Fishl
527	Right	3	Gutman	Rachel	Daughter of Aharon Schija, Rachel His Wife	529	Left	11	Holtzman	Leah
527	Right	2	Gutman	Wolf		529	Left	6	Holtzman	Malka
						529	Left	7	Holtzman	Moshe
530	Left	10	Habenstreit	Bracha	Daughter of Yehoshua & (Chaya?) Juta	529	Left	9	Holtzman	Shmue
530	Left	6	Habenstreit	Chay'	Juta	530	Right	26	Hornik	Daught
530	Left	8	Habenstreit	Sender	Son of Yehoshua & (Chaya?) Juta	530	Right	23	Hornik	Aryeh
530	Left	9	Habenstreit	Yaakov	Son of Yehoshua & (Chaya?) Juta	530	Right	25	Hornik	Avigdo
530	Left	7	Habenstreit	Yehoshua		530	Right	22	Hornik	Chaya
530	Right	20	Halpern	Rachel	Bride of Hersch Joseph the Melamed and Her Family	530	Right	24	Hornik	Zalman
530	Right	21	Halpern	Yehoshua	Son of Abisz	530	Left	11	Hornshtrick	Shmue
529	Left	17	Hamer	Yitzhak	Son of Moshe (&?) Retz'l, 2 Children					
530	Right	2	Hantzman	Chaya	Daughter of Yitzhak	519	Right	18	Idel	Moshe
530	Right	1	Hantzman	Gitt'l	Daughter of Yitzhak & Baylah	519	Right	19	Idel	Sarah
529	Left	22	Hantzman	Rivka	Daughter of Esther	519	Right	17	Idel	Ze'ev
529	Left	16	Haschliss	Abraham	Yitzhak Son of Yaakov, Husband of Gitt'l					
529	Left	12	Haschliss	Gitt'l	Daughter of Yehoshua & Sarah, 3 Children	535	Left	4	Judenberg	Abraham
529	Left	14	Haschliss	Kuba	Son of Herschel & Gitt'l	535	Left	7	Judenberg	Chaya
529	Left	15	Haschliss	Sarah	Daughter of Herschel & Gitt'l	535	Left	6	Judenberg	Israel
529	Left	13	Haschliss	Shmuel	Son of Abraham Yitzhak & Gitt'l	535	Left	3	Judenberg	Nesh'i
530	Right	7	Hauben	Sarah	Daughter of Joseph & Feiga	535	Left	5	Judenberg	Zlot'i
530	Right	8	Hauben	Yaakov						
530	Right	9	Hauchner	Fyvusz	Son of Joseph					
530	Right	11	Hauchner	Sarah	Daughter of Fyvusz					
530	Right	10	Hauchner	Shayndl	Daughter of Fyvusz					
530	Right	4	Hecht	Bash'eh	Chana Daughter of Leib & Baylah					
530	Right	5	Hecht	Baylah	Daughter of Yaakov Hersch	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
530	Right	3	Hecht	Leib						
530	Right	6	Hecht	Yaakov	Hersch Son of Leib & Baylah					
530	Right	29	Heisler	Aharon	Son of Mordechai & Chaya Szifra	549	Right	25	Kalk	Abraham
530	Left	3	Heisler	Asher	Son of Mordechai & Chaya Szifra	549	Right	24	Kalk	Gitt'l
530	Right	31	Heisler	Baylah	Wife of Aharon	549	Right	28	Kalk	Malka
530	Right	30	Heisler	Chay' Szifra	Mordechai's Wife	549	Right	23	Kalk	Michael
530	Left	2	Heisler	Hersch	Son of Mordechai & (?)Chaya Szifra	549	Right	26	Kalk	Papah
530	Right	32	Heisler	Joseph	Akhiezer Son of Aharon & Baylah	549	Right	27	Kalk	Zippora
530	Left	1	Heisler	Miriam	Daughter of Aharon & Baylah	550	Right	30	Kaltwasser	Avigdo
530	Right	28	Heisler	Mordechai	Son of Joseph Eliezer & Miriam	549	Right	10	Kanar	Childre
530	Right	27	Hekdesh	The All Residents of the Lodging for Itinerants & Paupers		549	Right	6	Kanar	Baylah
529	Left	18	Helman	Hennie	Daughter of Elimelech & Brein'eh, 3 Children	549	Right	9	Kanar	David
529	Left	19	Helman	Matot	Husband of Hennie	549	Right	2	Kanar	Issacha
530	Left	13	Helman	Yaakov	Son of Moshe	549	Right	5	Kanar	Lipa
						549	Right	8	Kanar	Moshe
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	549	Right	1	Kanar	Nahum
						549	Right	7	Kanar	Nicha
530	Left	14	Helman	Yehuda	Leib Son of Yaakov	549	Right	11	Kanar	Sima
529	Left	20	Helman (?)	Leibusz	Hanoch Son of Elimelech & Brein'eh, 2 Children	549	Right	4	Kanar	Sobol
529	Left	21	Helman (?)	Leibusz	Sash'eh Wife of Hanoch (??)	549	Right	3	Kanar	Yehudi
530	Right	12	Hirschhorn	Ber'l		549	Left	23	Kandel	Wife a
530	Right	17	Hirschhorn	Chava	Daughter of Yaakov	549	Left	22	Kandel	David
530	Right	19	Hirschhorn	David	Son of Ber'l	550	Left	9	Kanik	Elkanah
530	Right	14	Hirschhorn	Feiga	Sarah Daughter of Yaakov	549	Left	15	Kantor	Abraham
530	Right	13	Hirschhorn	Joseph	Son of Ber'l	549	Left	19	Kantor	Aharon
530	Left	12	Hirschhorn	Joseph	Son of Meir Jakter's Stepfather	549	Left	5	Kantor	Ben Zic
530	Right	15	Hirschhorn	Nachman	Son of Ber'l	549	Left	4	Kantor	Dvora
530	Right	18	Hirschhorn	Rachel	Daughter of Ber'l Chava (?) and Her Family	549	Left	17	Kantor	Dvora
530	Right	16	Hirschhorn	Yaakov	Son of Ber'l	549	Left	9	Kantor	Feiga
530	Left	5	Hoch	Baylah	Wife of Tzischler	549	Left	18	Kantor	Frimet
530	Left	4	Hoch	Malka	Daughter of Leibusz & Baylah	549	Left	13	Kantor	Fyvel
529	Left	5	Holtzman	Hanoch	Son of Yehoshua & Baylah	549	Left	6	Kantor	Golda
529	Left	8	Holtzman	Chaya	Daughter of Pinchas, Wife of Moshe (Leib?)					

549	Left	7	Kantor	Leib	Son of Ben-Zion & Golda	550	Right	1	Klar	The Hu
549	Left	21	Kantor	Malka	Daughter of Dvora	550	Left	14	Klein	Hinde
549	Left	14	Kantor	Rivka	Daughter of Shmuel & Zippora	550	Left	12	Klein	Menas
549	Left	16	Kantor	Sarah	Wife of Abraham	550	Left	13	Klein	Rivka
549	Left	8	Kantor	Shmuel	Son of David & Feiga, 6 Children	550	Left	11	Klein	Sarah
549	Left	20	Kantor	Yitzhak	Son of Shmuel & Zippora, 1 Child	550	Left	10	Klein	Zippora
535	Left	28	Katz	Chava	Daughter of Meir & Dvora	550	Right	20	Kluger	Chava
535	Left	27	Katz	Dvora	Daughter of David & Pearl	550	Right	24	Kluger	Ethel
535	Left	31	Katz	Esther	Daughter of Zvi & Yehudit	550	Right	23	Kluger	Miriam
536	Right	1	Katz	Git'zia	Daughter of Zvi & Yehudit	550	Right	19	Kluger	Moshe
						550	Right	21	Kluger	Reizl
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	550	Right	18	Kluger	Shlome
						550	Right	25	Kluger	Sima
535	Left	17	Katz	Lemel	Son of Pinchas & Yente	550	Right	22	Kluger	Walfisz
536	Right	5	Katz	Mali	Daughter of Hersch & Pearl Dvora	550	Right	8	Klughaub	Chana
535	Left	26	Katz	Meir	Son of Sholom & Susha	550	Right	7	Klughaub	Rivka
536	Right	3	Katz	Mordechai	Son of Moshe Isaac	549	Right	15	Kook	Ari
536	Right	2	Katz	Moshe	Son of Meir & Dvora	549	Right	19	Kook	Chana
535	Left	15	Katz	Naphtali	Son of Tauba	549	Right	18	Kook	Chaya
535	Left	22	Katz	Naphtali	Son of Nathan & Susha	549	Right	13	Kook	Eli
535	Left	20	Katz	Nathan	Son of Nathan (?) & Tauba	549	Right	20	Kook	Esther
535	Left	18	Katz	Pinchas	Son of Mordechai (and?) Wife of Mordechai	549	Right	12	Kook	Isaac Y
535	Left	23	Katz	Rivka	Daughter of Meir & Henya	549	Right	17	Kook	Juta Daughte
535	Left	24	Katz	Sholom	Son of Moshe	549	Right	14	Kook	Rivka
535	Left	21	Katz	Susha	Daughter of Meir & Henya	549	Right	16	Kook	Sheva
535	Left	25	Katz	Susha		549	Right	22	Kook	Yitzhak
536	Right	4	Katz	Suv'leh	Daughter of Hersch & Pearl Dvora	550	Left	2	Kratner	Nahum
535	Left	12	Katz	Tova	Daughter of Zvi	550	Left	3	Kratner	Paya
535	Left	30	Katz	Tauba	Daughter of Sholom & Susha	550	Left	1	Kratner	Yehosh
535	Left	29	Katz	Wolf	Son of Meir & Dvora	550	Right	3	Kremerman	Avigdor
535	Left	14	Katz	Yehudit	Daughter of Yaakov & Esther	550	Right	5	Kremerman	Leah
535	Left	16	Katz	Yente	Daughter of Zecharyahu Yitzhak & Miriam	550	Right	6	Kremerman	Shmuel
535	Left	13	Katz	Zvi	Son of Moshe & Baylah	550	Right	4	Kremerman	Tauba (Tov
535	Left	19	Katz	Zvi	Son of Pinchas & Yente	550	Right	27	Kristianopol	Sarah C
549	Left	11	Katzbach	Aharon	Son of Yokhanan & Reizl	550	Right	26	Kristianopol	Zvi
549	Left	12	Katzbach	Israel	Son of Yokhanan & Reizl	550	Left	18	Krochmal	Jochev
549	Left	10	Katzbach	Reizl	Wife of Yokhanan	550	Left	17	Krochmal	Leibus
549	Left	3	Kaufman	Feiga	Daughter of Lieber & Tova Frieda	550	Left	15	Krochmal	Mir'l
549	Left	2	Kaufman	Tauba (Tova?) Frieda	Daughter of Lieber Feder & Gitt'l					
549	Right	29	Kesler	Avigdor	Son of Zanvel	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
549	Left	1	Kesler	Chan'tzi	Daughter of Avigdor & Malka					
549	Right	30	Kesler	Dvora	Daughter of Avigdor & Malka	550	Left	19	Krochmal	Nechan
549	Right	32	Kesler	Joseph	Son of Avigdor & Malka	550	Left	16	Krochmal	Yaakov
549	Right	31	Kesler	Rivka	Daughter of Avigdor & Malka	550	Right	17	Kurtzer	Brothe
550	Right	28	Kessel	Hodi	The Lady Baker	550	Right	11	Kurtzer	David
550	Right	29	Kessel	Wolf	Son of Hodi	550	Right	13	Kurtzer	Kalla
550	Left	8	Kizelstein	-	Mother of Aydl	550	Right	10	Kurtzer	Sarah
550	Left	4	Kizelstein	Abraham	Son-in-Law of Nachman Shamash	550	Right	9	Kurtzer	Saul
550	Left	6	Kizelstein	Children	Of Abraham & Juta	550	Right	12	Kurtzer	Shlome
550	Left	7	Kizelstein	Aydl	From Toszkow	550	Right	16	Kurtzer	Sister
550	Left	5	Kizelstein	Juta	Daughter of Nachman, Wife of Abraham	550	Right	15	Kurtzer	Tema
549	Left	26	Klar	Chaim Eliezer	Son of Ze'ev	550	Right	14	Kurtzer	Yaakov
549	Left	24	Klar	Esther Malka	Daughter of Ze'ev & Shayndl					
549	Left	25	Klar	Hodl	Daughter of Chaim Eliezer					
						538	Left	4	Labus	Chava
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	538	Left	2	Labus	David
						538	Left	1	Labus	Per'l
549	Left	28	Klar	Rali		538	Left	3	Labus	Rachel Daught
549	Left	27	Klar	Shmuel		536	Right	15	Lachner	Abba
550	Right	2	Klar	Simcha	His Wife & Children	536	Right	19	Lachner	Chaim



536	Right	9	Lachner	Chana	Daughter of Leibusz & Bat Sheva	537	Right	19	Laszczower	Shayndl
536	Right	22	Lachner	Gavriel	Son of Mordechai & Tauba	537	Right	21	Laszczower	Shimon
536	Right	18	Lachner	Genendl		537	Right	28	Laszczower	Shlomo
536	Right	6	Lachner	Hersch	Son of Yaakov	537	Right	25	Laszczower	Wolf
536	Right	11	Lachner	Hersch	Son of Sender	537	Right	15	Laszczower	Yaakov
536	Right	17	Lachner	Joseph	Son of Hersch & Esther	537	Left	10	Laszczower	Yeshaya
536	Right	24	Lachner	Kaylah	Daughter of Mordechai & Tauba					
536	Right	16	Lachner	Leah	Daughter of Hersch & Esther	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name
536	Right	20	Lachner	Mordechai	Son of Chaim Hersch & Genendl					
536	Right	23	Lachner	Moshe	Son of Mordechai & Tauba	536	Left	8	Lauf	Chana
536	Right	8	Lachner	Sender	Son of Yaakov	536	Left	10	Lauf	Esther
536	Right	10	Lachner	Shayndl	Daughter of Sender	536	Left	6	Lauf	Etta
536	Right	13	Lachner	Shmuel	Son of Sender	538	Left	18	Lauf	Juta
536	Right	21	Lachner	Tauba		536	Left	9	Lauf	Moshe
536	Right	7	Lachner	Yaakov	Son of Hersch & Esther	536	Left	11	Lauf	Reizl
536	Right	12	Lachner	Yaakov	Son of Sender	536	Left	7	Lauf	Wolf
536	Right	25	Lachner	Yehuda	Son of Mordechai & Tauba	538	Left	11	Leder	Sons
536	Right	14	Lachner	Yitzhak	Son of Hersch & Esther	538	Left	9	Leder	Chana
538	Right	10	Lahaman	Chana	Daughter of Fyvel & Her Family	538	Left	10	Leder	Dvora
536	Left	19	Landau	-	Wife of Yehoshua	538	Left	8	Leder	Joel
536	Left	17	Landau	Aharon	Yehoshua	538	Left	7	Leder	Yenti
538	Right	7	Landau	Chana	Daughter of Yitzhak & Chaya Juta	538	Right	27	Leon	-
						538	Right	28	Leon	Name
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	538	Right	26	Leon	Mendl
						536	Left	27	Lerner	Shosha
536	Left	21	Landau	Joseph	Son of Aharon Yehoshua	536	Left	22	Lerner	Breine
536	Left	18	Landau	Meir	Son of Aharon Yehoshua & Miriam	537	Right	4	Lerner	Hanoch
536	Left	20	Landau	Rachel	Daughter of Aharon Yehoshua	537	Right	6	Lerner	Chaya
538	Right	34	Lang	A Child	Of Sender & Feiga	537	Right	11	Lerner	Dvora
538	Right	33	Lang	Feiga	Wife of Sender	537	Right	10	Lerner	Elimelech
538	Right	31	Lang	Sender	The Melamed	536	Left	28	Lerner	Gitt'l
538	Right	32	Lang	Sender	Son of David	536	Left	26	Lerner	Hinde
538	Right	23	Langer	Juta	Daughter of Shmuel Chaim & Gitt'l	537	Right	2	Lerner	Israel
538	Right	25	Langer	Menachem	Son of Shmuel Chaim & Gitt'l	537	Right	3	Lerner	Itta
538	Right	24	Langer	Rivka	Daughter of Shmuel Chaim & Gitt'l	536	Left	23	Lerner	Micha
538	Right	22	Lanhart	Esther Rachel	Wife of Sholom	537	Right	5	Lerner	Miriam
538	Right	21	Lanhart	Sholom	Son of Chaim Leib, 4 Children	537	Right	1	Lerner	Miriam
537	Right	16	Laszczower	Abraham	Son of Yaakov & Tirl and their Family	537	Right	12	Lerner	Nekha
537	Right	23	Laszczower	Aharon	Son of Chaim & Rivka	536	Left	24	Lerner	Pearl
538	Left	20	Laszczower	Ben Zion	Son of Lipa the Shoemaker, & Chaya	536	Left	29	Lerner	Rachel
537	Right	18	Laszczower	Berisz	Son of Yaakov & Tzir'l	536	Left	30	Lerner	Shaul
537	Right	27	Laszczower	Bluma	Daughter of Aharon & Rachel	536	Left	25	Lerner	Sheva
537	Left	8	Laszczower	Breineh	Daughter of Meir & Chana	537	Right	8	Lerner	Shmuel
537	Right	24	Laszczower	Chaim	Son of Shlomo & Bluma	536	Left	25	Lerner	Simcha
537	Left	5	Laszczower	Chaim		537	Right	13	Lerner	Yaakov
537	Left	7	Laszczower	Chana		537	Right	9	Lerner	Yekhie
537	Left	9	Laszczower	Ethel	Daughter of Meir & Chana	537	Right	7	Lerner	Yitzhak
537	Right	31	Laszczower	Fishl	Son of Ephraim & Tzivia	538	Right	5	Lesser	Aharon
537	Right	30	Laszczower	Fradl	Daughter of Ephraim & Chana	537	Left	17	Lesser	Chaim
537	Right	26	Laszczower	Gitt'l	Wife of Wolf	537	Left	18	Lesser	Chana
537	Right	20	Laszczower	Malka	Daughter of Leibusz	537	Left	16	Lesser	Joseph
537	Right	29	Laszczower	Meir	Son of Moshe & Fradl	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name
537	Left	3	Laszczower	Meir	Son of Chaim & Tzivia					
537	Left	6	Laszczower	Meir	Son of Yeshayahu	537	Left	19	Lesser	Mamel
537	Left	2	Laszczower	Mir'l		538	Right	3	Lesser	Miriam
537	Right	14	Laszczower	Moshe		537	Left	15	Lesser	Pesh'l Dau
537	Left	1	Laszczower	Moshe	Son of Meir & Tzivia	538	Right	6	Lesser	Rachel
537	Left	4	Laszczower	Pesh'l	Daughter of Shmuel, 3 Children	537	Left	21	Lesser	Sarah
537	Right	17	Laszczower	Risha	Daughter of Zalman	537	Left	20	Lesser	Sholom
537	Right	22	Laszczower	Rivka Leah		538	Right	4	Lesser	Tova

536	Left	15	Letzter	Anshel	Son of Mordechai Mendl & Feiga Reizh'i	540	Right	3	Mader	Arie	
536	Left	12	Letzter	Feiga Reizh'i	Daughter of Shmuel Zvi & Chana	540	Right	5	Mader	David	
536	Left	14	Letzter	Mindl	Son (?) of Mordechai Mendl & Feiga Reizh'i	539	Left	32	Mader	David	
536	Left	16	Letzter	Mir'l	Daughter of Shmuel Zvi & Chana	540	Right	4	Mader	Elk'i Ye	
536	Left	13	Letzter	Mordechai Mendl	Husband o Feiga Reizh'i	540	Right	2	Mader	Leibus	
538	Left	19	Lichner	Esther		540	Right	6	Mader	Leibus	
538	Left	15	Lichter	Naphtali	Son of Rosa	540	Right	1	Mader	Morde	
538	Left	14	Lichter	Rosa	Daughter of Naphtali, Wife of Aharon Flantz	540	Right	10	Mader	Moshe	
536	Right	27	Lieber	Aydl	Daughter of Lieber Gitt'l	540	Right	9	Mader	Rachel	
536	Right	29	Lieber	Aydl	Daughter of the Wife of Yitzhak Joseph	540	Right	8	Mader	Sob'l	
536	Right	26	Lieber	Bracha	Daughter of Lieber Gitt'l	542	Left	7	Madonsky	-	
536	Left	1	Lieber	Breineh	Daughter of Lieber, Wife of Levi	542	Left	11	Madonsky	Fyvel	
536	Left	2	Lieber	Chaya	Daughter of Levi & Breineh	542	Left	9	Madonsky	Israel	
536	Right	30	Lieber	Levi	Son of Yitzhak Joseph, 2 Children	542	Left	8	Madonsky	Sholon	
536	Left	5	Lieber	Moshe	Son of Yitzhak Joseph & Aydl	542	Left	10	Madonsky	Yaakov	
536	Left	4	Lieber	Sarah	Daughter of Yitzhak Joseph & Aydl	541	Right	24	Maiseles	Baylah	
536	Left	3	Lieber	Yehuda	Son of Levi & Breineh	541	Right	16	Maiseles	Chana Dau	
536	Right	28	Lieber	Yitzhak Joseph	Son of Moshe & Baylah, 4 Children	541	Right	19	Maiseles	Chana	
537	Left	11	Lieberbaum	Abraham	Son of Chaya						
537	Left	12	Lieberbaum	Miriam	Daughter of Zvi		Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
537	Left	13	Lieberbaum	Sarah	Malka, Michael & Miriam						
537	Left	14	Lieberbaum	Yaakov	Israel Son of Michael & Miriam	541	Right	22	Maiseles	David	
537	Left	28	Lieberman	-	A Daughter of Yaakov	541	Right	21	Maiseles	Hennie	
537	Left	24	Lieberman	Adar	Son of Chaim & Tauba	541	Right	23	Maiseles	Joel	
537	Left	27	Lieberman	Chaim	Son of Abraham David	541	Right	18	Maiseles	Meir	
537	Left	22	Lieberman	Chaim Leib	Son of Shimon	541	Right	26	Maiseles	Morde	
538	Right	2	Lieberman	Israel	Son of Chaim & Tauba	541	Right	14	Maiseles	Mordechai Ber S	
538	Left	16	Lieberman	Jonah		541	Right	20	Maiseles	Moshe Yaak	
537	Left	25	Lieberman	Lifsz'eh	Daughter of Moshe Leib & Chaya	541	Right	25	Maiseles	Mott'l	
537	Left	31	Lieberman	Mal'eh	Daughter of Chaim & Tauba	541	Right	17	Maiseles	Shmue	
538	Left	17	Lieberman	Miriam	Daughter of Yehoshua & Sarah, Wife of Jonah	541	Right	15	Maiseles	Tauba	
537	Left	26	Lieberman	Nissan	Husband of Lifsz'eh						
537	Left	32	Lieberman	Sarah Etti	Daughter of Chaim & Tauba	541	Right	9	Maller	Aziel	
537	Left	30	Lieberman	Shimon	Son of Chaim & Tauba	540	Left	32	Maller	Basya D	
						541	Right	11	Maller	Chaya	
						540	Left	30	Maller	Ezra	
						541	Right	13	Maller	Frieda	
538	Right	1	Lieberman	Sir'l	Daughter of Chaim & Tauba	541	Right	7	Maller	Herma	
537	Left	29	Lieberman	Susza	Daughter of Chaim & Hinde	540	Left	33	Maller	Joseph	
537	Left	23	Lieberman	Tova	Daughter of Yaakov	541	Right	4	Maller	Joseph	
538	Left	5	Litman	Chaim		541	Right	6	Maller	Joseph	
538	Left	6	Litman	Rachel	Daughter of Yaakov, and Esther Wife of Chaim	540	Left	27	Maller	Naphta	
538	Right	29	Lorentz	Abisz	Son of Mali Tauba	540	Left	31	Maller	Sarah	
538	Right	30	Lorentz	Meir	Son of Abisz & Rachel	541	Right	10	Maller	Sarah	
538	Left	12	Lowenkorn	Abraham		541	Right	1	Maller	Shaync	
538	Left	13	Lowenkorn	Pesh'l	Daughter of Pesach, Wife of Abraham	540	Left	28	Maller	Sheva	
538	Right	12	Luckman	Esther	Daughter of Hersch Leib	541	Right	3	Maller	Sheva	
538	Right	16	Luckman	Gershon	Son of Michael	541	Right	5	Maller	Sheva	
538	Right	15	Luckman	Hersch Leib	Son of Michael	541	Right	8	Maller	Sheva	
538	Right	17	Luckman	Miriam	Daughter of Michael	541	Right	2	Maller	Shmue	
538	Right	19	Luckman	Reuben	Son of Sarah	540	Left	29	Maller	Szprinza D	
538	Right	13	Luckman	Sarah	Daughter of Michael	541	Right	12	Maller	Yaakov	
538	Right	18	Luckman	Szifra	Daughter of Michael	541	Left	22	Mandel	-	
538	Right	11	Luckman	Uri	Son of Michael	541	Left	20	Mandel	Dvora	
538	Right	14	Luckman	Yehoshua	Son of Michael	541	Left	25	Mandel	Eli	
538	Right	20	Luckman	Zelda	Daughter of Uri	541	Left	19	Mandel	Leib'el	
538	Right	8	Lutner	Chaim Meir	Son of Aryeh & Tova	541	Left	21	Mandel	Mitt'l	
538	Right	9	Lutner	Leib	Son of Aryeh & Tova	542	Right	1	Mandel	Moshe	
						542	Right	2	Mandel	Shlome	
540	Right	7	Mader	Abraham	Son of David & Sob'l	541	Left	24	Mandel	Tehilla	

541	Left	23	Mandel	Yaakov	Son of Eli	539	Left	24	Mautner	Kuba
540	Left	10	Marbach	Chana	Daughter of Shmuel & Rachel	539	Right	23	Mautner	Leah
						539	Left	8	Mautner	Leah
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor					
540	Left	8	Marbach	Rachel	Daughter of Shlomo Michael	539	Right	1	Mautner	Mala
540	Left	9	Marbach	Shlomo	Son of Shmuel & Rachel	539	Right	7	Mautner	Mala
540	Left	7	Marbach	Shmuel	Son of Yehuda	539	Right	5	Mautner	Malka
540	Left	11	Marbach	Tzivia	Daughter of Shmuel & Rachel	539	Right	15	Mautner	Miriam
542	Right	7	Margal	Juta	Daughter of Nachman & Chaya Rivka	539	Right	6	Mautner	Morde
542	Right	9	Margal	Rachel	Daughter of Wolf & Juta	539	Left	10	Mautner	Moshe
542	Right	8	Margal	Wolf		539	Left	22	Mautner	Naphta
540	Left	13	Mark	Baruch		539	Right	29	Mautner	Neh'ne
540	Left	12	Mark	Esther Malka	Daughter of Abisz & Rachel	539	Right	27	Mautner	Paya
540	Left	14	Mark	Golda	Daughter of Yitzhak & Chaya	538	Left	21	Mautner	Peretz
540	Left	15	Mark	Hersch Reuben		538	Left	22	Mautner	Per'l
542	Right	25	Markus	Abraham	Son of Mordechai & Kreineh	539	Right	19	Mautner	Per'l
542	Right	17	Markus	Aharon	Son of Mordechai & Chaya Szifra	539	Right	4	Mautner	Rachel
542	Right	18	Markus	Asher	Son of Mordechai & Chaya Szifra	539	Right	10	Mautner	Risza L
542	Right	15	Markus	Baylah	Daughter of Mordechai & Bina	539	Left	27	Mautner	Rosa
542	Right	19	Markus	Bina	Daughter of Aharon & Baylah	539	Right	11	Mautner	Rusza
542	Right	22	Markus	Gila	Daughter of Mordechai & Kreineh	539	Left	23	Mautner	Sahah
542	Right	24	Markus	Israel	Son of Mordechai & Kreineh	539	Left	17	Mautner	Sarah
542	Right	16	Markus	Joseph Eliezer	Son of Mordechai & Chaya Szifra	538	Left	23	Mautner	Sarah E
542	Right	10	Markus	Juta	Daughter of Nachman & Chaya Rivka	539	Right	17	Mautner	Shayno
542	Right	14	Markus	Kreineh	Daughter of Yitzhak, Wife of Mordechai	539	Right	14	Mautner	Shimon
542	Right	20	Markus	Leib	Son of Aharon & Baylah	539	Right	8	Mautner	Shlomo
542	Right	13	Markus	Mordechai	Son of Abraham & Bina	539	Right	16	Mautner	Shlomo
542	Right	12	Markus	Rachel	Daughter of Wolf & Juta	538	Left	25	Mautner	Shmuel
542	Right	26	Markus	Rachel	Daughter of Mordechai & Kreineh	539	Right	25	Mautner	Shmuel
542	Right	23	Markus	Sender	Son of Mordechai & Kreineh					
542	Right	11	Markus	Wolf		Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
542	Right	21	Markus	Yitzhak	Son of Mordechai & Kreineh					
542	Right	6	Matziss	Rachel	Daughter of Fyvel	539	Left	3	Mautner	Shmuel
542	Right	31	Maus	Chaya	Daughter of Moshe & Feiga	539	Left	18	Mautner	Shmuel
542	Right	30	Maus	Dov		539	Left	29	Mautner	Shmuel
542	Right	33	Maus	Elka	Daughter of Joshua	539	Left	5	Mautner	Sus'l
542	Right	32	Maus	Leib		539	Right	12	Mautner	Tzila
539	Left	16	Mautner	Abraham	Son of Yekhezkiel & Juta	539	Left	19	Mautner	Tzivia
538	Left	24	Mautner	Abraham Behr	Son of Peretz	539	Left	21	Mautner	Yaakov
539	Right	21	Mautner	Aharon	Son of Joseph & Per'l	539	Left	12	Mautner	Yehuda
539	Right	20	Mautner	Chaim	Son of Joseph & Per'l	539	Left	28	Mautner	Yehuda
539	Right	24	Mautner	Chaim	Son of Naphtali	539	Right	28	Mautner	Yehuda
539	Right	22	Mautner	Chana	Daughter of Joseph & Per'l	539	Left	31	Mautner	Yehuda
539	Left	4	Mautner	Chana Gitt'l	Daughter of Shmuel & Rachel	539	Right	13	Mautner	Yekhez
539	Left	15	Mautner	Chaya	Daughter of Levi & Malka	539	Left	13	Mautner	Yekhezkie
						539	Left	30	Mautner	Yekhez
						539	Left	1	Mautner	Yekhie
						539	Left	26	Mautner	Yekhie
539	Right	9	Mautner	Esther		539	Right	26	Mautner	Yitzhak
539	Left	7	Mautner	Esther	Daughter of Koppel & Sus'l	539	Left	9	Mautner	Yitzhak
539	Left	11	Mautner	Esther	Daughter of Yekhezkiel & Sarah	539	Right	2	Mautner	Zvi
539	Right	30	Mautner	Esther Sarah	Daughter of Yitzhak & Gan'eh	540	Left	1	Mazl	Chaya
539	Left	25	Mautner	Gershon	Son of Joseph & Rachel	540	Left	4	Mazl	Chaya
538	Left	27	Mautner	Golda	Daughter of Joseph & Rachel					
539	Right	3	Mautner	Joseph	2 Children	540	Left	2	Mazl	Joseph
539	Right	18	Mautner	Joseph	Son of Wolf & Hennie	540	Right	27	Mazl	Pesh'l
539	Left	2	Mautner	Joseph	Son of Peretz & Esther Lieb'eh	540	Left	5	Mazl	Yitzhak
539	Left	14	Mautner	Juta	Daughter of Sholom & Sheva	540	Left	3	Mazl	Zisza
538	Left	26	Mautner	Koppel	Son of Yekhezkiel & Juta	540	Left	6	Mazl	Zisza

Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name
					(suspect duplicate?)	541	Left	7	Morgenstern	Shlomo
540	Left	17	Meiksner	Chaya		541	Left	1	Morgenstern	Shmuel
540	Left	20	Meiksner	Czip'a	Daughter of Moshe & Rachel	541	Left	4	Morgenstern	Yaakov
540	Left	21	Meiksner	Isaac	Son of Moshe & Rachel	541	Right	30	Morgenstern	Zelki
540	Right	26	Meiksner	Isaac Wolf	Kriss'l (?)	542	Right	29	Muntag	Gitt'l
540	Left	24	Meiksner	Kriss'l	Wife of Kriss'l	542	Right	27	Muntag	Israel
540	Right	25	Meiksner	Lieber Wolf	(Husband of?) Kriss'l	542	Right	28	Muntag	Miriam
540	Left	25	Meiksner	Moshe	Son of Aharon & Leah'keh	542	Left	15	Munter	Rosa
540	Left	26	Meiksner	Rachel	Daughter of Tzipa	542	Left	16	Munter	Yekhie
540	Left	23	Meiksner	Riva	Daughter of Wolf Kriss'l	541	Right	27	Muster	Esther
540	Left	18	Meiksner	Rosa	Daughter of Moshe & Rachel	541	Right	29	Muster	Feiga
540	Left	16	Meiksner	Shmuel	Son of Moshe & Rachel	541	Right	28	Muster	Mendl
540	Left	22	Meiksner	Wolf	Son of Moshe & Rachel					
540	Left	19	Meiksner	Zvi	And His Family, Husband of Rosa	543	Right	3	Neubauer	-
						543	Right	6	Neubauer	Bracha
						543	Right	5	Neubauer	Feiga
						543	Right	4	Neubauer	Mal'eh
540	Right	24	Meir	Chana	Daughter of Joseph & Dvora	543	Right	7	Neubauer	Sheva
540	Right	23	Meir	Dvora	Daughter of Aharon Reuben & Tzivia	542	Left	19	Nodl	A Son
540	Right	22	Meir	Joseph	Son of Yitzhak & Chana	542	Left	31	Nodl	Chay'ir
542	Left	1	Meisner	Dr.		542	Left	27	Nodl	Chay'tz
541	Left	12	Melamed	Chaya	Daughter of Zechariah	543	Right	9	Nodl	Czarn'i
541	Left	15	Melamed	Feiga	Daughter of Yehuda Dov & Machlah	542	Left	29	Nodl	David
541	Left	13	Melamed	Sarah Malka	Daughter of Yehuda Dov & Machlah	542	Left	20	Nodl	Hanoch
541	Left	14	Melamed	Sheva	Daughter of Yehuda Dov & Machlah	543	Right	10	Nodl	Hersch
541	Left	11	Melamed	Wolf Ze'ev	Son of Yehuda Dov & Machlah	542	Left	30	Nodl	Joseph
542	Left	3	Melman	-	A convert with Slihov	542	Left	22	Nodl	Kuni
542	Left	5	Melman	Ben Zion	Son of Simcha	542	Left	21	Nodl	Malka
540	Right	16	Melman	Fradl	Daughter of Ephraim	542	Left	28	Nodl	Meir
540	Right	14	Melman	Gitt'l	Daughter of Ephraim & Feiga Dvora	542	Left	25	Nodl	Miriam
540	Right	11	Melman	Hinde	Daughter of Pesach & Rachel	542	Left	24	Nodl	Moshe
542	Left	6	Melman	Mir'l	He (Ben Zion's) Wife Daughter of Bash'eh	543	Right	1	Nodl	Rachel
540	Right	13	Melman	Mordechai	Son of Ephraim & Feiga Dvora	543	Right	11	Nodl	Rivka
542	Left	14	Melman	Mordechai Eli	Son of Ben Zion & Mir'l	542	Left	18	Nodl	Sarah
540	Right	20	Melman	Moshe	Son of Simcha	542	Left	26	Nodl	Sarah
540	Right	18	Melman	Rachel	Daughter of Ephraim & Chana	543	Right	2	Nodl	Tzila
540	Right	21	Melman	Rivka	Daughter of Simcha	543	Right	8	Nodl	Yitzhak
542	Left	13	Melman	Rivka	Daughter of Ben Zion & Mir'l	542	Left	17	Nodl	Yuk'l
540	Right	19	Melman	Shlomo	Son of Simcha	542	Left	23	Nodl	Yuk'l
540	Right	15	Melman	Szprinza	Daughter of Aharon Eli & Gitt'l					
540	Right	12	Melman	Yitzhak						
540	Right	17	Melman	Yitzhak	Son of Ephraim					
542	Left	4	Melman	Yitzhak		Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name
542	Left	2	Miciwer	Ber'l	A convert with the YomTover					
542	Right	5	Miller	Mal'eh	Daughter of Moshe				(f)	
542	Right	4	Miller	Moshe	And His Wife, Sarah	520	Left	9	Ofer	Morde
542	Right	3	Miller	Sarah	Daughter of Shaul Moshe & Malka	520	Left	10	Ofer	Sari'l
541	Left	17	Miszkit	Freida	Daughter of Shmuel Wolf & Chana	521	Left	9	Orenter	Chaya
541	Left	18	Miszkit	Peshi	Daughter of Shmuel Wolf & Chana	521	Left	11	Orenter	Israel
541	Left	16	Miszkit	Rosa	Daughter of Shmuel Wolf & Chana	521	Left	7	Orenter	Kaylah
542	Left	12	Mitzner	Sarah		521	Left	6	Orenter	Leibus
541	Left	10	Monter	Abraham	Son of Yekhezkiel	521	Left	12	Orenter	Rivka
541	Left	5	Morgenstern	Bash'eh	Daughter of Shlomo & His Wife Bluma	521	Left	8	Orenter	Shmuel
541	Left	9	Morgenstern	Dvora	Daughter of Pesach & Esther Gitt'l	521	Left	10	Orenter	Yenti
541	Left	6	Morgenstern	Joseph	Son of Naphtali & Bash'eh	521	Right	15	Oster	Chaya
541	Left	2	Morgenstern	Juta Peshi	Daughter of Chaya Sarah	521	Right	16	Oster	Czarn'i
541	Left	3	Morgenstern	Naphtali	Son of Joseph & Juta Peshi	521	Right	19	Oster	Elimele
541	Left	8	Morgenstern	Reizl'eh	Daughter of Naphtali & Bash'eh	521	Left	21	Oster	Esther
						521	Left	19	Oster	Freida
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	521	Left	24	Oster	Freida

521	Right	12	Oster	Itt'l Daughter of Nachman, Wife of Yehoshua	553	Left	20	Rapoport	Aharon	
521	Left	22	Oster	Leah Daughter of Shmaryahu & Esther	553	Left	18	Rapoport	Esther	
520	Right	15	Oster	Leib'tzi Son of Isaac & Shayndl	553	Left	19	Rapoport	Yaakov	
521	Right	18	Oster	Leibusz Son of Shmuel & Malka	551	Right	3	Raush	Machla	
521	Left	23	Oster	Lipa Son of Shmaryahu & Esther, Children	551	Right	4	Raush	Rachel	
521	Right	17	Oster Mam'eli	Daughter of Elimelech & Brein'eh & 3 Children	553	Left	25	Raush	Isaac	
521	Left	17	Oster	Mir'l Daughter of Yitzhak Isaac	553	Left	26	Raush	Kreine	
521	Left	15	Oster	Nehemiah Son of Shmaryahu & Esther	553	Left	24	Raush	Pearl	
520	Right	17	Oster	Rachel Daughter of Eliezer; Wife of Leib'tzi	553	Left	17	Ravhon	Morde	
521	Right	13	Oster	Reizl Daughter of Yehoshua & Ruchama						
521	Left	18	Oster	Retzi Daughter of Yaakov & Mir'l	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N	
520	Right	16	Oster	Shayndl						
521	Left	20	Oster	Shmaryahu Son of Yaakov & Mir'l	550	Left	28	Rehr	Brein'e	
521	Right	21	Oster	Shmuel Son of Leibusz & Mam'eli	551	Right	2	Rehr	Chaya	
521	Left	16	Oster	Yaakov Son of Shmaryahu & Esther & 2 Children	550	Left	26	Rehr	Elka	
521	Right	14	Oster	Yitzhak Son of Chaim Shmuel	550	Left	27	Rehr	Joseph	
521	Right	20	Oster	Ze'ev Son of Leibusz & Mam'eli	551	Right	1	Rehr	Zvi	
522	Right	1	Oxenhorn	David Husband of Mir'l	551	Right	10	Reiman	Asher Abrah	
522	Right	2	Oxenhorn	Isaac Son of David & Mir'l	551	Right	31	Reiman	Ba'shel	
521	Left	30	Oxenhorn	Mir'l Daughter of Yitzhak & Gittl, 2 Children	551	Right	8	Reiman	Batya	
522	Right	3	Oxenhorn	Sarah Daughter of David & Mir'l	551	Right	13	Reiman	Baylah	
					551	Right	19	Reiman	Ber'l	
					551	Right	9	Reiman	Bracha	
					551	Right	6	Reiman	Chana	
					551	Right	16	Reiman	Chana	
					551	Left	1	Reiman	Israel H	
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	551	Right	7	Reiman	Leibusz
						551	Right	15	Reiman	Leibusz
						551	Right	26	Reiman	Leibusz
547	Left	9	Pariz	Petakhya Son of Eliezer Schechter	551	Right	30	Reiman	Leibusz	
547	Left	10	Pariz	Ziss'l Son of the Builder	551	Right	22	Reiman	Malka	
544	Left	9	Pearl	Breineh	551	Right	18	Reiman	Mir'l	
544	Left	11	Pearl	Hodl Daughter of Meir & Breineh	551	Right	28	Reiman	Morde	
544	Left	13	Pearl	Lieb'eh	551	Right	12	Reiman	Nahum	
544	Left	5	Pearl Mala	Daughter of Abraham Hersch & Nesha, 2 Childen	551	Right	20	Reiman	Nahum	
544	Left	12	Pearl	Moshe Son of Shmuel & Mala	551	Right	27	Reiman	Rivka	
544	Left	10	Pearl	Rachel Daughter of Meir & Breineh	551	Right	23	Reiman	Sarah F	
544	Left	6	Pearl	Shmuel Son of Moshe & Mala	551	Right	29	Reiman	Szprinz	
544	Left	7	Pearl	Sholom	551	Right	24	Reiman	Tzir'l	
547	Right	17	Perles	By Anshel Rot	551	Right	14	Reiman	Tzvi'tl	
546	Left	11	Podhoretz	Chana Baylah Daughter of Yitzhak & Pearl	551	Right	25	Reiman	Yaakov	
					554	Left	3	Reiman	Yaakov	
					551	Right	17	Reiman	Yehosh	
553	Left	12	Rabinowitz	Frimet Daughter of Hirsch Leib	551	Right	21	Reiman	Yehosh	
553	Left	11	Rabinowitz	Hirsch Leib	551	Right	5	Reiman	Yeshay	
553	Left	10	Rabinowitz	Rachel Daughter of Meir, 2 Children	551	Right	11	Reiman	Zlata	
553	Left	13	Rabinowitz	Sarah Daughter of Hirsch Leib	554	Right	12	Reis	Tzir'l	
553	Left	29	Radner	Chaya Bash'eh Daughter of Ephraim & Rosa	553	Right	8	Reiser	Abrah	
554	Right	1	Radner	Reuben Son of Israel	553	Right	29	Reiser	Ahr'chi	
553	Left	27	Radner	Rosa Daughter of Moshe	553	Right	19	Reiser	Asher	
553	Left	30	Radner	Shmuel Son of Israel	553	Right	14	Reiser	Asher	
554	Right	2	Radner	Zippora Daughter of Israel	552	Left	29	Reiser	Ben Zic	
553	Left	28	Radner	Ziss'l Daughter of Moshe	552	Left	33	Reiser	Chaim	
554	Right	13	Raff	Bezalel Son of Isaac & Jochit						
553	Left	14	Raff	Chaim Son of David & Rachel, 1 Child	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N	
554	Right	15	Raff	Frimet Daughter of Isaac & Jochit						
553	Left	16	Raff	Jochit Daughter of Hirschik	553	Right	32	Reiser	David	
553	Left	15	Raff	Malka	552	Left	31	Reiser	Eliezer	
554	Right	14	Raff	Mordechai Son of Isaac & Jochit	553	Right	4	Reiser	Esther	
554	Right	16	Raff	Moshe Son of Isaac & Jochit	553	Right	13	Reiser	Esther	

553	Right	27	Reiser	Feiga	Daughter of Leibusz & Juta	554	Right	25	Rokeach	Yehosh
552	Left	24	Reiser	Fishl		554	Right	21	Rokeach	Zundl
552	Left	25	Reiser	Fishl	Brother of Meir	554	Right	9	Rosen	Simcha
552	Left	32	Reiser	Franya	Wife of Eliezer	554	Right	11	Rosen	Tema
553	Right	12	Reiser	Fyvusz	Son of Yaakov & Rivka, 2 Children	554	Right	10	Rosen	Yehosh
553	Right	7	Reiser	Joseph	Son of Yaakov & Rivka	551	Left	2	Rosenberg	Chaim
553	Right	10	Reiser	Joseph	Son of Asher & Malka	551	Left	7	Rosenberg	Chaya
553	Right	25	Reiser	Juta	Wife of Leibusz	551	Left	9	Rosenberg	Hirsch
552	Left	27	Reiser	Kalman	The Wagon Driver	551	Left	10	Rosenberg	Hodl
553	Right	24	Reiser	Leibusz		551	Left	8	Rosenberg	Joseph
553	Right	30	Reiser	Leml	Son of Chaim Leib	551	Left	6	Rosenberg	Kaylah
553	Right	1	Reiser	Malka	Daughter of Mendl, Wife of Chaim	551	Left	5	Rosenberg	Moshe
553	Right	18	Reiser	Malka	Daughter of Moshe & 6 Children	551	Left	3	Rosenberg	Tzir'l D
553	Right	26	Reiser	Manya	Daughter of Leibusz & Juta	551	Left	4	Rosenberg	Yeshay
553	Right	9	Reiser	Melech	Son of Asher & Malka	551	Left	14	Rosenfeld	A Girl
554	Right	31	Reiser	Mendl	Son of Yaakov & Rivka	551	Left	12	Rosenfeld	Abraham
553	Right	20	Reiser	Moshe	Son of Asher & Golda, & 7 Children	551	Left	13	Rosenfeld	Etti
553	Right	28	Reiser	Nathan	Son of Leibusz & Juta	551	Left	11	Rosenfeld	Gitt'l
553	Right	11	Reiser	Penina	Wife of Joseph	551	Left	19	Rosenfeld	Juta
553	Right	3	Reiser	Pesach	Son of Yaakov & Rivka, 1 Child	551	Left	18	Rosenfeld	Leah
553	Right	15	Reiser	Rachel	Daughter of Joseph & Penina	551	Left	16	Rosenfeld	Moshe
553	Left	1	Reiser	Reizl	Daughter of Hirsch Wolf & Mal'eh	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First N
553	Right	23	Reiser	Rivka	Asher (?) Yitzhak (?)					
552	Left	28	Reiser	Rivka		551	Left	17	Rosenfeld	Shosha
552	Left	30	Reiser	Rivka	Daughter of Ben Zion & Sheva	551	Left	15	Rosenfeld	Yekhie
553	Right	5	Reiser	Rivka	Daughter of Fyvusz	554	Right	8	Rosengarten	Hennie
553	Right	17	Reiser	Ruzha	Wife of Zisha	554	Right	5	Rosengarten	Rachel
553	Right	6	Reiser	Sarah	Daughter of Mendl & Zippora	554	Right	6	Rosengarten	Reiz'i
553	Right	21	Reiser	Sarah	Wife of Moshe	554	Right	4	Rosengarten	Rivka
554	Left	2	Reiser	Sarah	Daughter of Pesach & Esther	554	Right	7	Rosengarten	Shimon
554	Right	30	Reiser	Sheva	Daughter of Joseph Avigdor & Sarah Dvora	554	Right	3	Rosengarten	Shmue
553	Right	31	Reiser	Tol'chi	Daughter of Chanan	552	Left	16	Rotner	Aharon
552	Left	26	Reiser	Tova		552	Left	17	Rotner	Gittl
553	Right	2	Reiser	Yitzhak	Son of Joseph & Rivka	552	Left	21	Rottel	Ben Zio
553	Right	22	Reiser	Yitzhak	Son of Asher & Golda, & 2 Children	552	Left	20	Rottel	Eliezer
554	Left	1	Reiser	Zippora	Wife of Mendl	552	Left	23	Rottel	Ethel
553	Right	16	Reiser	Zisha	Son of Asher & Malka	552	Left	22	Rottel	Wife
						550	Left	22	Rouf	Boruch
						550	Left	23	Rouf	Reizl
						550	Left	20	Rouf	Rivka
553	Left	3	Reiss	-	His Second Wife, & A Daughter	550	Left	25	Rouf	Sender
553	Left	2	Reiss	Hirsch	Son of Yehuda	550	Left	21	Rouf	Shaync
553	Left	5	Reiss	Leah	Wife of Raphael	550	Left	24	Rouf	Sheva
553	Left	6	Reiss	Miriam	Daughter of Raphael & Leah	553	Left	23	Rubinstein	Breine
553	Left	4	Reiss	Raphael	Son of Israel & Mir'l, & 3 Children	553	Left	22	Rubinstein	Dvora
553	Left	7	Reiss	Sarah	Daughter of Israel & Szifra	553	Left	9	Ruter	Aharon
553	Left	21	Ring	Mun'dik	Son of Adolph & Dvora	553	Left	8	Ruter	Esther
552	Left	18	Rokart	Dvora	Of the Family of Yitzhak Moshe	551	Left	27	Rutt	-
552	Left	19	Rokart	Shayndl	Daughter of Dvora	552	Right	13	Rutt	-
554	Right	26	Rokeach	Chaya Rachel	The Rabbi's Wife (Rebbetzin)	552	Right	21	Rutt	A Son (
554	Right	28	Rokeach	Dov	Son of Sholom	552	Right	22	Rutt	A Son (
554	Right	19	Rokeach	Aydl	Daughter of Rabbi Aharon & Malka	552	Right	16	Rutt	Abba
554	Right	22	Rokeach	Israel	Son of Rabbi Aharon & Malka	552	Right	20	Rutt	Abba
554	Right	17	Rokeach	Malka	Daughter of the Rabbi of Sokal	552	Left	5	Rutt	Abisz
554	Right	23	Rokeach	Miriam	Daughter of Rabbi Aharon & Malka	551	Left	21	Rutt	Abraham
554	Right	20	Rokeach	Moshe	Son of Rabbi Aharon & Malka	551	Left	31	Rutt	Abraham
554	Right	18	Rokeach	Rivka Miriam	Daughter of Rabbi Aharon & Malka	552	Right	26	Rutt	Abraham
554	Right	24	Rokeach	Sarah Rivka	Daughter of Rabbi Aharon & Malka	552	Left	14	Rutt	Abraham
554	Right	29	Rokeach	Sheva	Daughter of Yokhanan & Yenti	552	Left	11	Rutt	Aharon
554	Right	27	Rokeach	Sholom	Son of Issachar Dov & Chaya Rachel	552	Right	15	Rutt	Aharon

552	Left	3	Rutt	Aharon Zelig	Son of Anshel & Sarah
552	Left	1	Rutt	Anshel	Son of Treit'l
552	Right	4	Rutt	Ber	Son of Reuben & Ziss'l
552	Right	28	Rutt	Chaim	Son of Abraham
<b>Page</b>	<b>Column</b>	<b>Row</b>	<b>Last Name</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Descriptor</b>
551	Left	26	Rutt	Chaim Yaakov	Son of Tema
552	Left	15	Rutt	Chana Dvora	Daughter of Mordechai & Sarah
552	Left	4	Rutt	Chana Rachel	Daughter of Anshel & Sarah
551	Left	24	Rutt		Children
552	Right	19	Rutt	Czarn'i	Daughter of Shimon & Chana
552	Right	24	Rutt	Ethel	Daughter of Yehoshua, Wife of Israel
552	Right	8	Rutt	Feiga	Daughter of Ber & Miriam
552	Left	9	Rutt	Frim'cheh	Daughter of Anshel & Sarah
552	Right	3	Rutt	Hirsch'i	Son of Mordechai
552	Right	23	Rutt	Israel	Son of Raphael Aharon Kalman
552	Right	1	Rutt	Leah	Daughter of Moshe Leib, & Children, Wife of Abraham
552	Left	6	Rutt	Malka	Daughter of Anshel & Sarah
552	Left	13	Rutt	Mani	Daughter of Fishl
552	Right	30	Rutt	Massar	Son of Raphael
552	Right	14	Rutt	Meir	
552	Right	5	Rutt	Miriam	Daughter of Moshe & Feiga
551	Left	25	Rutt	Mordechai	Son of Tema
551	Left	29	Rutt	Mordechai	Son of Jekuthiel & Dvora
552	Right	2	Rutt	Mordechai	Approximately 10 Children of Mordechai the Carpenter
552	Left	7	Rutt	Mordechai	Son of Anshel & Sarah
552	Right	32	Rutt	Mordechai	Son of Yekhezkiel, Brother of Moshe the Tablemaker (?)
552	Right	10	Rutt	Moshe	Son of Ber & Miriam
552	Left	12	Rutt	Moshe	Son of Yekhezkiel & Chaya Mir'l
552	Right	11	Rutt	Nahum	Son of Ber & Miriam
552	Right	18	Rutt	Noah	Son of Raphael Aharon Kalman
552	Left	8	Rutt	Pesh'l	Daughter of Anshel & Sarah
552	Right	29	Rutt	Raphael	The Dayan
551	Left	30	Rutt	Reizl	Wife of Mordechai & Children
552	Right	25	Rutt	Reuben	
552	Right	27	Rutt	Rivka	Wife of Abraham
552	Left	2	Rutt	Sarah	Wife of Anshel
552	Right	6	Rutt	Shimon	Son of Ber & Miriam
552	Right	31	Rutt	Shmuel Nathan	Zeuermilch, by Joel
551	Left	23	Rutt	Tauba	Daughter of Abraham & Ziss'l
551	Left	20	Rutt	Tema	
552	Right	9	Rutt	Wife	Wife of Mordechai
552	Right	12	Rutt	Yalda	Daughter of Ber & Miriam
552	Right	17	Rutt	Yalda	
552	Left	10	Rutt	Yekhezkiel	

<b>Page</b>	<b>Column</b>	<b>Row</b>	<b>Last Name</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Descriptor</b>	<b>544</b>	<b>Right</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>Sakht</b>	<b>Mordec</b>
						<b>544</b>	<b>Right</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>Sakht</b>	<b>Rachel</b>
551	Left	22	Rutt	Ziss'l	Wife of Abraham	<b>544</b>	<b>Right</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>Sakht</b>	<b>Reizl</b>
551	Left	28	Rutt	Ziss'l		<b>543</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Salmander</b>	<b>Jekhit</b>
552	Right	7	Rutt	Ziss'l	Daughter of Ber & Miriam	<b>543</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Salmander</b>	<b>Peyshi</b>
						<b>543</b>	<b>Right</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>Salmander</b>	<b>Sarah Bl</b>
544	Right	3	Sakht	Eliezer	Son of Mendl & Esther	<b>543</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>Salmander</b>	<b>Shlomo</b>
544	Right	2	Sakht	Esther (His) Wife,	Daughter of Raphael Shargal	<b>543</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Salmander</b>	<b>Shlomo</b>
544	Right	1	Sakht	Mendl	Son of Eliezer & Chana	<b>543</b>	<b>Right</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>Salmander</b>	<b>Yaakov</b>

543	Left	32	Sambol	Aharon		555	Left	20	Schitz	Khienka
543	Left	33	Sambol	Frimet	Wife of Aharon	555	Left	19	Schitz	Mordec
543	Left	36	Sambol	Moshe	Son of Aharon & Frimet	555	Left	22	Schitz	Mordec
543	Left	34	Sambol	Sarah	Daughter of Aharon & Frimet					
543	Left	35	Sambol	Wolf	Son of Aharon & Frimet	555	Left	27	Schitz	Peszi Da
543	Right	14	Sandberg	Chaya Sarah	Wife of Shimon	555	Left	23	Schitz	Rachel
543	Right	17	Sandberg	Aydl Esther	Daughter of Shimon & Malka	555	Left	29	Schitz	Rachel L
543	Right	21	Sandberg	Fradl	Wife of Gimpel	555	Left	17	Schitz	Raphael
543	Right	15	Sandberg	Leib	Son od Shimon & Malka	555	Left	28	Schitz	Raphael
543	Right	22	Sandberg	Mani Rachel	Daughter of Joshua Rizi Berliss	555	Left	18	Schitz	Reizl
543	Right	20	Sandberg	Mendl	Son of Gimpel					
543	Right	19	Sandberg	Moshe	Son od Shimon & Sarah	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Na
543	Right	13	Sandberg	Shimon	Son pf Gimpel					
543	Right	16	Sandberg	Yehudit	Daughter of Shimon & Malka	555	Left	24	Schitz	Reizl
543	Right	18	Sandberg	Zelig	Son od Shimon & Malka	558	Left	9	Schlager	Dvora
557	Left	22	Schaff	Baruch	Son of Abraham & Shayndl Sarah	558	Left	13	Schlager	Feiga
557	Left	23	Schaff	Gittl		558	Left	10	Schlager	Hirsch Z
557	Left	27	Schaff	Miriam	Daughter of Abraham & Shayndl Ferrer	558	Left	14	Schlager	Miriam
557	Left	29	Schaff	Moshe	Son of Shayndl & Sarah (?)	558	Left	16	Schlager	Reizl
557	Left	28	Schaff	Sarah	Daughter of Yehudit	558	Left	11	Schlager	Sarah
557	Left	26	Schaff	Shayndl Sarah	Daughter of Baruch & Gittl	558	Left	15	Schlager	Sheva
557	Left	24	Schaff	Yitzhak		558	Left	12	Schlager	Sima Zla
557	Left	25	Schaff	Zlat'i	Daughter of Baruch & Gittl	557	Left	2	Schlein	Shmuel
559	Right	27	Schaffebauer	Abba	Son of Bina	558	Right	7	Schloss	Berisz
559	Right	19	Schaffebauer	Aharon	Son of Gabriel & Miriam	558	Right	6	Schloss	Freida
						558	Right	5	Schloss	Golda
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	558	Right	10	Schloss	Shayndl
						558	Right	8	Schloss	Yehoshu
559	Right	21	Schaffebauer	Isaac	Son of Abraham & Miriam	558	Right	9	Schloss	Yekhez
559	Right	20	Schaffebauer	Miriam	Wife of Aharon	558	Right	29	Schmidt	Abraham
559	Right	24	Schaffebauer	Sarah	Daughter of Aharon & Miriam	558	Right	25	Schmidt	Hennie
559	Right	22	Schaffebauer	Yaakov	Son of Abraham & Miriam	558	Right	27	Schmidt	Mund'ik
559	Right	23	Schaffebauer	Yehuda	Son of Abraham & Miriam	558	Right	28	Schmidt	Pritzia
557	Left	32	Schargal	Hirsch	Son of Raphael	558	Right	26	Schmidt	Rosa
557	Left	33	Schargal	Moshe	Son of Raphael	559	Left	1	Schneider	Aharon
557	Left	30	Schargal	Raphael		557	Left	3	Schneider	Aharon
557	Left	31	Schargal	Zechariah	Son of Raphael	558	Right	30	Schneider	Ben-Zion
556	Right	8	Schatz	Avigdor	Son of Meir David & Mindl	559	Right	32	Schneider	Ber'l
556	Right	9	Schatz	Eliezer	Son of Meir David & Mindl	558	Left	3	Schneider	Esther
556	Right	6	Schatz	Meir David	Son of the Carpenter	558	Left	5	Schneider	Ethel
556	Right	7	Schatz	Mindl	Daughter of Sima	558	Left	4	Schneider	Joseph
556	Right	4	Schatz	Tova	Daughter of Mordechai & Esther	556	Left	30	Schneider	Mendl
556	Right	5	Schatz	Yekhiel		558	Left	1	Schneider	Mir'l
556	Right	1	Schechter	Chana Peszi	Daughter of Jekuthiel	559	Right	31	Schneider	Moshe
556	Right	2	Schechter	Esther		559	Left	2	Schneider	Rachel
555	Left	31	Schechter	Lejzor	Son of Jekuthiel	557	Left	4	Schneider	Reiz'i
556	Right	3	Schechter	Sheftel		558	Left	2	Schneider	Rivka
557	Right	26	Scheinblum	Abba'leh		556	Left	29	Schneider	Shoshar
557	Left	1	Scheiner	Hirsch	Son of Chaim & Zlat'i	558	Left	8	Schragai	Malka
557	Right	27	Scheiner	Joseph	And His Family	558	Left	6	Schragai	Sheva
557	Right	28	Scheiner	Zlat'i	Daughter of Jekuthiel	558	Left	7	Schragai	Yitzhak
555	Left	4	Schiff	Abraham David		555	Left	16	Schreiber	Aharon
555	Left	3	Schiff	Baylah	Daughter of Mordechai & Chaya Sarah	555	Left	15	Schreiber	Lena
557	Left	6	Schinker	-	Wife of Hirsch Schinker	558	Right	4	Schur	Baylah
557	Left	5	Schinker	Hirsch						
557	Left	7	Schinker	Isser	Son of Hirsch & His Family	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Na
555	Left	25	Schitz	Aharon Zelig	Son of Hanoch & Miriam					
555	Left	30	Schitz	Aharon Zelig	Son of Raphael & Reizl					
555	Left	26	Schitz	Ber'l (?)	Son of Mordechai Pinchas & Chaya	559	Right	28	Schurtz	Children
555	Left	21	Schitz	Chana	Daughter of Raphael & Reizl	559	Right	29	Schurtz	Children
						559	Right	30	Schurtz	Children



559	Left	5	Schurtz	Zvi Aryeh
556	Right	29	Schuster	- Son of Ben Zion & Sarah (?)
556	Right	28	Schuster	Sarah Daughter of the Lightmaker (Candlemaker?)
556	Right	30	Schuster	Saril Daughter of Sarah
556	Left	1	Schuster	Saril Daughter of Sarah (Suspect Duplicate?)
543	Right	12	Segal	Naphtali Son of Naphtali & Chana
557	Left	8	Shapiro	Israel Son of Rachel
557	Left	9	Shapiro	Yitzhak
556	Right	23	Shaulberg	Hanoch Son of Mordechai Szyv & His Family
556	Right	22	Shaulberg	Mordechai Leib Son of the Red-Headed Builder
556	Right	10	Shulsinger	- Son-in-Law of the Gabbai Mendl
548	Left	30	Singer	Jocheved Daughter of Nachman Hirsch
548	Left	29	Singer	Nachman Hirsch Son of Joseph
543	Left	27	Sobel	Aharon Son of Melech & Yenti
543	Left	30	Sobel	Aharon Son of Yehuda & Malka
543	Left	19	Sobel	Dvora
543	Left	23	Sobel	Dvora Daughter of Abraham
543	Left	12	Sobel	Henya Wife of Meir
543	Left	15	Sobel	Juta Daughter of Meir & Henya
543	Left	29	Sobel	Malka Daughter of Mendl & Yehudit
543	Left	11	Sobel	Meir Son of Mendl & Yehudit
543	Left	24	Sobel	Melech Son of Aharon & Yehudit
543	Left	13	Sobel	Mendl Son of Meir & Henya
544	Right	8	Sobel	Mordechai
543	Left	17	Sobel	Moshe Son of Meir & Henya
543	Left	22	Sobel	Rachel Daughter of Meir
543	Left	21	Sobel	Rivka Daughter of Meir
543	Left	20	Sobel	Roni Son of Yaakov & Dvora
543	Left	16	Sobel	Sarah Daughter of Meir & Henya
543	Left	14	Sobel	Shammai Son of Meir & Henya
543	Left	18	Sobel	Yaakov Son of Meir & Henya
543	Left	28	Sobel	Yehuda Son of Yitzhak
543	Left	31	Sobel	Yehudit Daughter of Yehuda & Malka
543	Left	25	Sobel	Yenti Wife of Melech
543	Left	26	Sobel	Yitzhak Son of Melech & Yenti
544	Right	6	Sokol	Pearl Daughter of Chaim Joel, Wife of Raphael
544	Right	5	Sokol	Raphael The Wagon Driver
544	Right	11	Solotiner	Mindl Daughter of Yitzhak & Gittl

Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor					
						557	Right	10	Steiglitz	Ze'ev S
						557	Right	6	Steiglitz	Ziss'l
544	Right	9	Solotiner	Tzivia	Daughter of Yitzhak & Gittl	557	Right	18	Steinberg	Chaim Yit
544	Right	10	Solotiner	Yitzhak	Son of Lipa & Mindl	559	Right	25	Steinberg	Chaim Yit
557	Right	11	Steiglitz	Berisz	Son of Ze'ev	557	Right	19	Steinberg	Czarn'i
557	Right	7	Steiglitz	Chaim	Son of Shlomo & Chana Sarah, 1 Child	559	Right	26	Steinberg	Czarn'i
557	Right	12	Steiglitz	Chana	Daughter of Ze'ev	558	Left	18	Steinberg	Dvora Pe
557	Right	9	Steiglitz	Chana Sarah	Daughter of Chaim & Chaya	558	Left	19	Steinberg	Freida
557	Right	8	Steiglitz	Chaya	Daughter of Shmuel & Dvora	558	Left	22	Steinberg	Lipa
557	Right	2	Steiglitz	Dvora	Daughter of Yitzhak & Zlata	558	Left	23	Steinberg	Mala
557	Right	4	Steiglitz	Esther Malka	Daughter of Ber'l, Wife of Hirsch	558	Left	20	Steinberg	Nachmar
557	Right	3	Steiglitz	Hirsch Zvi Leib	Son of Berisz, 1 Child	558	Left	21	Steinberg	Sheva
557	Right	15	Steiglitz	Sarah	Daughter of Aryeh & Tauba, 3 Children	558	Left	25	Steinberg	Shlomo
557	Right	17	Steiglitz	Shayndl	Daughter of Yekhiel & Sarah	558	Left	17	Steinberg	Shmuel
557	Right	5	Steiglitz	Shlomo	Son of Hirsch, 8 Children	558	Left	24	Steinberg	Yitzhak
557	Right	16	Steiglitz	Tauba	Daughter of Yekhiel & Sarah	558	Right	22	Steinfeld	Frimet
557	Right	1	Steiglitz	Yaakov		558	Right	18	Steinfeld	Israel
557	Right	13	Steiglitz	Yaakov	Son of Ze'ev	558	Right	20	Steinfeld	Jocht
557	Right	14	Steiglitz	Yehoshua	Son of Shlomo & Chana Sarah, 1 Child	558	Right	21	Steinfeld	Joseph

558	Right	19	Steinfeld	Moshe	Son of Israel	559	Right	5	Szpindl	Leah
558	Right	23	Steinfeld	Shmuel	Son of Israel	559	Right	6	Szpindl	Leibusz
558	Right	24	Steinfeld	Zechariah	Son of Moshe	559	Right	7	Szpindl	Mir'l
559	Left	4	Steinworcel	Isser	And Tauba	559	Right	13	Szpitzer	Chaya
556	Left	26	Stern	Chava	Daughter of Shmuel & Yehudit	559	Right	11	Szpitzer	Freida
						559	Right	14	Szpitzer	Leibusz
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	559	Right	12	Szpitzer	Szprinza
						557	Left	19	Szpritzer	-
556	Left	27	Stern	Dina	Daughter of Shmuel & Yehudit	557	Left	21	Szpritzer	Chana
556	Left	25	Stern	Israel	Moshe Son of Shmuel & Yehudit	557	Left	14	Szpritzer	Esther
556	Left	19	Sternberg	Aharon	David Son of Yitzhak & Chaya	557	Left	11	Szpritzer	Fishl
556	Left	24	Sternberg	Chava	Daughter of Yaakov Hirsch & Tzila	557	Left	20	Szpritzer	Israel Yit
556	Left	18	Sternberg	Chaya		557	Left	12	Szpritzer	Juta
556	Left	15	Sternberg	Malka	Daughter of Shmeryl & Sarah	557	Left	17	Szpritzer	Yaakov
556	Left	5	Sternberg	Moshe	Son of Yitzhak & Chaya	557	Left	10	Szpritzer	Yehudit
556	Left	13	Sternberg	Moshe	Son of Shmeryl & Sarah	557	Left	13	Szpritzer	Yitzhak
556	Left	14	Sternberg	Retz'i	Daughter of Shmeryl & Risha	557	Left	15	Szpritzer	Yitzhak
556	Left	12	Sternberg	Rivka	Daughter of Shmeryl & Sarah	557	Left	16	Szpritzer	Zlot'i
556	Left	20	Sternberg	Rivka	Daughter of Moshe, Wife of Aharon	557	Left	18	Szpritzer	Zvi
556	Left	8	Sternberg	Sarah	Daughter of Moshe	555	Left	5	Szprung	Chaim
556	Left	10	Sternberg	Sarah	Daughter of Israel, Wife of Shmeryl	555	Left	9	Szprung	Esther M
556	Left	3	Sternberg	Shaul	Son of Yitzhak & Chaya	555	Left	11	Szprung	Esther M
556	Left	9	Sternberg	Shmeryl	Son of Yitzhak & Chaya	555	Left	10	Szprung	Husband
556	Left	21	Sternberg	Szprinza	Daughter of Aharon David & Rivka	555	Left	14	Szprung	Kaylah
556	Left	2	Sternberg	The Doctor	And His Family	555	Left	7	Szprung	Leib
556	Left	23	Sternberg	Tzila	Wife of Yaakov Hirsch	555	Left	8	Szprung	Pearl
556	Left	6	Sternberg	Wife	Of Moshe	555	Left	6	Szprung	Rek'l
556	Left	22	Sternberg	Yaakov Hirsch	Son of Yitzhak & Chaya	555	Left	12	Szprung	Szifra
556	Left	11	Sternberg	Yehuda Hirsch		556	Left	28	Szprung	Wylusz
556	Left	4	Sternberg	Yent'i	Wife of Shaul	555	Left	13	Szprung	Ze'ev
556	Left	16	Sternberg	Yitzhak	Son of Yehuda Hirsch	555	Right	6	Sztanger	Abisz Me
556	Left	7	Sternberg	Zlata	Daughter of Moshe	555	Right	20	Sztanger	Abraham S
556	Left	17	Sternberg	Breinel ??		554	Left	12	Sztanger	Aharon
556	Right	19	Stersberg	Abraham	Son of Joseph & Chava, 3 Children					
556	Right	16	Stersberg	Chava	Daughter of Yehuda Hirsch	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name
556	Right	18	Stersberg	Eliezer	Son of Joseph					
556	Right	21	Stersberg	Eliezer	Son of Joseph & Chava Szteiworcel	555	Right	4	Sztanger	Berisz
556	Right	17	Stersberg	Joseph	Son of Eliezer	555	Left	1	Sztanger	Berisz Son of A
556	Right	20	Stersberg	Pearl	Daughter of Joseph & Chava, 4 Children	554	Left	26	Sztanger	Boruch M
543	Left	6	Stolar	Baruch	Son of Zvi	554	Left	7	Sztanger	Breineh
543	Left	8	Stolar	Kalman	Son of Zvi	555	Right	19	Sztanger	Chaim S
543	Left	4	Stolar	Mala	Daughter of Zvi	555	Right	3	Sztanger	Chana Golda Da
543	Left	10	Stolar	Mala	Daughter of Zvi	554	Left	25	Sztanger	Hanoch
543	Left	9	Stolar	Rachel	Daughter of Zvi	554	Left	9	Sztanger	Chaya
543	Left	5	Stolar	Rona	Daughter of Zvi	554	Left	24	Sztanger	Chaya
543	Left	7	Stolar	Yitzhak	Son of Zvi	555	Right	7	Sztanger	Chaya Daug
557	Right	20	Stralberg	Abraham		555	Right	11	Sztanger	Czarna
557	Right	22	Stralberg	Gershon	Son of Abraham & His Family	554	Left	4	Sztanger	Dvora
557	Right	24	Stralberg	Glick'l	And Her Daughter	554	Left	13	Sztanger	Eliezer
						554	Left	16	Sztanger	Ethel Pes
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	554	Left	19	Sztanger	Fradl
						554	Left	6	Sztanger	Freida
557	Right	23	Stralberg	Hersz'i	Daughter of Abraham & Her (?) Family	554	Left	23	Sztanger	Hencia
557	Right	21	Stralberg	Mali	Daughter of Abraham & Her Family	555	Left	2	Sztanger	Hirsch
557	Right	25	Stralberg	Shimshon	The Wagon Driver, & His Family	559	Left	3	Sztanger	Hirsch
559	Right	8	Szpindl	Bun'dzhi	Son of Leibusz & Leah	554	Left	5	Sztanger	Leah
559	Right	4	Szpindl	Eliezer		555	Right	2	Sztanger	Maleh
559	Right	10	Szpindl	Eliezer	Son of Leibusz & Leah	554	Left	21	Sztanger	Malka Mi
559	Right	3	Szpindl	Esther	Daughter of Shimon & Freida	555	Right	25	Sztanger	Meir Son
559	Right	9	Szpindl	Israel	Son of Leibusz & Leah	554	Left	18	Sztanger	Miriam
						554	Left	11	Sztanger	Priba

554	Left	22	Sztanger	Rivka Freida		534	Right	8	Tauba	Chaim Ya
554	Left	14	Sztanger	Rivka Daughter of Moshe Harmelin & Lifsza		534	Right	12	Tauba	Chaya Dau
Dvora										
554	Left	20	Sztanger	Rivka Daughter of Moshe & Malka Min'chah	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Nam	
554	Left	27	Sztanger Rivka	Daughter of Joseph Eliezer & Miriam Wife of Boruch						
555	Right	18	Sztanger	Rivka Breineh Daughter of Moshe Yakter	534	Right	16	Tauba	Ezra	
554	Left	10	Sztanger	Sarah Daughter of Shmuel	533	Left	25	Tauba	Feiga	
555	Right	10	Sztanger	Sarah Wife of Shepsel	533	Left	27	Tauba	Giunya	
555	Right	16	Sztanger	Sarah Daughter of Abisz Meir & Sarah	534	Right	9	Tauba	Hinde Daug	
555	Right	23	Sztanger	Sarah Daughter of Mordechai	534	Right	4	Tauba	Isser	
555	Right	8	Sztanger	Shabtai Son of Yaakov & Chana Baylah	534	Right	10	Tauba	Joseph Mord	
555	Right	17	Sztanger	Sheva Daughter of Abisz Meir & Sarah	534	Right	17	Tauba	Juta	
554	Left	17	Sztanger	Shimon Son of Yitzhak	534	Right	6	Tauba	Leon	
554	Left	8	Sztanger	Shmuel Son of Sholom	534	Right	1	Tauba	Lusya	
555	Right	5	Sztanger	Shmuel Son of Berisz SGL & Chana Golda	534	Right	7	Tauba	Pap'ah Daug	
555	Right	9	Sztanger	Shmuel Son of Sholom	534	Right	14	Tauba	Pearl	
555	Right	14	Sztanger	Sholom	533	Left	26	Tauba	Rachel	
555	Right	13	Sztanger	Tauba Daughter of Chaim	534	Right	11	Tauba	Rachel	
					534	Right	3	Tauba	Sarah Riv	
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	533	Left	24	Tauba	Yaakov
						534	Right	15	Tauba	Yitzhak
555	Right	12	Sztanger	Yaakov Son of Shabtai & Sarah	534	Right	2	Tauba	Yudl	
555	Right	21	Sztanger	Yehoshua Son of Chaim Shmuel & Rivka Breineh	534	Right	13	Tauba	Zvi	
555	Right	1	Sztanger	Yehudit Daughter of Boruch Mordechai & Rivka	534	Left	5	Teichman	Aharon	
554	Left	15	Sztanger	Yitzhak Son of Boruch Mordechai	534	Left	6	Teichman	Bash'eh	
555	Right	15	Sztanger	Yitzhak Son of Abisz Meir & Sarah	534	Right	27	Teichman	Dina	
555	Right	24	Sztanger Yitzhak	Son of Abraham Chaim Sztanger & His Family	534	Left	1	Teichman	Eliezer	
555	Right	22	Sztanger	Zanvel Son of Chaim Shmuel & Rivka Breineh	534	Left	8	Teichman	Elk'i	
556	Right	14	Szteichel	Dina Daughter of Joseph & Feiga	534	Left	4	Teichman	Meir	
556	Right	11	Szteichel	Feiga Daughter of Fishl & Sima	534	Left	7	Teichman	Meir	
556	Right	13	Szteichel	Jocheved Daughter of Joseph & Feiga	534	Left	2	Teichman	Sarah	
556	Right	12	Szteichel	Mordechai Son of Joseph & Feiga	534	Left	3	Teichman	Szprinza	
556	Right	15	Szteichel	Sheva Daughter of Joseph & Feiga	534	Right	25	Teichman	Yaakov	
558	Right	1	Szolhammer	Breineh Daughter of Shmuel Joseph & Rachel	534	Right	26	Teichman	Yitzhak	
558	Right	2	Szolhammer	Chaim Israel Son of Shmuel Joseph & Rachel	534	Right	22	Teitelbaum	Julius	
					534	Right	20	Teitelbaum	Juta D	
559	Right	1	Szolhammer	Gershon Son of Zvi & Rachel	534	Right	21	Teitelbaum	Lipa	
557	Left	34	Szolhammer	Isaac Yitzhak Son of Shmuel Joseph & Rachel	534	Left	15	Teller	Aharon Yitzhak	
558	Right	3	Szolhammer	Machlah Daughter of Shmuel Joseph & Rachel	534	Left	12	Tenzer	Nekha	
559	Right	2	Szolhammer	Malka Daughter of Zvi & Malka (?)	534	Left	11	Tenzer	Shmuel	
558	Left	26	Szolhammer Rachel	Daughter of Shmuel & Dvora, 2 Children	533	Left	23	Tirkeltaub	Frimet	
558	Left	27	Szolhammer	Zvi Son of Shmuel Joseph & Rachel	534	Left	10	Tolkiss	Leah	
558	Right	12	Sztrukh	- Wife of Joseph	534	Left	9	Tolkiss	Shmuel	
558	Right	11	Sztrukh	Joseph Son of Shlomo & Shayndl	534	Right	19	Topf	Moshe	
558	Right	16	Sztukhammer	- Husband of Mala	534	Right	18	Topf	Rik'l Daug	
558	Right	17	Sztukhammer	A Son Child of Mala	534	Right	24	Tauba	Bracha	
558	Right	15	Sztukhammer	Mala Daughter of Yitzhak Leib & Sari'l						
558	Right	14	Sztukhammer	Sari'l Daughter of Shlomo Meir	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Nam	
558	Right	13	Sztukhammer Yitzhak Leib	Son of Shlomo Zalman & Gittl, 3 Children						
556	Right	24	Szur	Golda	534	Right	23	Tauba	Fyvel	
556	Right	25	Szur	Moshe Son of Golda	534	Left	24	Traun	Dvora	
556	Right	26	Szur	Moshe Son of the Religious School Teacher	534	Left	25	Traun	Groom o	
559	Right	16	Szurtz	Malka Daughter of Shlomo Israel & Hennie	535	Left	10	Trager	Aharon & Estl	
559	Right	18	Szurtz	Pinchas Leibusz Son of Zvi Aryeh & Malka	534	Left	13	Triszfeld	Chana	
559	Right	17	Szurtz	Sender Son of Zvi Aryeh & Malka	534	Left	14	Triszfeld	Fradl Din	
559	Right	15	Szurtz	Zvi Aryeh Son of Pinchas	533	Left	22	Tucker	Lejzor	Husband
556	Right	27	Szwartzwald	Chaim And His Family	533	Left	21	Tucker	Rivka Lea	
					534	Left	19	Twersky	Chana Ra	
					534	Left	22	Twersky	David	
534	Right	5	Tauba	Aharon Son of Isser & Pearl	534	Left	23	Twersky	Sender M	

534	Left	20	Twersky	Shia Zisza Son of Rabbi Pini & Chana Rachel		531	Left	9	Weintraub	Esther
534	Left	16	Twersky	Yenti Daughter of Issachar Dov & Chaya Rachel		531	Left	18	Weintraub	Freida
534	Left	17	Twersky	Yokhanan	Husband of Yenti	531	Left	10	Weintraub	Golda
534	Left	18	Twersky	Yokhanan	Husband of Sarah	531	Left	11	Weintraub	Hamanzh
534	Left	21	Twersky	Yokhanan Son of Rabbi Pini & Chana Rachel		531	Left	28	Weintraub	Hennie Daug
						531	Left	14	Weintraub	Hersch
						530	Left	20	Weintraub	Hinde
532	Left	6	Wakker	Juta	Daughter of Moshe & Esther	530	Left	23	Weintraub	Israel
532	Left	8	Wakker	Wolf	(Son of???) Yitzhak & Juta	530	Left	25	Weintraub	Leah
532	Left	7	Wakker	Yitzhak	Husband of Juta	530	Left	21	Weintraub	Li'czeh
531	Left	8	Waldman	Feiga	Daughter of Mendl & Tzivia	530	Left	26	Weintraub	Malka
531	Left	7	Waldman	Gittl	Daughter of Mendl & Tzivia	531	Left	17	Weintraub	Michael
531	Left	3	Waldman	Mendl	The Gabbai, & His Entire Family	531	Left	24	Weintraub	Mordech
531	Left	4	Waldman	Mendl	Miller	531	Left	25	Weintraub	Mordech
531	Left	6	Waldman	Shimon	Son of Mendl & Tzivia					
531	Left	5	Waldman	Tzivia		Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name
530	Left	15	Wallerstein	Avigdor	Son of Yehoshua					
530	Left	17	Wallerstein	Esther	Daughter of Avigdor & Hinde	531	Left	20	Weintraub	Moshe
530	Left	16	Wallerstein	Rachel	Daughter of Avigdor & Hinde	530	Left	18	Weintraub	Nachman
531	Right	13	Waslowicer	Baylah	Daughter of Yehoshua & Risha	530	Left	19	Weintraub	Rachel
531	Right	11	Waslowicer	Chana	Daughter of Yehoshua & Risha	531	Left	26	Weintraub	Reizl
531	Right	10	Waslowicer	Risha	Daughter of Chaim Isaac and Aydl	530	Left	22	Weintraub	Sarah
531	Right	12	Waslowicer	Sholom	Son of Yehoshua & Risha	531	Left	15	Weintraub	Zechariah
532	Right	27	Wasser	Abraham		530	Left	29	Weitz	Anshel
532	Right	28	Wasser	Sheva	Daughter of Lieber & Leah	530	Left	28	Weitz	Rivka
532	Right	1	Waxman	Chaya	Daughter of Sender; Zlata, Wife of Yehoshua	532	Right	23	Weizman	Chaya
531	Left	30	Waxman	Yehoshua	Groom to Zlata Edelman	532	Right	24	Weizman	Herman
532	Right	29	Weichselbaum	Yekhezkiel	Son of Yitzhak & Esther	532	Right	25	Weizman	Lola Daug
532	Left	9	Weichselbaum	Zvi	Son of Yitzhak & Feiga	531	Left	1	Wertzel	Esther
532	Right	22	Weinberg	Brein'eh	Daughter of Eliezer & Malka	531	Left	2	Wertzel	Yaakov
						532	Right	15	Wielicker	Chaya
Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	532	Right	11	Wielicker	Dvora
						532	Right	14	Wielicker	Joseph
532	Right	21	Weinberg	Czarn'i	Daughter of Eliezer & Malka	532	Right	13	Wielicker	Leah
532	Right	18	Weinberg	Eliezer		532	Right	12	Wielicker	Sender
532	Right	20	Weinberg	Feiga	Daughter of Eliezer & Malka	532	Right	10	Wielicker	Yekhiel
532	Right	19	Weinberg	Malka	Daughter of Yehoshua	530	Left	27	Wiener	Fradl
532	Right	7	Weiner	Aydl	Daughter of Hersch & Sarah	531	Right	28	Wineberg	Chaya
532	Right	6	Weiner	Itzik	Son of Hersch & Sarah	531	Right	26	Wineberg	Chaya Sar
532	Right	4	Weiner	Sarah		531	Right	24	Wineberg	Dvora
532	Right	5	Weiner	Shlomo	Son of Hersch & Sarah & The Family	531	Right	25	Wineberg	Mordech
532	Right	9	Weinraut	Miriam		531	Right	23	Wineberg	Naphtali Son
532	Right	8	Weinraut	Shammai		531	Right	27	Wineberg	Zvi Elime
532	Right	26	Weinrib	Brein'eh	Daughter of Moshe, First Wife of Kook	531	Right	21	Winger	Baylah
532	Left	1	Weinrib	Israel Leib	Son of Shlom'ki	531	Right	15	Winger	Chaya
532	Right	16	Weinrib	Michael	Son of Joseph	531	Right	19	Winger	Feiga
532	Right	17	Weinrib	Tzir'l	Daughter of Michael Tokhtas (Perhaps Shokhet's?)	531	Right	14	Winger	Fishl
						531	Right	20	Winger	Moshe
532	Left	10	Weinrib	Yenti	Daughter of Chaim & Chaya Tauba	531	Right	17	Winger	Rivka
531	Left	16	Weintraub	Wife of Zechariah,		531	Right	18	Winger	Rosa
				Daughter of Moshe Eizik from Ohniv		531	Right	22	Winger	Rosa
531	Left	21	Weintraub	-	Daughter of Michael & Freida	531	Right	16	Winger	Szifra
530	Left	24	Weintraub	Abisz	Son of Hersch	532	Right	2	Winter	Rachel
531	Left	27	Weintraub	Abraham	Husband of Reizl & Her Family	532	Right	3	Winter	Sima
531	Left	29	Weintraub	Aydl	Daughter of Pesh'l	532	Left	4	Wirtzl	Baylah
531	Left	19	Weintraub	Bash'eh	Daughter of Michael & Freida	532	Left	3	Wirtzl	David
531	Left	13	Weintraub	Chaya	Daughter of Hersch	532	Left	5	Wirtzl	Gittl
531	Left	23	Weintraub	Dovorisz	Wife of Isaac	532	Left	2	Wirtzl	Yitzhak
531	Left	22	Weintraub	Eizik Yitzhak	From the Zablota					
531	Left	12	Weintraub	Eizik'l	Son of Hersch from Kahalv	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Name

531	Right	4	Wohlyner	Berisz	533	Left	2	Zaft	Hodie
531	Right	3	Wohlyner	Chana Daughter of Shmuel Meir & Feiga	533	Left	6	Zaft	Joseph
531	Right	2	Wohlyner	Feiga Daughter of Moshe (?) Mir'l, Wife of Shmuel	533	Left	3	Zaft	Melech
531	Right	6	Wohlyner	Kaylah Daughter of Moshe Lipa, Wife of Yehuda	533	Left	1	Zaft	Moshe
531	Right	7	Wohlyner	No Name	533	Left	4	Zaft	Zecharya
531	Right	8	Wohlyner	No Name	548	Left	19	Zahn	Baylah
531	Right	9	Wohlyner	No Name	548	Left	18	Zahn	Feiga
531	Right	9	Wohlyner	No Name	548	Left	21	Zahn	Getzel
531	Right	1	Wohlyner	Shmuel Meir Son of Yehuda Shimon & Kaylah	548	Left	16	Zahn	Hirsch Le
531	Right	5	Wohlyner	Yehuda Shimon Son of Dov & Lina	548	Left	17	Zahn	Leah
					548	Left	20	Zahn	Mani
					548	Left	22	Zahn	Min'tzi
535	Right	5	Yakter	Aharon Hersch Sone of Moshe & Bluma	533	Left	19	Zammler	Freida
535	Right	23	Yakter	Ber'l	533	Left	18	Zammler	Fyvusz
535	Right	19	Yakter	Bluma Daughter of Shlomo & Tova	533	Left	7	Zandbank	Abraham
535	Right	24	Yakter	Bluma Daughter of Gedalyahu & Rachel	533	Left	8	Zandbank	Gittl
535	Right	22	Yakter	Chaim Son of Zelig	533	Left	9	Zandbank	Sarah
535	Right	29	Yakter	Chaim Son of Joseph & Yehudit	548	Left	24	Zatatiron	Abraham
535	Left	11	Yakter	Chana Daughter of Eli & Rachel	548	Left	25	Zatatiron	Joseph
535	Right	9	Yakter	Gedalyahu Son of Yaakov	548	Left	23	Zatatiron	Risha
535	Right	18	Yakter	Golda Daughter of Shlomo & Tova	533	Left	12	Zatz	-
535	Right	12	Yakter	Hersch Son of Gedalyahu & Yehudit	533	Left	11	Zatz	Chaya Riv
535	Right	2	Yakter	Israel Son of Melech, Husband of Freida	533	Left	10	Zatz	Meir
535	Right	6	Yakter	Jocheved	548	Right	3	Zeiger	Fradl
535	Right	26	Yakter	Joseph Son of Yaakov	548	Right	2	Zeiger	Melech
535	Right	28	Yakter	Leib Son of Joseph & Yehudit	533	Right	26	Zeinfeld	Aharon Z
535	Right	14	Yakter	Malka Daughter of Gedalyahu & Rachel	533	Right	18	Zeinfeld	Berisz
535	Right	17	Yakter	Malka Daughter of Shlomo & Tova					
535	Right	30	Yakter	Malka Daughter of Joseph & Yehudit	Page	Column	Row	Last Name	First Nam
535	Left	26	Yakter	Meir Son of Eli & Rachel, 5 Children	533	Right	20	Zeinfeld	Berisz
535	Right	10	Yakter	Mendl Son of Gedalyahu, Yehudit & Family	533	Right	23	Zeinfeld	Berisz
535	Right	31	Yakter	Mendl Son of Moshe & Bluma	533	Right	27	Zeinfeld	Berisz
535	Right	1	Yakter	Miszkit Daughter of Shmuel Wolf & Chana	533	Right	25	Zeinfeld	Chaim
535	Right	33	Yakter	Pesach Son of Hanger	533	Right	19	Zeinfeld	Chay'tzi
535	Left	27	Yakter	Priba Daughter of Yitzhak	533	Right	22	Zeinfeld	Mani
535	Right	4	Yakter	Rachel Daughter of Israel & Miszkit	533	Right	21	Zeinfeld	Pearl
535	Right	7	Yakter	Rachel Daughter of Aharon & Jocheved	533	Right	24	Zeinfeld	Pearl
535	Right	13	Yakter	Rachel Daughter of Yehoshua, Wife of Gedalyahu	533	Right	17	Zeinfeld	Shayndl
535	Right	21	Yakter	Rivka Daughter of Zelig	532	Left	20	Zelcer	Berisz
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533	Right	35	Zaft	Chaya Daughter of Moshe & Rachel	533	Left	17	Zimmelman	Chana
533	Right	34	Zaft	Fishl Son of Shaul & Chava	533	Left	16	Zimmelman	Hinde
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533	Right	31	Zinger	Shimon	Son of Shlomo & Ethel	533	Left	14	Zuchman	Esther
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# EPILOGUE

When the representatives of those who survived from the Jewish settlement in Sokal was cut down, who were now in Israel, we discussed the objective of preparing a Yizkor Book about their former home, as also the Jewish settlements in the neighboring towns: Tartakov, Varenzh and Stoyanov – I could see the difficulties before me that were tied up with carrying out this mission.

The principal difficulty consisted of the fact that I neither lived in, nor resided in Sokal or one of the previously mentioned neighboring locations. I also did not want to underscore dry facts without infusing and guarding the principle, that a Yizkor-Book has to elicit and eternalize everything that an annihilated Jewish community accomplished during the hundreds of years of its development.... that it had to be a book for the present and future generations, in which the history is described, the condition and struggles of the annihilated Jewish settlement, and by doing so, a Yizkor Book must recall and sanctify the tortured brethren and sisters, who went on their last journey into the gas chambers and crematoria.

It was necessary with complete clarity to stress the special fraternity of these Jewish settlements previously mentioned. – fraternity that differentiated them from other Jewish settlements.

To this end, we gathered the few remaining memories, strewn over a variety of sources, and depending on the memory of Jews that come from Sokal and the neighboring towns and, even before the Holocaust, left their home and live today in Israel or the Diaspora, and it was possible for us to create a multi-faceted overview regarding the political, social-community, religious and cultural life in those Jewish settlements.

Again, depending on the eye witness accounts of the miraculously saved remnant of Jews from these places, we strove to put together the sorrowful litany of the gruesome destruction, from the nightmarish annihilation of the Jewish populace in Sokal and the history of the Jews in Sokal – with full acknowledgment, we must note with recognition that there is much we have to be thankful for the leadership of the Hebrew University in Tel-Aviv, which established a relationship with the Library of the Polish University in Cracow, and receive from there a copy of the book of the Polish Historian Bronislaw Sokalski titles *'Powiat Sokal'* (the Sokal vicinity) which enabled us to acquaint ourselves with this weighty monograph. We express our most hearty thanks to the leadership of both libraries – of Cracow and of Tel-Aviv.

Now, with the ingathering of these factual sources, memories and materials, it became possible for us to become acquainted with Jewish life in Sokal as well as the three neighboring communities, with the life of the creative Jewish factories, synagogues, houses of study, and all manner of Jewish societies and institutions.

And the central point is that when we exerted ourselves to extract from this material the special relationship of Jewry in these areas of endeavor, a special affinity was uncovered for us about the Jewish way of life... A living wellspring of *Yiddishkeit*, which took on variegated colors... *Yiddishkeit*

**of *Hasidim* from all persuasions... *Yiddishkeit* of scholars and Torah ‘greats.’... of ordinary Jewish folks and working people, who lived, and exhausted themselves to create and weave a colorful Jewish life.**

**It is therefore no wonder that such a vicinity produced precious, community activists with warm hearts, suffused with genuine authentic *Yiddishkeit*, with a national and social grasp.**

**There are also individuals in this undertaking, for whom I ask for compassion.**

**A special ‘*Yasher Koakh*’ has been earned by the important members of the Editorial Committee, Dr. David Kindler, The Lawyer Moshe Kubler, and Joseph Fyvel, who gave very much of themselves to the institution of the Book and took part in the editorial work with full diligence.**

**----Dr. Abraham Khomet**



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