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The Anatomy of the Incriminating Letter Regarding Father Tadeusz Puder Sent by Father Stanisław Trzeciak

Anatomia donosu ks. Stanisława Trzeciaka na ks. Tadeusza Pudra

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The Anatomy of Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak's Denunciation of Rev. Tadeusz Puder

Abstract
The materials presented in the article include documentation of the proceedings of German Special Court (*Sondergericht*) in Warsaw against Tadeusz Puder, a Catholic priest of Jewish origin arrested by the Gestapo in the spring of 1941. His imprisonment was a consequence of a denunciation made by Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak, one of the leading Polish antisemites. Sentenced to several months in prison, Puder managed to escape from the prison hospital in autumn 1942 and survive in hiding. He died a few days after the liberation of Warsaw in a car accident. Despite his cooperation with the German security police, Trzeciak was among the victims of mass executions during the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944. The introduction of the article presents a broader context of Trzeciak's antisemitic activity and the reasons for his personal hatred for Puder, as well as hitherto unknown details of collaborative attempts in the first months of German occupation.

Keywords
Stanisław Trzeciak, Tadeusz Puder, German special courts (*Sondergerichte*), collaboration, antisemitic publishing house *Atak* (Attack)

The tragic fate of Tadeusz Puder,[1] a Catholic priest of Jewish origin, has been discussed several times.[2] The reason why we bring him up again is the discovery

[1] We are grateful to Sister Teresa Antonieta Frącek for much invaluable information, to Katrin Stoll and Andreas Ruppert for their translation of the letter of Sister Agnes Dymna, to Agnieszka Haska and Jagoda Libionka for their help in accessing certain materials, and also to Szymon Rudnicki for critical comments.

[2] Jan Wysocki, "Tadeusz Puder," in *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary] (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow: Ossolineum, 1986), vol. 29, pp. 340–341; Teresa Frącek,

of a 52-sheet case file of Rev. Puder, who was arrested on 24 April 1941, in the records of the German Special Court in Warsaw (*Sondergericht*) stored at the State Archive in Warsaw. This documentation makes it possible to verify the information and accounts in circulation. It also offers a lot of new, previously unknown facts. Historians have been unaware that Puder, who was arrested on April 24, 1941, was tried and sentenced by the Special Court for a 'crime' typical of Warsaw Jews – namely, the failure to wear the armband marking them as Jews. The documents in the case file inform about Puder's imprisonment, the course of the investigation and his court 'hearing', the verdict, his incarceration in the prison on Rakowiecka Street, his stay in Saint Sophie's Hospital, and also his escape in November 1942. The first two documents concern the reasons for Puder's arrest, confirming what has been known but almost completely ignored: Puder was arrested because he had been denounced by Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak – a figure shrouded in numerous legends and uncertainty. To explain Trzeciak's behavior we decided to present his persona and views as well as to provide the broader context of his activity and clarify the inconsistencies in subject literature. We also had to discuss the sources of Trzeciak's personal hatred of Puder.

A Convert

Tadeusz Puder was born in 1908 in Warsaw and at the age of nine he was baptized together with his mother and two brothers. He attended the public Adam Mickiewicz Secondary School. After passing his high school graduation finals in 1928 he enrolled at the Saint John Seminary in Warsaw. On October 18, 1932 he was ordained a priest by Bishop Antoni Szlągowski. He studied theology at the University of Warsaw and then was sent to the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. After earning his BA degree he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Puder's first workplace was the parish in Rzeczyca near Łowicz, where he worked for only three months, until November 1937, when he was transferred to the Saint Jacob parish at 38 Grójecka Street in Warsaw. In June 1938 he was again transferred and appointed rector-vicar of the Saint Hyacinth Church on Freta Street. This was an unexpected promotion, which nonetheless became the beginning of serious trouble for Puder and weighed on his future. For he replaced Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak, who was not only the most recognizable Polish 'expert on the Jews' in a soutane, but also perhaps the most respected and

"Zgromadzenie Sióstr Rodziny Marii w latach 1939–1945 [The Congregation of the Sisters of the Family of Mary in the years 1939–1945]," in *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach Polski w czasie II wojny światowej. Materiały i studia* [The Catholic church in Poland during the Second World War. materials and studies], ed. Franciszek Stopniak (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo ATK, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 123–129; Jacek Leociak, "Sprawa księdza Pudra [The case of Rev. Puder]," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, January 30, 1993; Rev. Henryk Linarcik, *Ks. Tadeusz Puder (1908–1945). Świadectwo życia kapłana katolickiego pochodzenia żydowskiego* [Rev. Tadeusz Puder (1908–1945). Testimony of the life of a Catholic priest of Jewish origin] (Wrocław: Zet, 2010).

admired Polish antisemite abroad. Trzeciak was appointed the administrator of the Saint Anthony parish on Senatorska Street.[3]

Puder's appointment became a cause for outrage on the pages of antisemitic tabloids and nationalist press – as well as in some quarters of the clergy. Puder had first become an object of attacks by local nationalists when he worked in Rzeczyca,[4] but that appointment of 1938 to rector-vicar triggered a real campaign of hate. His declaration that he had always "considered himself a Pole" publicized by the Catholic Press Agency did not help matters. In the poisoned atmosphere, several weeks after the nomination, on Sunday, July 3, 1938, several weeks after his nomination, Puder was assaulted while walking to the pulpit. A man slapped him in the face, crying out: "He's a Jew!". The attacker, who was a cobbler's apprentice named Rafał Michalski, was stopped and roughed up by the churchgoers, after which he was immediately taken to a police station. The news about the incident spread in Warsaw and then was reported by the press across Poland. The incident at Saint Hyacinth's became a test for both nationalists and the Church hierarchy.

The Catholic Press Agency published a straightforward communique: "we must vehemently condemn the attack on the priest, which, unfortunately, testifies to the brutalization of manners. Not even our temples, our sacred actions, and the holy orders stop criminals from such attacks."[5] The daily *Mały Dziennik* immediately condemned the incident and also quoted Puder, who was devastated by the whole situation.[6] *Głos Narodu*, another church daily, published in Cracow, reacted in a similar way.[7] Its editor, Rev. Jan Piwowarczyk, harshly criticized the antisemitic press campaign, at the same time revealing that a "certain delegation" came to the Archbishop's palace in Warsaw to demand the withdrawal of Puder's nomination on account of his origin. Emphasizing that baptism was not tantamount to joining the national community, Piwowarczyk was inclined to accept the criterion of subjective acknowledgement of such affiliation – a declaration of one's national affiliation. He admitted that many baptized individuals had not become "spiritually attached to Polishness" and that it was advisable to maintain caution when accepting Jews into the nation.

[3] W*iadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie* 6 (June 1938): 296.

[4] Józef Kępa, a Rzeczyca inhabitant who after the war was a high-ranking activist of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), remembered that Puder "did not have an easy life" due to the nationalists who shouted "Puder – Jew" behind his back or even threw stones at him (Linarcik, *Ks. Tadeusz Puder*…, pp. 28–29).

[5] "Świętokradzka napaść na kapłana w kościele. Dochodzenie w sprawie napaści na ks. Pudra [Sacrilegious assault on a priest in a church. investigation of assault on Rev. Puder]," *Przegląd Katolicki* 28 (1938): 462.

[6] "Świętokradczy napad w kościele na ks. Tadeusza Pudra [Sacrilegious assault in the church on Rev. Tadeusz Puder]," *Mały Dziennik*, July 5, 1938, pp. 1–2.

[7] "Posiew rasizmu. Napad na księdza w kościele [Seeding racism. Assault on priest in church]," *Głos Narodu*, July 5, 1938, p. 4.

However, that caution could not be "excessive" because "fighting against Jewry" should not lead to crushing those who had become "attached to the Nation and its culture."[8] Published in Warsaw *Przegląd Katolicki*, diocesan weekly, supported that position in order to document the unity of the Catholic press (by the way, it did so by publishing a text penned by one of the most antisemitic journalists). Particularly unacceptable was the radical antisemites' attitude to the Church. "The rightful fight against the Jewish influx" cannot be paired with a "propaganda of racism," as that threatened a rift between that variety of antisemitism and the Church, which hardly failed to appreciate the gravity of "the Jewish problem."[9]

Noteworthy among the many voices that indirectly defended Michalski is that of the nationalist writer Jan Dobraczyński. Condemning the attack on Puder, who was his close friend from school, Dobraczyński nonetheless warned against the reality of the "Jewish threat," which could not be ignored or "taken lightly out of pseudo-humanitarian considerations." The writer also warned against provocations – a method skillfully used by Jews. Dobraczyński gave Puder excellent references, stating that he was Leo Belmont's cousin[10,] that he graduated from the seminary with flying colors, was a real expert on Polish literature, and earned respect wherever he went. Nonetheless, Dobraczyński emphasized that that had not made him a Pole and that it was only now that he finally had full right to "call himself a Pole" because he managed to forgive his attacker, "who was a listless marionette in alien, enemy hands."[11] The writer did not explain what kind of conspiracy he meant. Editorial staffs of Catholic and nationalist periodicals had had a problem with interpreting the causes for the assault from the start. Was it an anti-Church conspiracy or the act of a lunatic?[12] The interpretation most difficult to accept was the simplest one – it

[8] J. P., "Żydzi – Chrzest – Polska [Jews – Baptism – Poland]," *Głos Narodu*, July 6, 1938, p. 1. According to certain press reports, a National Radical Camp delegation intervened with the Archbishop.

[9] Wacław Sas-Podolski, "Wiatr od Zachodu [Wind from the West]," *Przegląd Katolicki*, July 17, 1938, pp. 369–370.

[10] Actually Leopold Blumental – writer, translator, literary critic, founder of the Polish Society of Esperantists, and also a convert known for his aversion to Jews, which is not without significance here. Died in 1941 in the Warsaw ghetto. Author of the poem entitled *Na kształt świdra* [Just a curlycue], which ends with the following stanza: "Więc wciąż mnie zwątpień trapi hydra, / Wciąż mi zatruwa smętny byt, / Żem ani pies ja, ani wydra, / Żem coś – marnego na kształt świdra, Żydowski Polak, polski Żyd! [Endless doubts still afflict me / Poison my sullen lot / Being neither fish nor fowl / A quirk, I howl, a curlycue / A Jewish Pole, a Polish Jew!]."

[11] Jan Dobraczyński, "Prowokacja i ofiara [Provocation and victim]," *Kultura* 29 (July 17, 1938): 4.

[12] The investigative judge ordered that Michalski be put in the Tworki Mental Hospital for a six-week evaluation. After the presentation of the expert's opinion the case was discontinued, as Michalski was deemed insane, as a result of which the Regional Court decided to put him in a mental hospital. The attorney disagreed with that decision, demanding another expert's opinion.

was a consequence of the campaign of hate against Jews, which did not spare even converts.

A more vital problem was Puder's status and, more generally, the approach to the baptism of Jews. Opinions within the Church varied. The nationalist social-literary weekly *Prosto z Mostu* opted for establishing a parish for "Catholics of Jewish nationality," claiming that baptism did not turn a Jew into a Pole. What difference did it make that Puder considered himself a Pole when "Poles had yet to deem him a Pole"? Even that had taken a long time. It was also said that he was unlikely to fulfill his mission as a priest because "national community with parishioners was a matter of great importance."[13] The periodical also published a letter from a priest who asked to remain anonymous. The clergyman declared himself a supporter of totalitarianism and the editorial staff's opinion on baptism – i.e., under no circumstances could baptism constitute a change of one's nationality. The author of the letter argued that, "despite being a priest, Puder, who had grown up in a Jewish atmosphere, had not yet abandoned the mindset inculcated in his youth. Consequently, he could not be an educator of the Polish intelligentsia." The anonymous priest deemed Church leaders partly responsible for the entire affair because they had approached the matter "unpsychologically" and because Trzeciak's replacement with Puder had hurt Poles' feelings. In closing, he expressed his hope that such nominations would not happen again.[14]

Late July saw the publication of a brochure entitled *Tragedia ks. Trzeciaka* (The tragedy of Rev. Trzeciak) with a huge photograph of the prelate on the cover and information that he was "successfully fighting for Poland without Jews." The booklet deserves some attention for reasons explained later in our text. According to the brochure, Puder's nomination was an element of a Jewish conspiracy aimed at demoting and discrediting Trzeciak so as to hamper his momentous mission. The pamphlet quoted a tirade entitled "Niezrozumiały awans stuprocentowego Żyda [The unexplained promotion of a one-hundred-percent Jew]" penned by an "eminent Warsaw preacher," reprinted from *Samoobrona Narodu*, an antisemitic tabloid published in Poznań. The author of that disquisition, Rev. N., called Puder a "Jewish nationalist" and "Jewish patriot" and stated that the nomination was "unprecedented in our history" and, making matters worse, "against the will of the nation." Losing ground in Poland, the Jews had "used help from the Church." The author of the brochure, Józef Berdycki, unknown to the wider public, assumed an even more radical position. Even if Puder was "only a tragic figure suffering for the scoundrelism of his compatriots," that did not change the essence of the matter in the slightest.

[13] "Sprawa księdza Pudra [The case of Rev. Puder]," *Prosto z Mostu* 31 (July 10, 1938): 4.

[14] Letters to the editorial staff: Rev. C. O. (name known to the editorial staff), "W sprawie ks. Pudra [Regarding the case of Rev. Puder]," *Prosto z Mostu* 33 (July 24, 1938): 8. It occurred that he had sent a letter on baptism of Jews to *Głos Narodu*, but it was not published.

One could not take pity on him as "admitting aliens into the nation" had tragic consequences. If anybody had been harmed in a moral sense, then it was Rev. Trzeciak, who fell victim to Jewish machinations. Berdycki criticized not only the Jewish and socialist press, the Church periodicals which were defending Puder, and "Jewish pseudo-Poles" of all sorts, but also director of the Catholic Press Agency Rev. Zygmunt Kaczyński, Rev. Bronisław Żongołłowicz (the deputy Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education, who had reservations about not only Trzeciak's activity as expert on ritual slaughter), and even Primate August Hlond. Berdycki was referring to the famous past oral letter issued in February 1936, where the Primate warned against racism and copying foreign models and also appealed for "giving an enthusiastic welcome to converts in the Christian ranks" (references to that letter were made during the press debate on Puder). The admittance of "priests-Jews," Berdycki lamented, jeopardized the entire program of 'de-Jewification'. Poles could not follow anybody's dictate and had to remain ruthless in their struggle. Berdycki stated that even though he did not know Trzeciak personally, he supported him because of the danger threatening his great enterprise. Berdycki published his brochure at his own expense in the *Atak* Ideological Publishing House, which he had established.[15] Seated on Żelazna Brama Square, Berdycki's firm, which was in the accessory wholesale business, bore the same name – *Atak* (Attack). The next brochure to be published by *Atak* was supposed to be a "sensational" booklet entitled *W trzy miesiące Żydzi muszą nas opuścić* (Jews must leave us in three months).

"Distributed on every corner,"[16] the brochure did not benefit Trzeciak. The Catholic Press Agency issued a reassuring communique that Trzeciak had not suffered in any way and that the public had been misled. The brochure's authorship was attributed to the antisemitic tabloid *Samoobrona Narodu*, perhaps because it was distributed also through those channels. And to deprecate its author it was said that the pamphlet was printed in a printing house which issued Jewish and sectarian prints.[17] It seems that Trzeciak was reprimanded and had to apologize for its content aimed against the Church hierarchy and Primate Hlond. Berdycki publicly apologized to Trzeciak for having used his surname without his permission in the title of his publication.[18] It is difficult to believe that the two men really did not know each other. A while later, perhaps to rehabilitate

[15] There are two surviving versions of the brochure, which differ only in terms of the title: Józef Berdycki, *Tragedia ks. Trzeciaka. Kulisy sprawy ks. Pudra* [Rev. Trzeciak's tragedy. The backstory of Rev. Puder's case] (Warsaw: [no publisher], 1938); idem, *Tragedia ks. Trzeciaka: ks. Pudra sprawy część druga* [Rev. Trzeciak's tragedy: Rev. Puder's case part two] (Warsaw: [no publisher], 1938). The publishing house was seated at 35 Jerozolimskie Avenue, apartment 12.

[16] As stated in the review published in *Nasz Przegląd*, August 3, 1938, p. 3.

[17] "Co pisze KAP o 'Samoobronie Narodu' [What KAP writes about 'Self Defense of the Nation'?]," *Nasz Przegląd*, August 4, 1938, p. 7.

[18] The information about the letter and the apology was published by the *ABC* daily (August 2, 1938, p. 3).

itself in Church circles, *Atak* issued a brochure devoted to Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski, who died on December 30, 1938. The brochure emphasized his contributions to the Catholic press and organizations.[19] Trzeciak himself did not speak up publicly about his transfer and the Puder affair.

An 'Expert' on Jews

Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak was born in 1873 to a peasant family near Rzeszów.[20] After completing theological studies at a seminary in Przemyśl, he continued his studies in Freiburg, Vienna, Rome, and Cracow – and managed to – travel about the Middle East.[21] Penned around 1905, his first texts about Jews discussed the subject matter of religion.[22] From 1907 to 1918 Trzeciak was a professor at the Saint Petersburg Theological Academy, where among his older colleagues was Rev. Justyn Bonawentura Pranajtis, the author of one of the most infamous anti-Jewish pasquinades and the public prosecutor's office's expert during Beilis' trial (1913).[23] In 1914 Trzeciak established the Polish Society for Aid to War Victims and was also engaged in social and charitable activity. In 1918 he was in Lvov, where he also conducted charitable and welfare activity. He supported the *Rozwój* (Progress) antisemitic association and openly endorsed the

[19] *Św. Pamięci Eminencja Ks. dr Aleksander Kakowski kardynał metropolita warszawski* [The late Rev. Dr. Aleksander Kakowski Cardinal Metropolitan of Warsaw], ed. Józef Berdycki (Warsaw: [no publisher], 1939). The only antisemitic accent was "Hymn antymasoński" [Anti-Masonic anthem] published in the postscript, written by Jan Marcińczyk, a retired major of the Polish Army. Poetry penned by that "great antisemite and Masonry defeater" was to be soon published by *Atak*, but the outbreak of the war thwarted those plans.

[20] More about Trzeciak see: Jarosław Rokicki, "Ks. dr Stanisław Trzeciak (1873–1944). Szkic biograficzny [Rev. Dr. Stanisław Trzeciak (1873–1944). A biographical sketch]," *Biuletyn ŻIH*, vol. 2, no. 190 (1999): 43–54.

[21] The aftermath of those travels were various publications, for instance, *Wrażenia z podróży do Egiptu* [Impressions of a trip to Egypt] (Poznań: published by the editorial staff of *Przegląd Katolicki*, 1904).

[22] The most important one was *Literatura i religia Żydów za czasów Chrystusa Pana* [Literature and religion of the Jews in the time of Christ the Lord], vol. 1–2 (Warsaw: M. Szczepkowski, 1911). However, this work is based predominantly on the anti-Jewish classics, such as the works by Johann Andreas Eisenmenger and August Rohling, to name just two authors. In that publication statements such as that the Talmud is a book filled with "hatred" bordering on opinions absent from 'mature' Trzeciak's works, for instance, that the Talmud was "full of valuable thought and lots of in-depth beliefs" (vol. 1, p. 292).

[23] Published in 1892 in Saint Petersburg, *Christianus in Talmude Judaeorum* was published in Polish on the 20th anniversary of Pranajtis's death as *Chrześcijanin w Talmudzie żydowskim, czyli tajemnicze nauki rabinów o chrześcijanach, które ujawnił J.B. Pranajtis* [The Christian in the Jewish Talmud, or the mysterious teachings of the rabbis about Christians, as revealed by J. B. Pranajtis] (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy „Pro Fide," 1937). It is noteworthy that at that time even in the opinion of Rev. Trzeciak, who ironically called it "a little laborious work," that publication had little value (idem, *Literatura i religia Żydów*…, vol. 1, p. 304).

nationalist camp. He worked in the Przemyśl diocese until his arrival in Warsaw in 1927. The breakthrough in his career as an "expert on Jews" came with the 1932 publication of his brochure entitled *Talmud, bolszewizm i projekt prawa małżeńskiego* (The Talmud, Bolshevism, and the marriage law project), where he derived the origin of the civil marriage legislation from the "spirit of the Talmud." From then on Trzeciak's activity had had a clearly political, urgent, and radically antisemitic character. The clergyman published more 'dissertations': *Żyd jako obrońca ślubów cywilnych i rozwodów dla katolików* (The Jew as a defender of civil marriage and divorce for catholics, 1932), *Mesjanizm a kwestia żydowska* (Messianism vis-a-vis the Jewish question, 1934), *Ubój rytualny w świetle Biblii i Talmudu* (Ritual slaughter in light of the Bible and the Talmud, 1935), *Program światowej polityki żydowskiej* (The agenda of the Jewish international policy, 1936), and *Talmud o gojach a kwestia żydowska w Polsce* (The Talmud on goys vis-a-vis the Jewish Issue in Poland, 1939). In the late 1930s he more frequently was publishing in Catholic (*Przegląd Katolicki*, *Pro Christo*, *Mały Dziennik*) and nationalist periodicals more frequently, and was also giving lectures across Poland. His publications sometimes triggered anti-Jewish incidents.[24]

Already before the publication of Berdycki's brochure, the Catholic press explained that Trzeciak's transfer could not be regarded as a demotion. Even *Mały Dziennik* claimed it should be considered an obvious "promotion and honor."[25] The press organ for the clergy wrote that appointing Rev. Puder to a position important for the nationalists, the Church in its wisdom might have been guided by their interest, because a priest of Jewish origin was "a blow to the wrongheaded Jewry and a credit to the Church."[26] For many people such explanations, even backed up by the authority of the Catholic Press Agency, were unconvincing. Unfortunately, there is no church document regarding this affair. We believe that the replacement of the old antisemite with the young priest of Jewish origin was the Warsaw diocese leadership's attempt to stymie the radical racists. A failed one, let us add.

Immediately before the outbreak of the war Trzeciak became markedly closer to the ONR-ABC (a radically nationalist fraction) and actively supported its candidates in the elections to the local government, in which that theoretically illegal organization ran on a platform of 'de-Jewification of Warsaw'. Trzeciak roared that that motto should become the slogan of "all Polish organizations, all

[24] In January 1937 Jan Antczak, a member of the Labor Party, attacked three people with a knife after leaving Trzeciak's lecture in Łódź. One of the victims died in hospital (Jolanta Żyndul, *Zajścia antyżydowskie w Polsce w latach 1935–1937* [Anti-Jewish incidents in Poland in 1935–1937] [Warsaw: Fundacja im. Kazimierza Kelles-Krauza and Agencja Scholar, 1994], p. 92).

[25] "Żydzi przeciw polskiemu kapłanowi. Atak prasy żydowskiej na ks. dra St. Trzeciaka [Jews against a Polish priest. Jewish press attack on Rev. Dr. St. Trzeciak]," *Mały Dziennik*, July 15, 1938, p. 5.

[26] Rev. Professor Józef Kaczmarczyk, "Kościół – Ewangelia – rasizm [Church – Gospel – racism]," *Gazeta Kościelna* 34 (1938): 530–533.

of which should try earnestly and boldly to follow the orders and rights of our great kings and patriots and unconditionally strive for the removal of all Jews and Shabbat goys from Warsaw." The Nazi models were not needed because the city had long enjoyed the privilege to forbid Jewish settlement (*De non tolerandis Judaeis*), which was cancelled only by the partitioner. Trzeciak also made references to the teachings of the Church, whose purported heirs were ONR politicians who approached that matter "honestly, with zeal, and conviction."[27] Trzeciak's statements were becoming increasingly radical. In March 1939 in *Mały Dziennik* he praised Hitler as the continuator of anti-Jewish Church legislation, who "derived his laws from papal encyclicals," inclusive of ghettoization and marking with yellow patches. The Germans' actions were a "signpost for other nations," predominantly Poland.[28] Those statements echoed far and wide in the press. A National Democratic periodical concluded that Trzeciak had probably lost his mind.[29]

As the Nazis showed no leniency for Polish antisemitism in soutane, all that would have been largely unimportant during the German occupation if it had not been for Trzeciak's participation in the international antisemitic movement, which in the 1930s was largely financed from Berlin. The clergyman became known for his expert opinion written for usage in the Bern trial of the publishers of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.[30] He also attended international conventions of antisemites organized by the *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage*, seated in Erfurt.[31] The contacts he made there and the references he was given proved key for his position in occupied Warsaw.

Collaborators

Taking all this into consideration, it is no wonder that during the first months of the occupation Trzeciak belonged to the milieu ready to collaborate with the Germans. The organ of the Union of Armed Combat (*Związek Walki Zbrojnej*, ZWZ),

[27] Interview with Trzeciak: "Głos ks. prałata Trzeciaka w sprawie wyborów samorządowych [Rev. Trzeciak's word on local elections]," *ABC*, December 15, 1938, p. 1.

[28] Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak, "Wielki papież Benedykt XIV a kwestia żydowska w Polsce [The great Pope Benedict XIV and the Jewish question in Poland]," *Mały Dziennik*, March 20, 1939, p. 6.

[29] "Potworność z 'Małego Dziennika' [A monstrosity from 'Mały Dziennik']," *Zwrot* 13 (1939). That weekly was issued in Katowice and the editorial staff was associated with the Labor Party (*Stronnictwo Pracy*, SP).

[30] Trzeciak's expert opinion entitled "Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion – der politische Katechismus des Judentums [The Protocols of the Elders of Zion – the political catechism of Judaism]" was published in *Gerichts-Gutachten zum Berner Prozess von Ulrich Fleischhauer* (Erfurt: Bodung, 1935), pp. 186–202.

[31] He participated in the September 1937 convention: "Żydzi przeciw polskiemu kapłanowi [Jews against the Polish priest]," *Mały Dziennik*, July 15, 1938, p. 5.

Biuletyn Informacyjny listed his name (beside another Germanophile, University of Warsaw professor Zygmunt Cybichowski, and Andrzej Świetlicki, both of who had been active in Bolesław Piasecki's National Radical Camp [*Ruch Narodowo-Radykalny*] before the war and during the first months of the occupation established the legal National Radical Organization [*Narodowa Organizacja Radykalna*, NOR]) in the context of organizing the anti-Jewish pogroms in Warsaw in March 1940.[32] Apart from the National Radical Organization, there emerged a group called *Atak*, which published primitive antisemitic publications and offered signs for marking 'Aryan' enterprises and apartments. The editorial office was seated at 111 Marszałkowska Street, apartment 5. Two years earlier the same group published the brochure about the 'tragedy' of Rev. Trzeciak, though under a different address. There is also a surviving bilingual calendar published with the authorities' official permission, which was intended as a "warning against the Jewish threat." One of the mottoes derived mostly from the repertoire of prewar "experts on Jews" was: "*Do not trust a baptized Jewish priest!* [our emphasis – D. L., J. G.]." That was the motto for April. In comparison with the prewar period, the publication had radicalized its slogans. The June motto was: "Only six feet under does a Jew become harmless." The July one went as follows: "Once the Jews are liquidated everybody shall have jobs and bread." Prewar Poland was depicted as a country occupied by the Legions and Jews, while the Polish government in exile as a motley crew of Masons acting for the benefit of English and French Jews.[33] While it is difficult to imagine that Trzeciak, after all a Catholic priest, contributed to the organization of the pogroms, his connection with the propaganda initiative co-created by his faithful follower Berdycki seems quite probable. Another mysterious matter is the inclusion of the symbol of the Ax-Cross (*Topokrzyż*) in the calendar, but nothing suggests that at that time Berdycki had closer relations with the milieu of the creator of that sign, the controversial artist Stanisław Szukalski, or with similar milieux.[34]

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[32] "Prowokowanie pogromów [Provoking pogroms]," *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, March 29, 1940. More about the topic of the causes for and the course of those incidents: Tomasz Szarota, *U progu Zagłady. Zajścia antyżydowskie i pogromy w okupowanej Europie Warszawa, Paryż, Amsterdam, Antwerpia, Kowno* [At the threshold of the Holocaust. Anti-Jewish incidents and pogroms in occupied Europe Warsaw, Paris, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Kaunas] (2nd edition, Warsaw: Sic!, 2001), p. 49.

[33] *Kleiner Taschenkalendar. Kieszonkowy Kalendarzyk* [Pocket calendar] (Warsaw: Atak, 1940). It was also stated that it was compiled and published by Józef Berdycki.

[34] In one of the texts about Berdycki's brochure it was suggested that he was associated with neo-pagan milieux. The argument in favor was that its publisher was the same: B. Pardecki & Co., 56 Żelazna Street (K. M., "Neopoganie w Polsce [Neopagans in Poland]," *Krakowski Kurier Wieczorny*, September 17, 1938, p. 2). There are two facts which suggest that that was the case: Berdycki quoted in his brochure opinions published in the periodical *Krak*, published by Szukalski, which he deemed a "periodical which fights against the Jewish invasion of our culture" (this is a reference to the note "Ks. Puder," *Krak* 3, July 15, 1938). The second fact

Atak's prewar publications do not contain such symbols.[35] It might be that we have here an instance of piracy, as we would call it today.[36]

Atak's later fate remains unknown. On the cover of the antisemitic calendar Berdycki announced the upcoming brochure *W trzy miesiące żydzi muszą nas opuścić* (Jews must leave us in three months), whose publication failed to take place before the war. But now his plans were grander. According to a note in an underground publication, on April 4, 1940, based on a promise he got from Hans Frank himself, Berdycki petitioned Warsaw District Governor Ludwig Fischer for permission to publish an antisemitic organ entitled *Atak*.[37] His request was turned down. *Biuletyn Informacyjny* reported with relief that initiatives undertaken by 'lunatics', including the campaign of Trzeciak, Cybichowski, Świetlicki, and their companions, which enjoyed the Gestapo's support, went down like a lead balloon. The whole thing "fell silent and died out;" some people were arrested, and the two sides clearly "took aversion to each other." "At present, 'Polish-German' relations are expressed solely in the existence of a certain number of Poles who are paid Gestapo agents holding secondary positions and carrying out the tasks given to them."[38] We do not want to speculate about how Berdycki managed to get access to the General Government's government. At present there are no documents or records containing relevant information.[39] After the fiasco of his far-flung plans, he had to limit himself to running the *Atak* Factory

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is that in 1938 *Krak* was indeed printed in the same printing house as the brochure about Trzeciak.

[35] Writing about *Atak*, Tomasz Szarota still did not have access to that publication, which is in the collection of the Central Judaica Base of the POLIN Museum.

[36] Designed by Szukalski, the symbol of the Ax-Cross with the word GOJ [Polish for 'goy', the acronym stood for 'Gospodarczą Organizujmy Jedność', which in Polish means 'let's organize economic unity')] was published in a December 1937 issue of the periodical *Krak*, which he published. What is more, one could order cardboards with the Ax-Cross symbol from the editorial office for 50 zlotys per 100 pieces. But the subsequent issues of *Krak* in 1938 (three issues) and 1939 (one issue) did not contain such advertisements. In 1940 neither Szukalski, who left for the USA in the autumn of 1939, nor people from his circle were in Warsaw. The issue of Szukalski's antisemitism is still waiting to be researched.

[37] *Na Latarnię!*, *Latarnia* 6, June 1940, pp. 5–6. Włodzimierz Sznarbachowski wrote in his memoir that in the autumn of 1939, among his former friends from ONR-Falanga who wished to start collaborating with the occupier he met Berdycki, who supposedly belonged to the National Radical Camp along with Świetlicki (idem, *300 lat wspomnień* [Three hundred years of memories] [London: Aneks, 1997], p. 192).

[38] "Zamilkły głosy o współpracy polsko-niemieckiej [Voices on Polish-German cooperation have fallen silent]," *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, June 21, 1940.

[39] A report prepared by the underground on the attempts at forming a collaboration organization at the turn of 1939 and 1940 mentioned Trzeciak and Berdycki (Czesław Madajczyk, *Generalna Gubernia w planach hitlerowskich. Studia* [The General Government in Hitler's plans. Studies] [Warsaw: PWN, 1961], p. 31; this information is quoted in Szarota, *U progu Zagłady*…, p. 53, but the file indicated [AAN, 202/II-8d] contains no such document).

and Accessory.[40] His later actions also remain unknown,[41] but establishing them was not our objective. As for Trzeciak, neither the fiasco of his political calculations nor the arrest and execution of NOR founder, Andrzej Świetlicki had much influence on his worldview. Puder's denunciation, which occurred a year later, shows that Trzeciak had not severed his contacts with the Gestapo.

Trzeciak also took advantage of his German contacts to help out his friends. We know about two such instances. In July 1940 he wrote to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs with regard to Doctor Jerzy Krzywiec, who had been arrested with his wife during an attempt to illegally cross the Soviet-German border. Trzeciak brought up Krzywiec's contributions in the sphere of prewar antisemitic activity (he had purportedly informed the German embassy in Warsaw about Jewish plans for the Führer's assassination), suggesting that his help in the anti-Jewish activity in Warsaw would also prove useful at that time. The matter was transferred to Himmler.[42] Trzeciak also intervened on behalf of Colonel Ignacy Oziewicz, who was detained in a camp in Kołotowo (Kulautuva) in Lithuania. As the chief of staff of the NSZ [*Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* – the National Armed Forces], Stanisław Żochowski writes without embarrassment, Trzeciak extracted him from the camp as an invalid "using his influences in Berlin resulting from the anti-Jewish campaign." After his return to Warsaw, Oziewicz, who later became the first commandant of the NSZ, moved into Trzeciak's apartment on Senatorska Street.[43]

The next chance to take his cooperation with the Germans to a higher level came in the spring of 1943. Reports of the National Security Corps (*Państwowy Korpus Bezpieczeństwa*, PKB) drafted at that time stated that there was information about Trzeciak's trips to Cracow to assess the chances of establishing a "Polish government." However, it was established that those trips did not take place. Trzeciak stated that he was "engaged in private and non-committal talks about the Jewish-communist threat." He purportedly often emphasized to the Germans that "communist and Jewish denunciations often hurt Poles who otherwise would

[40] In the summer of 1943 he advertised in the collaboratonist press (for instance, *Nowy Kurier Warszawski* and *Nowy Głos Lubelski*).

[41] There are no materials about him in the Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance.

[42] Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego [Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute] (hereafter: AŻIH), Bernard Mark Collection, 220, Pismo Trzeciaka do MSZ [Trzeciak's letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], July 30, 1940; ibidem, Pismo do Reichsführera SS [Letter to *Reichsführer-SS*], September 30, 1940.

[43] Stanisław Żochowski, "Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (wspomnienia osobiste) [National Armed Forces (personal memoirs)]," *Kultura* (Paris) 31 (1950): 100. He portrays Trzeciak in his later recollections: "restless, having great memory and apt judgment, in a very ragged soutane and with a shiny tonsure/bold spot, he was interested in everything and was well informed. I suspect that he had a high position in the Party leadership" (idem, *O Narodowych Siłach Zbrojnych NSZ* [About the National Armed Forces NSZ] [2nd edition, Lublin: Retro, 1994], p. 46). In some reference books one can read that Oziewicz arrived in Warsaw in the autumn of 1940. If that had been the case then he would have had to be released not by the Lithuanian authorities but the Soviet ones.

have been able to effectively fight against Jews and communists."[44] According to another report, Trzeciak was called a Gestapo collaborator in the documents – an expert on Jewish affairs, who "closely cooperated" with *Untersturmführer* Heinz Schnartendorff,[45] the head of Warsaw SD's Desk IIIC, which dealt with culture, religion, and propaganda. According to yet another PKB report, Trzeciak was invited to a committee organizing an anti-communist exhibition which was to open on Piłsudski Square.[46] Rev. Trzeciak's efforts led only to the publication of fragments of his works in the collaborationist press and the printing of quotations from his prewar publications on antisemitic posters.[47] He was not included in the delegation sent under German aegis to Katyń. The Germans might have concluded that testimony given by a person brought into such disrepute would prove counterproductive.[48] Through various channels the echo of Trzeciak's cooperation with Germany reached the Vatican, from where it got to London. A April 16, 1943 report entitled "Sytuacja Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce" (Situation of the Catholic Church in Poland) sent by the Polish embassy at the Vatican, which had obtained it through the agency of the Polish ministry in Hungary, informed: "The fight against Russia and the eradication of the Jews is substantiated with quotations from Polish Catholic writers […]. Prelate Trzeciak, known for his anti-communist activity and militant antisemitism, has won some popularity among the Germans."[49]

It is surprising that all those reports on Trzeciak's actions failed to result in his indictment by a Civil Special Court. He was not even punished by infamy. Although Trzeciak had documents proving his numerous 'contributions', that did not save his life: he died from a German bullet during a mass execution near Saint Anthony's Church conducted on August 8, 1944.[50]

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[44] Archiwum Akt Nowych [Central Archives of Modern Records] (hereafter: AAN), 202/II-37, Raporty tygodniowe Głównego Inspektoratu PKB [National Security Corps weekly reports], no. 13, April, 21 1943, p. 52.

[45] Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej [Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance] (hereafter: AIPN), Home Army, 60, Notatka bez tytułu [Untitled memo], no date, p. 59.

[46] AAN, 202/II-37, Raporty tygodniowe GI PKB [Weekly reports of the Main Inspectorate of the National Security Corps], no. 17, May 27, 1943, p. 76.

[47] For instance, "Głos ks. dr. Trzeciaka [Word of Rev. Dr Trzeciak]," *Nowy Głos Lubelski*, June 17, 1943, p. 1. One of those posters has survived (AAN, 214/I-17, p. 2).

[48] Trzeciak's candidacy was perhaps not even considered (Tadeusz Wolsza, *„To co widziałem przekracza swą grozą najśmielsze fantazje". Wojenne i powojenne losy Polaków wizytujących Katyń w 1943 r.* ["What I have seen exceeds my wildest fantasies with its horror." Wartime and postwar fate of Poles visiting Katyn in 1943] [Warsaw: Neriton, 2015], p. 26). His name was mistakenly mentioned in that context by Stefan Korboński (idem, *W imieniu Rzeczypospolitej* [On behalf of the Republic of Poland] [Warszawa: IPN, 2009], p. 159).

[49] Archiwum Instytutu Polskiego (London) [Polish Institute Archive], A.11/49sow/15, Interwencje Stolicy Apostolskiej w dziedzinie ucisku religijnego pod rządem sowieckim [The Holy See's interventions concerning religious persecutions under the Soviet rule], p. 5.

[50] We do not give a detailed description of his death, but may recommend reading Rokicki's aforementioned article.

In Hiding

Tadeusz Puder left Warsaw as early as November 1939. Fearing for his safety, Archbishop Stanisław Gall transferred him to Białołęka Dworska, appointing him chaplain of the chapel of Sisters of the Family of Mary, who ran the *Boży Czyn* (Divine Deed) orphanage. The 20 or so nuns living there had over 100 children in their care.[51] Paying little attention to staying in hiding, Puder worked with zeal. On April 24, 1941 the Gestapo arrived in Białołęka Dworska. The functionaries knew exactly who they were looking for. "This is my end," said Puder to Sister Janina Kruszewska. Terrified, the children begged the Germans not to take away their priest. "He's a Jew," explained the German and threw the children an apple on his way out. Puder was detained in the prison on Rakowiecka Street. Hitherto we have known that he stayed there until mid-1942 and that later, owing to efforts made by the sisters from Białołęka, who had stayed in contact with him throughout that time, he was transferred to Saint Sophie's Hospital in the ghetto. That was purportedly achieved owing to help from a German prison physician. In November 1942, after the great liquidation campaign in the ghetto, Puder managed to escape, once again thanks to the sisters' help. He jumped out the window and left the ghetto area on a horse-drawn wagon transporting coal which had been brought there on purpose. For a short while he was hiding at his mother's.[52] Then, disguised as a nun, he was transported to Białołęka Dworska. Let in on the secret was the Mother Superior of the Warsaw Province, Sister Matylda Getter, Mother Superior Franciszka Liebthal, and a few other nuns. None of the children learned about Puder's stay in the orphanage.[53] He stayed there in hiding until October 18, 1944, when all of the inhabitants were evacuated to nearby Płudy because of the approaching front line. There he managed to avoid exposure until the liberation, which came on October 24. Puder returned to Warsaw as early as January 22, 1945. The next day he was hit by a Soviet truck and died five days later without recovering consciousness.

[51] No document mentions Puder's appointment as chaplain of the chapel in Białołęka Dworska. This information appears in the testimony of Mother Superior Franciszka Liebthal (letter from Sister Teresa Frącek to Dariusz Libionka of September 12, 2017).

[52] It remains unknown where she was hiding. She used the name Jadwiga Markowska, which she retained after the war.

[53] Four people knew about Puder's presence: Sister Janina Kruszewska, who brought him from Warsaw; Sister Eleonora Maksimowska, the guardian of older boys and manager of the sewing room where Puder was staying; Sister Domicela Golik, who worked in the kitchen; and Sister Bolesława Bukrajewska, who escorted the escapee off the premises in case of danger. Some of the children staying in the orphanage were Jewish (all of this information from Sister Teresa Frącek's letter to Dariusz Libionka of September 12, 2017).

The Documents Speak

The documents we present come from the Special Court in Warsaw (*Sondergericht Warschau*) found at the State Archive in Warsaw (*Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie*). They illustrate the fate not only of Puder and other converts, but also the position of the Catholic Church on cases concerning the persecution of Jews. Last but not least, these documents entail an important contribution to studies on the sentences passed by German courts in 'Jewish' cases and the actions undertaken by the German police in connection with decisions made by German occupation courts.

The investigation against Rev. Tadeusz Puder was launched under the 'Aryan' paragraph – that is, an indictment for concealment of one's Jewish identity, which in the case of Warsaw Jews was paired with the failure to move to the ghetto. To properly understand the meaning and significance of the documents we present, they should be put in the slightly broader context of the legal situation of Polish Jews during the first years of the occupation. The process of excluding Jews from Polish society began with the German army's marching into Poland. Beginning from December 1, 1939, Jews living in the General Government became subject to the *Judenkennzeichengesetz* – that is, the requirement to wear an armband with the Star of David.[54] One's religion was of no importance to the Nazis when it came to determining Jewish identity. The basic criteria of identification were racial ones, and they were interpreted in various ways. In March 1940 the collaborationist daily *Nowy Kurier Warszawski* warned that Jews captured without an armband on the street would be fined and/or detained.[55] The Warsaw Ghetto was established in October 1940 and it was officially sealed on November 15 that year. Converts were also required to move there. Interventions made by the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Reformed Church on their behalf proved unsuccessful.[56] The Germans erected a wall around the newly established closed quarter and introduced various punishments for staying outside it, the meting out of which was entrusted to the judiciary.

The German police and the Polish blue police ensured observance of the new occupation laws. Apprehended Jews were handed to the German Public Prosecutor's Office of the German Special Court (*Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Sondergericht Warschau*). Designation of either the Polish or the German judiciary as the organ authorized to investigate a given case was a prerogative of the public prosecutor's office (despite the new occupation-period order, the Polish judiciary retained some of its pre-war cognizance). 'Armband cases' and other 'Jewish cases' almost always went to trial in German courts. In the German

[54] The ordinance applied to individuals over the age of ten.

[55] *Nowy Kurier Warszawski*, March 15, 1940, p. 3.

[56] More about this topic in Dariusz Libionka, "Polish Church Hierarchy and the Holocaust – an Essay from a Critical Perspective," *Holocaust Studies and Materials* (2010): 87–90.

bureaucrats' lingo those were cases which "threatened the German folk," falling within the competence of exclusively German courts. That judicial system encompassed courts of the first instance (*Deutsches Gerichte*) and appellate courts (*Deutsches Obergerichte*), established in each of the five Districts of the General Government. Violations of the war legislation were examined by Special Courts (*Sondergerichte*). The Warsaw *Sondergericht* began to operate in April 1940.[57] 'Jewish cases' soon became one of the key 'fronts' of the German courts' work. From the early spring of 1940 to the end of 1941 the trials regarding Jews made up almost 30 percent of all the cases investigated by the *Deutsches Gericht* and the *Sondergericht* in Warsaw.

From the perspective of the first two years of the occupation, one could clearly see that the The German judiciary was imposin increasingly harsh punishments even for the most minor offences. In the spring and summer of 1940 the typical verdicts in 'armband' trials were fines in the amount of 30–150 zlotys. In the first months of the occupation those sums were substantial, but the increasing inflation gradually lessened their acuteness. In late 1940 and in the winter of 1941 the fines were increased and, more importantly, paired with prison sentences (sometimes a year or two of high-security prison). Let us take the example of the case of Warsaw barber Henoch Biberstein, who was apprehended outside the ghetto in the autumn of 1941. The *Sondergericht* sentenced him to two years and nine months of prison.[58] Stanisław Piltz, a Lvov journalist given into the Germans' hands by informers and tried by the *Sondergericht* in September 1941, was sentenced to four years in prison.[59] Imprisonment was a more severe punishment because that meant living in the horrible conditions in the cells. The situation was particularly dramatic in the prison wards assigned for Jews. For instance, in the spring of 1940 Jews detained in the jail on Rakowiecka Street in Warsaw were transferred to wards 1and 2 in the basement.[60]

As early as in the summer of 1941 Jews jailed on Rakowiecka Street began to feel the tightening of the screw and the intensification of repressions. Arrested

[57] Präsident Kurt Wille (*Leiter der Hauptabteilung Justiz in der Regierung des GG*), "Die Rechtspflege im Generalgouvernement," in *Das Generalgouvernement. Seine Verwaltung und seine Wirtschaft. Sammlung von Vorträgen der ersten wissentschaftlichen Vortragsreihe der Verwaltungsakademie des Generealgouvernements*, ed. Joseph Bühler (*staatssekretär, leiter der Verwaltungs-Akademie des Generalgouvernements*) (Cracow: Burgverlag, 1943), pp. 102–113. See also Friedrich Gollert, *Warschau unter deutscher Herrschaft: Deutsche Aufbauarbeit im Distrikt Warschau* (Cracow: Burgverlag, 1942), p. 122.

[58] Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie [State Archive in Warsaw] (hereafter: AP Warsaw), Special Court fond, vol. 285 (320), Wyrok z 28 IX 1941 r. [Verdict of September 28, 1941]. Biberstein was deported to Treblinka on August 21, 1942.

[59] AP Warsaw, Special Court fond, vol. 375 (311), Wyrok z 19 IX 1941 r. [Verdict of September 19, 1941]. Piltz's wife and 16-year-old son were sentenced to three years and one year of prison respectively.

[60] AŻIH, 302/324, Israel Cymlich, "Moje przeżycia wojenne [My wartime experiences]."

in 1941, Israel Cymlich wrote: "tuberculosis and emaciation were spreading in the other Jewish cells; TB patients were sent to hospital, while the emaciated prisoners were taken to special cells in Ward 9." The sentences passed on Jews by German courts were becoming increasingly severe. Death sentences began to be passed for 'serious economic offences'. Sometimes, the sentences were passed in absentia, as in the case of Arnold Szyfman, the director of the Polish Theater (*Teatr Polski*), who was arrested in March 1940 after being denounced for not wearing an armband. Szyfman learned about his six-month sentence passed by the *Sondergericht* from his defender.[61] As for the punishment of neophytes living on the 'Aryan' side who, just as Puder, refused to move to the ghetto, one can cite the case of Henryk Hendler as an example.[62] That Warsaw timber trader was denounced as a 'full Jew' (*Volljude*) to the police in October 1941. During the investigation he explained that he had been a Catholic since his childhood and that he had not moved into the ghetto because he could not accept the thought of living among Jews whom he hated and who repulsed him.[63] That explanation did not move the *Sondergericht* judges who during a trial on June 17, 1942 sentenced him to three years in prison.

How does the case of Rev. Puder look against this background? As being relatively typical, inasmuch as the investigation began after he had been denounced by Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak to a German Security Police agent. Called as witness, Trzeciak gave testimony which incriminated Puder completely. By the way, the word 'interrogation' is not the most accurate here. It was more like a friendly chat between Rev. Trzeciak, who was boasting about his antisemitic engagement, and the Gestapo officer. Trzeciak's interlocutor was none other than *Untersturmführer* Karl Georg Brandt, the later executioner of the Warsaw ghetto, a figure well known to Holocaust historians. Brandt conducted the preliminary investigation and on April 25, 1941 interrogated Rev. Puder, then under arrest. It is surprising that Puder's apprehension came as long as a month after Trzeciak's testimony. Interrogated, the clergyman defended himself in the most obvious manner, that is, using religious arguments. He explained that as a Catholic and Catholic priest he did not regard himself as Jewish and that wearing the armband would make it impossible for him to work as a priest. He was aware that in the eyes of Germans he was a one-hundred-percent, 'full Jew'. His testimony contains quite a lot of interesting biographical data. Tadeusz Puder was imprisoned on Rakowiecka Street, same as Cymlich, whom I have quoted, and thousands of other Warsaw Jews. His brother Ryszard was also incarcerated

[61] Arnold Szyfman, *Moja tułaczka wojenna* [My wartime wandering] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo MON, 1960), p. 78. The attorney did not want to reveal the informer's name. Szyfman was released after serving time.

[62] AP Warsaw, Special Court fond, vol. 909.

[63] Ibidem, Przesłuchanie z 21 X 1941 r. [Interrogation on October 21, 1941], p. 9.

there.[64] In his testimony Puder provided his mother's and brothers' address, but without the tenement and apartment number.

A special testimony here is the letter written in defense of the arrested priest by Sister Agnes Dymna from Białołęka Dworska to Governor Fischer. It remains unknown whether it was her own initiative or that of mother superior Franciszka Liebthal. Neither of the women talked about the matter after the war.[65] The letter was the only time that the Church stood up for Rev. Puder. Neither Warsaw Archbishop Stanisław Gall nor Archbishop Adam Sapieha, who resided in Cracow and was an informal head of the Polish Church, brought themselves to intervene in any way either during the investigation or after the announcement of the severe sentence. The church circles had known about the whole thing from the start, which testifies to the speed with which the news of Puder's arrest reached the Polish government in London through the agency of the Polish underground: "One of the forms of persecutions of believers is that those who wish to convert to Catholicism encounter so many barriers put up by the administrative authorities that it becomes impossible, at least taking the official route. […] One could add here that a very zealous priest, a converted member of Judaism, Rev. Puder, who has done a lot of good in Warsaw, has been arrested."[66]

Sister Agnes' petition on behalf of Rev. Puder's release was immediately rejected by the German authorities. It is difficult to conclude on the basis of the surviving documentation as to who made that decision. It remains unknown whether things would have been different in the case of an intervention by a Church representative. As we have already said, earlier interventions with the authorities of the General Government regarding exempting converts from the requirement to wear the armband and move into ghettos were of no avail. But the passivity of the hierarchs in this regard remains a fact. The correspondence between Polish bishops and the Vatican does not mention Puder or converts at all.

Tadeusz Puder stood trial before the *Sondergericht* on September 1, 1941 and was sentenced on the same day to a year and eight months of prison. The

[64] He was detained in the same cell as Puder. According to a testimony given by a Polish female member of the Home Army who contacted the prison and participated in Puder's rescue, Ryszard was deported to Treblinka. According to Puder's surviving secret message smuggled out of prison, the prison guards let him and his brother take part in religious practices (Jadwiga Strzemżalska, "Tadeusz Puder," *Tygodnik Powszechny* 18 [1987]: 5). We have found no documents concerning his case.

[65] Sister Agnes gave her testimony in 1974. It remains unknown whether she knew about the hiding of Puder after his return, as in 1944 she was transferred to Pustelnik (information from Sister Teresa Frącek's letter to Dariusz Libionka of September 12, 2017).

[66] Polish Home Army Archive, Ministry of Internal Affairs, file 46/9, Sprawozdanie kościelne z Polski za lipiec–sierpień 1941 r. [Church report from Poland for July–August 1941], p. 3.

German judges mentioned the "duration of the crime" as the incriminating circumstance – Puder did not wear the 'Zionist armband' for nearly a year and a half and illegally lived outside the ghetto for six months. It was stated that even after serving time he would remain at the Security Police's discretion. Rev. Puder spent the following months on Rakowiecka Street. The documents issued by prison physicians in the spring of 1942 testify to his deteriorating health. According to the testimonies of the nuns from Białołęka Dworska, a German physician was persuaded to help Puder by his Catholic wife.[67] The priest was purportedly given injections of a symptom-causing substance by a Polish doctor.[68] This seems true as both physicians signed documents confirming his poor health. Puder was eventually transferred to Saint Sophie's Hospital at 90 Żelazna Street. By an odd coincidence (or perhaps intentionally) this happened on July 22, 1942 – that is, precisely at the commencement of the great liquidation campaign. Jewish prisoners, both those detained in the labor camp on Gęsia Street and those from other prisons and jails, were among the first 'evacuated' to Treblinka. That fate befell the aforementioned neophyte Henryk Hendler, who was deported to the death camp with other prisoners precisely on July 22.[69] Puder might have benefited from his status as a Catholic priest, or it may have been a consequence of the attempts to get him out of jail. He spent the entire period of the deportation in hospital, from where he escaped to the 'Aryan' side on November 12, 1942 – although a ccording to testimonies, his escape took place on November 7. Unfortunately, the details in the matter remain unknown. Even though this topic has been discussed in many texts, not everything is clear. According to a police report, three prisoners escaped on that day.[70] The last documents regard the unsuccessful search for the escapee conducted by the Polish blue police at the Kripo's order.

[67] Frącek, "Zgromadzenie Sióstr Rodziny Marii," p. 125.

[68] Strzemżalska, "Tadeusz Puder."

[69] AP Warsaw, Special Court fonds, vol. 909, Notatka kpt. Ludwika Schneidera z Komendy Policji Polskiej w Warszawie do naczelnika Prokuratury Niemieckiej w Warszawie z 18 VIII 1942 r. [Memo written by Captain Ludwik Schneider from the Polish Police Department in Warsaw to the head of the German Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw dated August 18, 1942], p. 49.

[70] The November 12 entry into the police chronicle reads: "At 6.45 p.m. the following prisoners escaped from Saint Sophie's Hospital: Tadeusz Puder, 34 years old, domiciled in Białołęka Dworska, sent over from the prison in Mokotów; Czesław Soroko, 42 years old, domiciled at 34 Tamka Street, apartment 26, also from the Mokotów prison; and Halina Świerczewska, 40 years old, domiciled at 6 Czackiego Street, apartment 17, from the prison on Daniłowiczowska Street. They were under policeman Bolesław Powierza's watch" (quoted in Dariusz Libionka, "Zapisy dotyczące Żydów w warszawskich kronikach policyjnych z lat 1942–1944 [Records concerning Jews in Warsaw police chronicles from 1942–1944]," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* no. 10, vol. 2 [2014]: 570).

Conclusion

Puder's arrest has been discussed in a cautious manner,[71] although the nuns from Białołęka Dworska, including Mother Superior Franciszka Liebthal, knew the informer's name as the Gestapo functionary had revealed the informer's identity and motives to Puder during his interrogation: "The truth is that Rev. Trzeciak disliked you. Do you know him?"[72] Even though Puder's closest family members also knew the truth, they kept it to themselves for a long time.[73] Even after the publication of a testimony by Puder's relative, apologists of the nationalist underground waved it aside and put Trzeciak in the pantheon of the national camp's heroes,[74] basing their stance on a single testimony according to which Trzeciak endorsed helping Jewish children.[75] That legend of Trzeciak's 'conversion' has been repeated ad nauseum.

We hope that the documents concerning the ill-fated Rev. Puder will contribute to a re-evaluation of Trzeciak's actions as an informer and collaborator, without regard for his real or purported contributions. He denounced Rev. Puder from

[71] Wysocki, "Tadeusz Puder," p. 340; Frącek, "Zgromadzenie Sióstr Rodziny Marii," pp. 123–129.

[72] Sister Liebthal is the author of two testimonies concerning Rev. Puder's fate. The above quotation appears in the text by Linarcik, who does not dot the i's or cross the t's. Earlier, Linarcik even repeated that Trzeciak's attitude had changed and expressed his "concern for the fate of Jewish children" (idem, *Ks. Tadeusz Puder…*, p. 41).

[73] A friend of the family, Maria Szletyńska, wrote to Tomasz Szarota in her letter of February 10, 2001 that Puder informed his mother, brother Wacław and his wife Lucyna Kierzkowska about that. Szletyńska remembered what the Gestapo functionary said about Trzeciak, namely: "He disliked you [that is Puder]." She wrote that that fact "should be known to historians." Dariusz Libionka received a duplicate of the latter from Tomasz Szarota, for which he wishes to thank him yet again.

[74] Jan Żaryn, "Elity obozu narodowego wobec zagłady Żydów [The elites of the national camp towards the extermination of the Jews]," in *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945. Studia i materiały* [Poles and Jews under German occupation 1939–1945. Studies and materials], ed. Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw: IPN, 2006), p. 389; Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński, "Stanisław Trzeciak," in *Lista strat działaczy obozu narodowego w latach 1939–1945. Słownik biograficzny* [List of losses of national camp activists in 1939–1945. Biographical dictionary], eds Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński and Jolanta Mysiakowska-Muszyńska (Warsaw: IPN, 2010), vol. 1, p. 296; Mariusz Bechta, Wojciech J. Muszyński, *Przeciwko Pax Sovietica*. *Narodowe Zjednoczenie wojskowe i struktury polityczne ruchu narodowego wobec reżimu komunistycznego 1944–1956* [Against Pax Sovietica. national military unification and political structures of the national movement against the communist regime 1944–1956] (Warsaw: IPN, 2017), p. 48.

[75] According to a second-hand testimony of nun Wanda Garczyńska from the congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, he approved of sheltering Jewish girls in the boarding house run by those sisters (*Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej. Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939–1945* [This one is from my homeland. Poles with the help of Jews 1939–1945], eds Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna [2nd edition, Cracow: Znak 1969], p. 808).

envy caused by his own recall from Saint Hyacinth's Church and his racist worldview. Trzeciak must have known that this would bring doom on Puder. He of all people knew perfectly well how his German acquaintances from Szuch Avenue treated Jews.

Translated by *Anna Brzostowska* and *Jerzy Giebułtowski*

Documents

Special Court in Warsaw, 633/328,
Public Prosecutor's Office of the Special Court in Warsaw.
Preliminary proceedings concerning: Puder

[1]

[p. 1, typewritten]
III/II B[76]
Warsaw, March 10, 1941
Hipo[77] functionary and translator Erhard Janke has appeared without being called,
domiciled in Warsaw at Sonnenstrasse 10/7, employed in the Security Police (Section III), and stated the following:
He learned in secret that Catholic priest Puder in the orphanage in Płudy,[78]
Jabłonna commune, Warsaw District,
no further data available, is circumcised.
More information about the priest could be obtained from Professor Rev. Trzeciak, Ph.D., domiciled in Warsaw at Senatorska Street 31/319.

Brandt
SS-U[nter]Sturmfuehrer and Krim[inal] Sekr[etaer]
Warsaw, March 19, 1941

III/II B
Daily register no. 2697/41
March 19, 1941, Warsaw,
Disposition
1. register III/II F.
2. Proceed immediately with regard to III/II B.

[76] Section III of the Security Service (SD), Desk B dealt with ethnic matters.
[77] *Hilfspolizei* – auxiliary police.
[78] "Pułdy" in the original. A mistake.

By proxy
Brandt

[handwritten annotation:] Trzeciak requested to appear on March 22, 1941, telephone: 503-17.
[handwritten annotation – illegible]

[2]

[p. 2, typescript]
III/II B.
Warsaw, March 22, 1941
Interrogation
Stanisław Trzeciak, Ph.D.
has appeared after being summoned
Born on October 25, 1873 in Rudna Wielka, domiciled in Warsaw at Senatorska Street 31/20, and in reply to questions regarding the case, he stated the following:

I am a priest in Saint Anthony's Church in Warsaw. During the World War I was a university professor in Petersburg. So far I have not been a member of any political organization.

Asked about vicar Puder, I state that I know this clergyman. I know that his parents were full-blooded Jews [*Volljuden*]. His father is buried in the Jewish cemetery here in Warsaw. He has never mentioned his Jewish origin, but I accidentally learned that Puder is circumcised. Because I had been a firm opponent of Jews long before the war, I became interested in Tadeusz Puder's case. Puder was widely known in the milieu of Catholic clergymen as a Jew. Puder was baptized in the Roman Catholic rite at the age of nine. But I do not know in which church. During the period before the Polish-German war, as far as I know, his mother lived in Warsaw.

Puder is currently the vicar at the orphanage for boys in Płudy, near Warsaw. It is common knowledge that vicar Puder has always interceded for Jews. In his sermons he often preached and explicitly stated: "If we, Catholics, are fighting Jews, we are acting against our own religion."
r[ead] u[derstood] s[igned]
[Stanisław Trzeciak's signature]
Concluded by
[signature:] SS-Untersturmfuehrer Brandt]; Trzeciak [illegible signature]

[3]

[pp. 3–5, typewritten]
Desk III/II B 1
Daily register no. 2697/41
Warsaw, April 25, 1941

Interrogation

Catholic Priest Tadeusz Puder
has been escorted over
Born on July 8 1908 in Warsaw, Polish citizenship [*poln. Staatsangehoeriger*], Roman Catholic, domiciled in the Family of Mary orphanage in Płudy, Białołęka Dworska commune, Warsaw District, he has testified what follows:

About himself:
I was born in Warsaw as the second child of a Jewish married couple: Maurycy Puder and his wife Jadwiga, née Rabinowicz. My parents were full-blooded Jews. I went to a private school at the age of six and then went to secondary school.

In 1917 my mother was baptized in Our Lady's Church in Warsaw and became a Roman Catholic. I was baptized on the same day along with my two brothers – Ryszard and Wacław. I was nine when I converted from Judaism to Catholicism. My father did not become a Catholic because living members of his family disapproved of that. He remained a member of Judaism and died in Warsaw in 1923. He is buried at the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw.

My mother and my two brothers live in Warsaw at Niepodległości Avenue no. ?[79] As far as I know this street does not belong to the Jewish residential quarter.

After passing my high school finals I studied theology at universities in Warsaw and Rome. In 1932 I was ordained a priest at the Warsaw 'cathedral'. Having been ordained a priest, I worked as a vicar in various Catholic churches in Warsaw and for a short while also outside Warsaw. Now I am a vicar at the Catholic orphanage run by Sisters of the Family of Mary in the Białołęka Dworska commune. I am a minister to the nuns who work there and the orphans who live there.

About the case:
As I have mentioned, I am a full-blooded Jew [*Volljude*]. I am circumcised. Accused of not wearing the armband for Jews, I can only state that I have never considered myself a Jew, because I am a Catholic clergyman and I preach only the word of God. I am familiar with the ordinance concerning the marking of Jews in the General Government. I am a Catholic clergyman and my wearing an armband is out of the question because I could not be a clergyman then. I know that under German law I am still considered a Jew despite my baptism. I have not worn the

[79] As in the original.

armband not because I have been trying to hide myself, but because – as I have mentioned – being a Catholic clergyman, I cannot wear the Jewish armband.

My mother visited me a few weeks ago in my workplace and she did not wear the armband either. Recently I have not had any contact with my two brothers because they have not visited me and I have not gone to Warsaw for fear of meeting somebody I knew.

I know that my behavior is punishable. I did not wear the armband because of the circumstances present in my case.

If I have been accused of speaking in favor of Jews in my sermons before the war, then I must deny that. I am well aware of the fact that at some point superior church instances were watching me in this regard because after my ordination as priest and after the bishop gave me a suitable certificate he explicitly warned me against ever discussing politics in my sermons or outside the church. I have never tried to turn people against the German nation even though I am a full-blooded Jew and a Catholic clergyman. I am well familiar with the new Germany's position concerning Jews but in my sermons and outside the church I have always been loyal [to the authorities].

My parents and their ancestors were full-blooded Jews.
Read, understood, and signed:
[signature:] Tadeusz Puder

Last but not least, it should be emphasized that vicar Puder confessed to being a full-blooded Jew and not wearing the armband required [by law]. During the interrogation he stated that he converted to Roman Catholicism at the age of nine and that he had never considered himself a Jew, particularly that he was a Catholic clergyman.

An investigation is to be immediately launched against members of [his] family mentioned during the interrogation, who are Jewish too and do not live in the Jewish residential quarter and thus probably do not wear the Jewish armband either, and they shall be apprehended.

[Brandt]
SS-U[nter]stu[rm]f[uehrer]
[illegible signature; probably Schneider]
SS-Ob[er]scharf[uehrer]

[4]

[p. 7, typescript]
[Case number:] III/II B 1-2697/41
Warsaw, June 28, 1941

Escorted from jail, Catholic vicar
Tadeusz Puder appeared,
his further data are known. Asked questions about the case, he testified the following:

"During my investigation on April 25, 1941 – page 3 and the subsequent pages in the case files – I provided further information regarding my pretending not to be a Jew. In that interrogation I admitted to being a full-blooded Jew.

Asked about reporting my property I must state that I have none. Moreover, I state that after the ordinance forbidding Jews from travelling by rail became effective I have never travelled by train. Nor have I ever claimed food stamps in person because I received board from the nuns in the orphanage where I worked as a priest. For my ministry I received no remuneration and only food and board. The nuns did not claim food stamps for me because as far as I know the food stamps were not issued to individuals but to the orphanage as a whole. Consequently, I assume that I was counted as one of the people living in the orphanage and thus received food stamps for Poles. I know that food rations for Jews are smaller than those for Poles.

My testimony given during the interrogation on April 25 and also today is entirely true."

Dictated out loud [for the record], read, accepted, and signed
[signature:] Tadeusz Puder
[signature:] Brandt
SS-Untersturmfuehrer
Recorded by: [illegible signature] office worker

[5]

[p. 9, form]
Director of the Public Prosecutor's Office
of the Special Court
File no. 3 Js. 1488/41
Warsaw, June 4, 1941

Indication for admission to prison
at Rakowiecka Street 37.
Full name of the arrested: Tadeusz Puder
Date of birth: July 8, 1908

Punishable act he is accused of: Ordinance of November 23, 1939
After the end of Puder's arrest he is to remain at the disposal of the chief of the Security Police in Warsaw with regard to this matter.

[illegible signature]
Head of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Special Court in Warsaw

[Seal: German Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw, General Government]

[6]

[p. 11, handwritten]
Orphanage
in Białołęka Dworska
Henryków near Warsaw
Sister Agnes Dymna[80]

Białołęka Dworska, June 13, 1941
To the Warsaw District Governor
Doctor Fischer
Request concerning orphanage chaplain Tadeusz Puder, apprehended on April 25, 1941

Our priest, Rev. Tadeusz Puder, was arrested on April 25, 1941 on suspicion of being of Jewish origin. At present he is in the prison on Rakowiecka Street in Warsaw. Our orphanage owes a lot to him. We had not had a man to help us for a long time, so the priest helped us. Besides his ministry, he spent entire days helping us out with the harvest and all other field and farm work. Thus, I dare make the following request of you. On behalf of the wounded German soldiers who I tended to and who promised me: "Sister, everything you have done for us shall be repaid to you," I hereby intercede for the priest on behalf of the killed German soldiers whose graves he cared for so that they would not fall into ruin. I hereby beg for mercy for him, for his release so that he could return to our orphanage, where he was apprehended and where we are waiting for him.

[80] Agnieszka Barbara Dymna (1901–1986) – born in Dobrzyca-Klonów, Krotoszyn county. After graduating from an elementary school in Dobrzyca in 1915 she attended the School of Economy in Pleszew for two years. She joined the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Warsaw in 1924, where she also did a year-long postulacy and novitiate and took her vows in 1926 and 1932 (temporary and permanent respectively). While in the congregation she finished a nursing course in Warsaw (1932) and a state training for nurses in 1939. She worked as a nurse and an assistant guardian in orphanages in Struda, Płudy, Międzylesie, and Białołęka Dworska. After the war she worked in the provincial home at Hoża Street 53 and then as a children's nurse for two years in Kostowiec (1957–1959). She spent her last years in Pustelnik-Marki as a nurse (information from Sister Teresa Frącek).

I hope that you shall fulfill my request and not reject it.

Yours sincerely,
Sister of Mercy Agnes

[7]

[p. 13, typewritten]
Sanitary Company 2/32
Duplicate
Białołęka Dworska, September 24, 1939

Sanitary Company 2/32 was staying at the orphanage in Białołęka Dworska from September 16 to 24, 1939. The nuns who run the orphanage, and particularly the mother superior, helped the Sanitary Company substantially by tending to the wounded and providing food to the troops. Hence, the Company is indebted to the orphanage director. Taking into consideration the high risk that the approx. 100 orphans staying in the orphanage might not have enough food in the nearest future, the troops are requested to take into consideration the orphanage['s needs] as much as possible, and, if possible, discontinue requisition of food and fodder.

(Stamp) Sanitary Company 2/32

Company head and combat medic
(signed by Doctor Steding)
(stamp) 586 area of military operations

[8]

[p. 15, typewritten]
July 4, 1941
3 Js. 1488/41
Regarding the criminal proceedings
against Tadeusz Puder

To Sister Agnes,
Białołęka Dworska, orphanage.

Your petition of June 13, 1941 for the release of Tadeusz Puder from jail has been rejected.

[illegible signature]
court clerk

[9]

[p. 17, typewritten]
Warsaw, June 1, 1941
Director of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Special Court
3 Js. 1488/41
Jail

To the Special Court
in Warsaw

Indictment

Tadeusz Puder, Polish, born on July 8, 1908 in Warsaw, a Catholic vicar, single, domiciled in the Family of Mary Catholic orphanage in Płudy, in custody since April 25, 1941, now in prison at Rakowiecka Street 37 in Warsaw, is hereby indicted for not wearing an armband with the Star of David from December 1, 1939 to April 1941 despite being Jewish.

Offense under §§ 1, 3 of Governor General's ordinance concerning marking of Jewish men and women issued on November 23, 1939/February 19, 1940.

Evidence:

Testimony [of the accused].

Investigation's outcome:

1. Puder is a full-blooded Jew.
He did not wear the armband with the Star of David from the moment when Jews became obliged to wear armbands to his apprehension in April 1941.
2. Puder confessed. He was aware that his actions were a violation of the law.
I hereby motion for:
1. launching the main investigation by the Special Court in Warsaw,
2. prolonging Puder's arrest as he might try to escape.

Pp.
[illegible signature]
Authorized public prosecutor

[10]

[p. 24–25, typewritten]
3 Js 1488/41
Non-appealable.
Warsaw, September 1, 1941
Gruener [handwritten annotation]

Verdict
on behalf of the German folk!
In the penal case against
vicar Tadeusz Puder
born in Warsaw on July 8, 1908 and domiciled in Płudy,

now held in custody in the prison at Rakowiecka Street 37 in Warsaw.
Due to his failure to wear the armband for Jews,
the Special Court in Warsaw decided during a hearing held on September 1, 1941, in which participated:
judge Stemler as the assigned trial judge,
appointed attorney Velten assigned as the Public Prosecutor's Office clerk,
court clerk Spies assigned as archivist of the [court] office,

For failure to comply with the ordinance concerning the marking of Jewish men and women in the General Government issued on November 23, 1939 the accused is hereby sentenced to a year and eight months of prison as well as bearing the cost [of the court proceedings].

His detention in jail shall be included in his prison time beginning with April 25, 1941 at midday, 12 o'clock.

Substantiation:

The accused, born on July 8, 1908, is a child of Jewish parents. After joining the Catholic church in 1917 he studied theology and was ordained a priest in 1932. On November 1, 1939 he became a vicar in the Catholic orphanage run by Sisters of the Family of Mary in Płudy. He did not wear the armband mandated by law because he considered that contradictory to the function he performed. He knew that Jews were obliged to wear an armband and about the German interpretation of his racial affiliation.

The state of affairs presented above is based on the accused's confession of his guilt.

Adequately to the said state of affairs the accused is to be sentenced under §§ 3, 1 of the ordinance concerning the marking of Jewish men and women in the General Government passed on November 23, 1939. The purported conflict of interest does not exist because he could have let himself be transferred or given up his [church] activity if his superior had forbidden him from wearing the armband for Jews.

Passing the verdict, the judges treated the accused's confession and his clear record as mitigating circumstances. The aggravating circumstance was the long duration of his punishable behavior and the fact that the accused did not move to the ghetto. The adjudicated punishment seems appropriate and sufficient. Because the accused did confess to being guilty, the duration of his temporary detention can be included in his prison sentence in full.

The settlement concerning the cost [of the proceedings] is based on §§ 465 StPO.[81]

[signature: Stemler]

[81] *Staatspolizei* – State Police.

[11]

[p. 30, form]
Public Prosecutor's Office
of the Special Court in Warsaw.
No. 754/41
Warsaw, October 20, 1941

Request for admission
to the prison at Rakowiecka Street 37 in Warsaw for serving prison time.
1. Name, occupation, etc.: Tadeusz Puder, Catholic vicar, Płudy.
2. Place of birth, date of birth: Warsaw, July 8, 1908.
3. Sentence: passed by the Special Court in Warsaw on September 1, 1941 – 3 Ds. 6/41 – for failure to wear the armband for Jews, 1 year and 8 months of prison with the temporary custody from 12 o'clock on April 25, 1941 to 9.35 on September 1, 1941 to be included in the prison time.
4. Beginning of punishment: September 1, 1941, 9.35.
5. End of punishment: December 22, 1942, 12.00.
6. Comments: Puder has been detained there under I 826/41. No criminal record. After serving time Puder is to remain in prison at the disposal of the Security Police chief under III/II B 1 – 269/41.
7. To the Warden of the prison at
Rakowiecka Street 37 in Warsaw with a request to mete out the punishment.
Attached duplicate of the appropriate part of the final and biding sentence.

[illegible signature]
Court inspector as a representative of the judiciary
[seal with date – October 31, 1941]

[12]

[p. 32, handwritten]
Tadeusz Puder
currently in prison at Rakowiecka Street 37
Warsaw, January 20, 1942

To the Director of the Public Prosecutor's Office
of the Special Court in Warsaw.

The long period I have spent in jail since April 1941 and the bowel disease I have been suffering for years have led to my advanced emaciation. Thus, I take the liberty to kindly request a prison furlough so that I can somewhat recuperate.
Tadeusz Puder
[stamp: prison at Rakowiecka Street 37 in Warsaw]

Medical opinion No. 79/42 – with duplicate
Warsaw, March 24, 1942.
[signature and stamp: Doctor Tadeusz Mrożek]

[13]

[p. 34, form]

Public Prosecutor's Office of the Special Court in Warsaw.
3Js 1488/41 [handwritten annotation]

Prison in Warsaw
at Rakowiecka Street 37
No. 79/42

Opinion

Concerning Tadeusz Puder's fitness for serving time (born on July 8, 1908 in Warsaw).
Punishable act: Ordinance of November 23, 1939.
Sentence: 1 year and 8 months of prison. Remaining prison time: 10 months.
Ailments: headaches, vertigo, flashes before the eyes, overall feebleness. Pain in the chest lasting 2–3 minutes accompanied by cold sweat. Acute pain in the abdomen resembling colic. Constipation and diarrhea. Acid reflux [*Saures Aufstossen*]. Flatulence.
Diagnosis: *Opicitis sin*. *Neurosis cordis*. *Enterocolitio*. *Neurosis ventriculi*?[82] Anemia.
Prison physician's opinion: prison furlough required.

[signature]
Doctor Tadeusz Mrożek (prison physician)
Warsaw, March 24, 1942

Medical officer's [*Amtsarzt*] diagnosis: male, average height, average fitness and nutrition. Pale skin and mucous membranes. Slight enlargement of the heart. Clear heartbeat. Accelerated and arhythmical pulse. Throat and stomach without symptoms of a disease.
Puder suffers from *vitium cordis*, without symptoms of insufficient [heart] function, as well as slight anemia. No gut disease found.
Recommendation for the court instance: Puder is capable of "serving prison time."[83] For the time being there is no need for prison furlough due to health considerations.

[signature]

[82] As in the original.
[83] *Haftfähig*.

Medical officer
Doctor Karl Egger
German prison physician
Mokotów Prison

Warsaw, April 3, 1942
[Seal of the Special Court with the date of the opinion's delivery: April 9, 1942]

[14]

[p. 36, typewritten]

Duplicate!

Doctor Karl Egger
German prison physician
Mokotów Prison
Warsaw, April 3, 1942

To the Director of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Special Court in Warsaw

Bill for the medical opinion concerning Tadeusz Puder, born on July 8, 1908. File number 3 Js 1488/41. Issued upon request of the Director of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Special Court in Warsaw, dated March 26, 1942, according to the price list. A 11: 10 zlotys.

[signature]
German prison physician
[Seal of the court inspector with the sum 10 zlotys written in, a signature, and the date: Warsaw, April 20, 1941]

[15]

[p. 38, form]
Prison at Rakowiecka Street 37 in Warsaw
Prison physician

Medical opinion

Full name: inmate Tadeusz Puder
Date of birth: July 8, 1908
Place of birth: Warsaw
Medical opinion: chronic gastritis, nonstationary malnutrition and anemia. Required hospitalization in Saint Sophie's Hospital.
Warsaw, June 26, 1942

[signature]
Doctor Tadeusz Mrożek
Prison physician

[16]

[p. 39, handwritten]

In consultation with the German medical officer.
[illegible signature]
[–] Dr Raczyński

Warsaw, July 10, 1942
[seal] The original for the Director of the Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw.
Warsaw, July 11, 1942
German Public Prosecutor's Office, Rakowiecka Street 37
[illegible signature]
[Seal of the Special Court in Warsaw
with the date of the delivery of the document: July 13, 1942]

[17]

[p. 40, form]
Warden of the prison in Warsaw
at Rakowiecka Street 37
Warsaw, July 22, 1942
Arrest warrant no. II 1427/L1
Regarding: Execution of 75h/L1

Notification about transfer

Inmate Tadeusz Puder, born on July 8, 1908, was transferred today to Saint Sophie's Hospital in Warsaw.

[two illegible signatures]

To the German Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw
[Seal of the Special Court in Warsaw with the date of the opinion's delivery: July 28, 1942]

[18]

[p. 41, typewritten]
German Correctional Facility, Warsaw,
Rakowiecka Street 37
Warsaw, November 18, 1942
To the German Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw
Regarding: escape of inmate Tadeusz Puder
File no. 754/41
On November 12, 1942 inmate Tadeusz Puder escaped from Saint Sophie's Hospital at Eisenstrasse [Żelazna Street] 90.

[illegible signature]
State councilor

[19]

[p. 42, typewritten]
Head of the Security Police and Security Service
for the Warsaw District
No. IV b 4 – 2697/41
Warsaw, December 22, 1942
To the Senior Public Prosecutor as the director of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Special Court in Warsaw
Regarding: Jew Tadeusz Puder, vicar, [born on] July 8, 1908 Warsaw
Incident: File number; V.R. 754/41
Attachments: none
According to the information obtained in response to our inquiry from the administration of the prison on Rakowiecka Street, inmate Puder was transferred on July 22, 1942 to Saint Sophie's Hospital in Warsaw, from where he escaped on November 12, 1942. As the local offices are particularly interested in Puder and the superior instances are to be informed about him, I request information as to how Puder escaped from hospital and whether a search has already commenced.

[illegible signature]
court clerk

[Seal of the Special Court with the date of the opinion's delivery: December 23, 1942]

[20]

[p. 44, form]
Director of the Public Prosecutor's Office
of the Special Court in Warsaw.
Warsaw, November 20, 1942
Case number: 754/41

Arrest warrant

Concerning Tadeusz Puder,
born on July 8, 1908 in Warsaw, parents[' names]: Maurycy and Jadwiga, maiden name: Rabinowicz – a Jew[84] – in Płudy
who has 41 days of prison time to serve as per the September 1, 1941 verdict passed by the Special Court in Warsaw. Committed a crime within the meaning of the Penal Code.
Puder is to be arrested and escorted to the prison at Rakowiecka Street 37 in Warsaw.

[illegible signature]
Court inspector as a representative of the judiciary

[84] Word annotated by hand.

To the directorate of the Criminal Police in Warsaw
[typewritten annotation in the left bottom corner of the document]

[21]

[p. 46, typewritten, Polish]
Security Police
Criminal Police Station in Radzymin
Daily register no. 2583/42
Radzymin, December 19, 1942

Polish Police Station
in Henryków

I send the attached correspondence for the purpose of determining whether Tadeusz Puder lives in Płudy.

If the said individual does live there, he should be apprehended and escorted with this correspondence to the prison mentioned in the correspondence, about which this Police Station is to be immediately notified.

Otherwise, efforts should be made to establish his address and the correspondence should be sent back to the local police station.
Deadline: January 5, 1943
[Stamp of the Polish Police Station in Henryków, December 21, 1942, illegible signature]

[22]

[p. 47, typewritten]
Polish Police Station
in Henryków
in the Warsaw District
No. 1032/42
Henryków, December 29, 1942

Head of the Criminal Police Station in Radzymin

I submit the attached correspondence regarding Sergeant Marciniak's investigation which is to be at your disposal after the carrying out of the order.

Station Head
Master Sergeant J. Kłusak

Kripo Station
in Radzymin, delivered on January 2, 1943
No. 2583/42

[23]

[p. 48, handwritten, Polish]

Interview

On December 28, 1942 I, Sergeant Kazimierz Marciniak from the Polish Police station in Henryków, as per document no. 2583/42 of December 19, 1942, asked round to determine the place of residence of pursued Tadeusz Puder, whose last place of residence was Białołęka Dworska in the Jabłonna commune. I established that Tadeusz Puder, son of Maurycy and Jadwiga, née Rabinowicz, born on July 8, 1908, was as Catholic priest at the *Boży Czyn* orphanage in Białołęka Dworska in the Jabłonna commune, where he was apprehended by the German authorities (purportedly the Gestapo) on April 25, 1941 and detained in the prison on Rakowiecka Street.

Sergeant Kazimierz Marciniak

[24]

[p. 50, typescript, with damages]
Security Police
Kripo Station in Radzymin
Daily register no. 2583 1942
Radzymin, January 8, 1943
Original
sent back to the command of the Criminal Police in Warsaw (6. K).
Pursued Pole Puder, son of Maurycy and Jadwiga, maiden name Rabinowicz, was a priest employed in the Boży Czyn orphanage in Białołęka Dworska, Jabłonna commune. On April 25, 1941 the German authorities apprehended the suspect [a word illegible due to the damages] and sent him to the prison on Rakowiecka Street 37.
[illegible annotations]

[illegible signature]
May 29, 1943

English translation of German documents by *Anna Brzostowska* based on Piotr Kendziorek's Polish translations

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