Coping with Distorted Reality: Children in the Kraków Ghetto

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This article focuses on one aspect of Jewish children's lives in the Kraków ghetto in Poland: their responses to Nazi persecution, especially their ways of coping in the ghetto. It argues that children became agents as they devised mechanisms, such as daily routines, friendships, play, participation in secular education, and religious activities that provided them with some semblance of normality. A fine-grained study, it raises issues relevant to the discipline of Holocaust and genocide studies, including Jewish life under Nazi occupation, and what constitutes childhood in times of rampant violence.

The Holocaust deprived Jewish youngsters of their childhoods. The behaviour and activities typical to children and vital to their development were restricted and prohibited by Nazi anti-Jewish policy. Nevertheless, young people found ways to resist their oppression. Mieczysław Staner, a 15-year-old boy, summed up his and other youngsters' lives in the Kraków ghetto: 'There was no more childhood for us. There was only the struggle to survive.'[1] In trying to survive, Jewish children took advantage of everything and anything that would provide some semblance of normal life. This, in turn, served as a coping mechanism for the new situation. Daily routines, friendships, play, toys, hobbies, participation in religious and secular education and activities all played a part in the children's ways of trying to cope with the distorted reality of ghetto existence. The study of children in the Kraków ghetto comprises a part of the history of Jewish children, as well as a part of the history of the Holocaust. Each child's story contributes to the larger understanding of what life was like for children collectively in the ghettos in

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particular, and in the Holocaust in general. According to Debórah Dwork, 'Child life is a subculture of the dominant society.'[2] That subculture was threatened by Nazi racial policy and practice as it applied to Jews. Jewish children's lives were framed by the Nazi programme. This case study offers a lens on Jewish life under German occupation in Poland, particularly in Kraków, the under-researched capital of the General Government. It also provides a perspective on Jewish family life, Jewish responses to persecution, and the Nazi execution of genocide.

In examining the life circumstances of Jewish children trapped in the Kraków ghetto from the moment of the ghetto's inception until its final liquidation, I focus on the responses of Jewish children themselves and, in particular, on the ways in which they managed to cope with the distorted reality of ghetto existence. Children old enough to be aware of the changes wrought by the Germans confronted a twisted set of new life rules that were directly and indirectly created by Nazi policies and actions.[3] These contradicted their understanding of what comprised a normal reality. For the purposes of this case study, 'Jewish children' are defined according to Nazi laws: individuals up to the age of 16 racially defined as Jews.

Reconstructing the experiences of such young people during the Holocaust poses several constraints. In her groundbreaking book *Children With a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe*, Debórah Dwork noted the fragmentary documentation on Jewish children's lives in Nazi Europe and discussed why that was so. First of all, the Nazis viewed Jewish children and thus their fate as unimportant. Rescuers kept limited, if any, written records of children's lives in order to maintain secrecy. Also, it was difficult to acquire writing materials, and in recording the details of their lives, children could expose themselves and others to danger. Finally, there are a limited number of children's first-hand accounts due to the low child survival rate. Historians must turn to oral history, and this raises questions of interpretation and analysis. Dwork has argued that it is justifiable to use the survivors' accounts to speak for others, as their lives were parallel to those who perished until the moment of death. Allowing children's voices to be heard, oral histories provide a valuable source of information.[4] While they must be used with caution, post-war testimonies are invaluable. The memories, feelings, thoughts,

behaviour, and actions of those who were children during that time can, in the final analysis, be recalled only by those who experienced it and lived through it.

This case study is grounded in a multitude of primary source material and secondary literature. Official and unofficial reports and documents, correspondence, wartime newspapers, diaries, immediate post-war testimonies, published and unpublished child survivor memoirs, post-war oral histories and written collections are key sources for a history of the Holocaust. Testimonies used here are divided into several categories. The Central Committee of Polish Jews in Poland collected a large number of written accounts from both adults and children in the immediate post-war years. The interviewees' memories were not yet influenced by subsequent acquisition of historical knowledge. Maria Hochberg-Mariańska included some of these accounts in her book, *The Children Accuse*. Compilations of child survivors' accounts in volumes such as *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak* edited by Wiktoria Śliwowska, Jakub Gutenbaum and Agnieszka Latała, Azriel Eisenberg's *The Lost Generation: Children of the Holocaust*, or Kerry Bluglass' *Hidden from the Holocaust: Stories of Resilient Children who Survived and Thrived*, contain rather short descriptions of children's lives, which are nevertheless crucial for research on Jewish childhood in the Holocaust.[5] Oral testimonies collected by the Shoah Foundation Institute offer a lens on multiple aspects of children's lives, otherwise inaccessible. Then, too, memoirs expound on important issues while presenting a survivor interpretation of events. Although they do not render pure information in the same way as immediate post-war testimonies, they nevertheless comprise a significant source about children's experiences. George Eisen's multidisciplinary approach in *Children and Play in the Holocaust: Games Among the Shadows* provides insight into play as a way for maintaining normality.[6] To date there is no comprehensive and detailed work that directly examines the multifaceted lives of children in ghettos. The discussion is scattered, incomplete, insufficient, and usually included within the larger analyses of Jewish life in the Holocaust.

The Ghetto

On 3 March 1941, the German authorities announced the establishment of the *Jüdischer Wohnbezirk* (the Jewish living quarter) in the *Krakauer Zeitung*. It was an enclosed and guarded area where the Jews were forcibly concentrated in order to dehumanise, persecute, and annihilate them. Located in the Podgórze district of the city, the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and a wall with four entrances: on Podgórze Square, at Plac Zgody, and two gates at Limanowskiego Street. Only Jews with work permits were allowed to move into the ghetto; all other Jews had to leave the city and settle in the suburbs. As of 21 March 1941, leaving the ghetto without a special permit was prohibited. Othmar Rodler became the commissar of the ghetto, which fell under the jurisdiction of Gestapo and SS Oberführer Julian Scherner in April 1941. Increasingly harsh regulations ensued. Jews who attempted to leave the ghetto without special permits faced the death penalty according to an order of 15 October 1941. This decree specified that the same penalty applied to gentiles helping Jews. Beginning the same day, Jews were responsible for acquiring their own food supply. A few days later, reversing their earlier directive, the German authorities forced all Jews from Kraków and vicinity to report to the ghetto.

Three major *Aktionen* took place in the ghetto. Between 28 May and 8 June 1942 approximately 7,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec. Overseen by Wilhelm Kunde and led by SS Obersturmführer Otto von Mallotke, these *Aktionen* were meant to reduce the ghetto population. According to Heinrich Himmler's order of 19 July 1942, all ghettos in the General Government had to be eliminated by 31 December 1942. A second *Aktion* was unleashed on 28 October 1942, under the direction of SS Sturmbannführer Willi Haase. About 600 Jews were murdered on the spot and more than 4,500 others were shipped to Bełżec. Hans Frank, the Governor of the General Government, declared the zone *Judenrein* on 14 November 1942, except for five closed ghettos in Kraków, Radom, Warsaw, Lwów, and Częstochowa. At this time approximately 5,000 Jews remained in the Kraków ghetto. The German authorities divided it on 26 December 1942 into 'Ghetto A' for Jews who were assigned work, and 'Ghetto B' for those without work, and as a dumping ground for Jews from the Kraków area. Both sections were liquidated in the final *Aktion* on

13–14 March 1943, under the direction of Amon Goeth, the commandant of the Płaszów camp. The Jewish inmates of Ghetto A were marched to Płaszów, while those from Ghetto B were killed.

Population Size

About ~~50,000 Jews~~ lived in the ghetto throughout the two years of its existence. This number either increased or decreased depending on German orders related to control of the Jewish population in the General Government, and the *Aktionen* in the ghetto. Sources vary on the number of children in the ghetto. The censuses conducted by the Jewish organisations in the ghetto may not be precise because they might not have registered all Jewish children, being mindful of their future protection. Moreover, a number of children remained in the ghetto illegally by sneaking in and failing to register with the authorities. Then, too, some children deceived the authorities about their age. Finally, the reports are only fragmentary, and were drafted by various organisations and their departments.

An estimated figure can be derived from censuses and birth registrations compiled by Jewish organisations inside the ghetto. About 2,500 children lived in the ghetto at its peak in December 1941. Due to the influx of Jews from the vicinity of Kraków, the number of children had increased steadily from 1,200 to 2,500, the Jewish Care Committee of the City of Kraków reported that month.[7] The number then declined, with the Jewish Social Self Help noting 2,113 children in the ghetto at the beginning of July 1942.[8]

The Move into the Ghetto

Their own experience of ghettoisation proved a tremendous shock for those children old enough to understand the changes. The stability they had known had been undermined. The crowded apartments, as well as the loud, dirty, and smelly streets were part of a new reality. The limited space, harsh restrictions, and lack of green areas and playgrounds choked them. Poverty, hunger, and witnessing violence on a daily basis now defined their lives. They faced insecurity and uncertainty. And they were depressed by the debilitating surroundings. Roman Polański, an eight-year-old boy at

that time, recalled decades later that he cried when the ghetto was walled in, because he felt that the physical enclosure signified the end to his freedom.[9] Exposed to constant danger, children were frightened of the Germans, the Jewish police, of the shouting, and shooting, and fiercely barking dogs.

Entering the ghetto, children were struck by their new living conditions. Janina Fischler-Martinho entered the ghetto with her parents and two siblings, Joseph (born in 1923) and Bartuś (born in 1933). 'Our family of five came to the ghetto in December 1941, by which time it was bursting at the seams, and it was very difficult to find accommodation', she recalled years later. 'All we could get was a basement room, more like a cellar or dungeon, with no sanitation, no running water. The floorboards were toting [*sic*] and the walls were damp and slimy.'[10] The lack of privacy was especially unbearable for families who had to occupy apartments together with strangers. Children showed their ingenuity in trying to alleviate the situation. Fourteen-year-old Jack Gruener and his parents were assigned by the Jewish Council to share a three-room apartment with 12 other people. But Jack was resourceful and found space in an attic.[11] This solution kept the family together and gained them a private space. Some children and their families had the rare advantage of relatives already living in Podgórze. Able to stay with close family in familiar surroundings, they were spared the trauma of moving into an apartment with strangers. Niusia (Bronisława) Horowitz-Karakulska, her two-year-old brother Rysio (Ryszard Horowitz) for example, and their parents moved in with their grandparents.[12]

Younger children had no clear idea of what a ghetto was and what it meant for them to be enclosed in limited space. Anita Lobel entered the ghetto with her brother Bernard Kempler, but did not fully understand the concept of it. 'Until now *ghetto* had been only a word to us. It did not feel like a prison. Just a muffled place in a secluded part of the city',[13] she explained half a century later. Anita, her brother, and mother slept in one bed in an apartment that they shared with three other family members. The children were always told to be quiet. They waited eagerly for the situation to change. For Anita and Bernard, the existence in the ghetto made them feel as if they were trapped in a cage.

The youngest children could not make clear distinctions between

what constituted normality and what was abnormal in their lives. Returning to the ghetto from work, Halina Nelken picked some flowers which she showed to the children in the ghetto. Their reaction mirrored their perception of the reality they lived. Halina realised that it was difficult to explain the concepts of 'forest', 'meadow', 'flowers' because they were meaningless words for these children, most of whom had no clear memories of the world outside the ghetto. She wrote in her post-war diary, which she recreated from the one that she kept during the war, which had been destroyed: 'Perhaps it is better not to open these light or dark eyes to the beauty of the world, only to have them hurt even more by the ugliness of this gloomy and dirty courtyard where even the anemic lilac bush in the corner is wilting for lack of sun.'[14]

Certain aspects of ghetto existence stuck in children's memories. In her post-war memoir, Roma Liebling wrote about the pervasive cold, greyness, and darkness of her surroundings.[15] She could not forget the noise, the stench, the clutter. Above all, she, like many other child survivors, vividly remembered her overwhelming fear, the Germans' shouting, and the hated barked-out German language. Janina Ast had similar memories from the ghetto.[16] She found herself in a new place that did not resemble anything she had known before and soon realised that she was no longer allowed to be a child. That notion of an end to childhood was pervasive among children in the ghetto. They found themselves in a new reality, and even the younger children sensed that it was not a positive situation. Youngsters, irrespective of their age, had to learn how to cope with the challenges of the new circumstances in which they were forced to live. To that end, children took the initiative to occupy themselves during the day, and their activities were not only a way of passing time, but also functioned as ways to deal with the conditions of ghetto life.

Daily Routine

Jewish children were forced to live at a time when terror and brutality ruled. They had to find ways to deal with a new and complicated reality. They were forced to mature faster due to the circumstances imposed on them by the Nazi perpetrators. In spite of their young age, many children exhibited great courage, ingenuity,

cleverness, and cunning. They had to be cautious, learn how to take care of the household, and assume adult roles as caretakers and breadwinners.[17] Hunger and malnutrition accompanied them on a daily basis. Children witnessed death, suffering, and atrocities. They experienced frustration, abandonment, feelings of guilt, and hatred. Mixed emotions towards their parents, facing difficult choices, undertaking risky actions, practising self-restraint, understanding religious differences and identity, as well as the reasons for their precarious situation were all issues that the children coped with daily. At the same time, and although they were denied everything that a child's life entails, they found ways to resist the perpetrators by keeping a semblance of normality. This became a mechanism for coping with the distorted structure of ghetto existence.

Recalling the specific ways in which the children dealt with the new situation on a daily basis is troublesome, since many survivors who were children during the Holocaust thought of themselves as unimportant, and so their lives and daily routine seemed trivial to them. Leah Lichtiger explained, 'I was insignificant at that time.'[18] Some claim to have vague memories from that time, others recall their lives in the ghetto as part of an obliterated past.[19] Some were genuinely too young to remember, some simply cannot recall their experiences, while others tried to block the painful memories, and still others were spared witnessing a degree of tragedy in the ghetto because they were sheltered by their parents. Even though survivors may not necessarily remember the details of their childhood, some semblance of normality could be preserved so long as the family remained intact. Survivors who remember their childhood in the ghetto, and those whose childhood memories have been supplemented by stories told by others, present an overall picture of the fate of children in the Kraków ghetto.

There is a general consensus about pervasive boredom. With little available to keep children occupied during the day and parents hesitant to allow them to go outdoors because they feared it was too risky, youngsters were left alone all day while their parents went to work. Not every parent had the advantage of leaving the child under the care of another adult, or older child, or in a care institution. Parents instructed their children to abide by their rules (such as not going outside, not going near the border of the ghetto, not talking

with strangers, or not starting fights with other children), and most children followed them, since they did not want to be more of a burden, and because they had a sense of obligation to be obedient. Also, they did not question their parents' rules because there was often no one to explain the circumstances to them.

Confronted with the various rules coupled with boredom, children had few options for spending their time in the ghetto. Some used their imagination and tried to occupy themselves with anything they could find. Martin Baral hunted for pigeons, which allowed him to forget at least for a while about his life in confinement.[20] His activity might also have been a child's way of venting frustration on other creatures, and explaining his own condition.[21] If he was not allowed to enjoy freedom, then why should other creatures, like pigeons, have that chance? Other children found that looking through a window offered them an opportunity to observe people and life in the ghetto from a relatively safe distance. Still others looked through the window all day waiting for their parents to return. The adults offered both security and entertainment, as some parents told stories to their offspring.[22] This was not an action-based coping tool, but it worked on an emotional level, providing distraction from the fact that children, too, were participants in the reality taking place outside the window.[23]

Those children who were either allowed to remain outdoors during the day, or were forced by circumstances to spend the days in the street, or did so against their parents' warnings, joined other children and formed groups. George Hoffman was in a group of children who roamed around in gangs.[24] There the children received support from their peers, and practised survival skills through the games they played, which became their response to daily life. As a child, George thought that danger was accidental, a product of carelessness. Therefore, he spent his days trying to make sure he did not get into trouble with the Germans and the Jewish police. The survival tools that he gained served as his defence mechanism. His daily routine was to assure self-preservation by finding a place to sleep and food to eat, especially after his parents had been deported.[25]

Friendship

Friendship is part of a child's life and development. It establishes a sense of kinship and belonging. Friends care for each other and have fun with each other.[26] In the ghetto, children were careful about becoming emotionally attached because one never knew if, when, and how one may lose a friend. On the other hand, having a friend helped the child to keep a shred of normality. The structure of friendship itself serves to overcome difficulties by offering the emotional support of another human being. Some children had friends in the ghetto from their former lives; other children made new friends. Choosing a friend was either a coincidence – children whose families were neighbours or shared a living space became friends; or resulted from a planned search. Marian Keren picked his friends based on their fluency in the Polish language.[27] As a child raised in an assimilated family, he could not understand children who spoke other languages. Those children who were lucky enough to have friends organised get-togethers, and established friendship rituals.[28] Still, there were youngsters who were unable to find friends; for instance Moshe Taube, who tried to make new friends, but it seemed to him that everyone was preoccupied with themselves.[29]

In the absence of parents and other authority figures, friends also became a key source of information for children in the ghetto, which alleviated some of the stress associated with the prospect of loneliness and inadequate attention they received. Roman Polański, who was nine or ten years old at that time, had a 12-year-old friend named Paweł. He recalled many years after the events: 'Paweł was my joy – my first companion and compensation for an increasingly constricted and fear-ridden existence. This close relationship with someone outside my family circle was an educational as well as an emotional awakening.'[30] Paweł was sort of a life guide for Roman. He explained how objects of daily use were constructed and how they worked. Paweł was taken away in one of the *Aktionen*. Following the partition of the ghetto, Roman's family had to share a room with another family, and he quickly became friendly with a four- or five-year-old boy, Stefan: 'We played together nearly all the time, and he became to me what I had been to Paweł: the eager recipient of all sorts of information.'[31] Mindful of the advantages offered by the knowledge

of an older child, Roman transmitted to Stefan what he had learned from Paweł. This proved a beneficial coping tool for both children, since the older child felt the satisfaction of sharing his knowledge and proving to be important for the life of his younger friend. Then too, the younger child was granted an opportunity to receive attention and to focus on other, more normal, aspects of life rather than on ghetto conditions.

Play

Play constitutes a natural activity for children.[32] For the children in the ghetto, play was a way of creating a sphere of normality and coping with the distorted reality of ghetto life. Furthermore, during the Holocaust, play comprised a type of spiritual resistance by children to their persecution. According to George Eisen, a historian and social psychologist, 'It would not be inflating the concept of opposition to claim that children turned their play and games into a form of protest and a form of defiance, on both the subconscious and the conscious levels.'[33] What is more, play allowed the children to retain their humanity and to find balance in their lives. Through play, they also sought an affirmation of their status as children.[34] It served as a way to repress and help them deal with negative experiences by turning their attention to activities typically reserved for youngsters. Play, apart from being a way of spending time, was also a physical activity. Left with limited options for venting energy, children turned to ways that they had known before, and that are normal for people their age. Girls played hop-scotch and volleyball; boys played soccer and substituted cans for balls.[35] The harsh conditions in the ghetto, combined with danger lurking in all directions, restricted the range of activities that the children could participate in. However, they still managed to find strength within them, convinced their caretakers, or took the risk without their parent's approval, and devised ways to stay physically active to release the tensions they were forced to endure.

On the other hand, there were children for whom play was non-existent in the ghetto. Some survivors, like Janina Ast, observed that children were overwhelmed by fear, and that they no longer even knew how to play.[36] Other children became so accustomed to the

daily brutality that they began mimicking reality through play, which also served as their way of psychologically dealing with the dynamics they witnessed in the ghetto. Regina Nelken, a teacher, testified:

> The children in the *Tagesheim* [the day care in Ghetto A] played strange games. They did not laugh but they shouted, did not play but fought each other, gave orders, evacuated, hanged or robbed each other; almost always these games ended with an adult having to intervene.[37]

Another teacher in the *Kinderheim* (children's home in Ghetto B) observed a similar tendency among children:

> On the last Purim in the ghetto, Ruchka organised the children to put on a play. She let them choose their own roles; strangely, they wanted to play OD or SS men. They dressed for their parts as well as they could, using sticks for rubber truncheons. In their acting, the little observers displayed all the cruelty the OD had inflicted on their siblings.[38]

Children in the Kraków ghetto had limited places to play. They did not play indoors because the apartments were overcrowded, and playing outside posed danger. In spite of that, children managed to find the space to play in courtyards or streets, and devised various games. The depressing surroundings of the ghetto led some children to look for other places where they could spend their time, however. Before the ghetto was sealed, a number of children ventured to Krzemionki, a former site of flint stone mines in Podgórze. Eight-year-old Niusia (Bronisława) Horowitz-Karakulska was one of them. Even many years later she recalled a particular incident that took place in Krzemionki, which showed the extent of self-control to which children trained themselves to handle the pressures of ghetto life.

> I sometimes used to go with my friends to Krzemionki. I remember that one day a German approached us and wanted to give us candy in glossy, colourful wraps. We haven't eaten candy in a long time, so it made our mouths water. But we did not take the candy. Our mothers warned us not to take anything from strangers. The German was very surprised.[39]

Matylda Weinfeld recalled that Krzemionki was one of very few places she went with her companions during the day. 'Sometimes I used to go with friends for a walk to Krzemionki, but usually in the afternoons we met at a place by the building of the Optima factory on Węgierska Street, where we played volleyball.'[40] Taking the route to Krzemionki was part of the daily routine for those children who went there. It was not only a meeting place where they sought entertainment, but also an area located outside the ghetto where young people temporarily felt free, almost like in normal times, until their return behind the walls.

Forced into the ghetto, children had to leave their toys behind, either because they had been confiscated, or because they were simply not on parents' lists of the most necessary belongings to take into the ghetto. Toys were thus cherished treasures for the children in the ghetto and being in possession of them bolstered a sense of normality. Children exhibited a special relationship toward their toys.[41] As Eisen has explained in *Children and Play in the Holocaust*, 'Toys were few and precious, so their owners became protective, possessive, and careful of them.' What is more, 'The toy offered not only a source of entertainment but also sorely needed emotional security.'[42] Toys established a sense of ownership for the child, and embodied memories from pre-ghetto life. They served as a distraction from reality, and allowed the child's imagination to shape the reality. In this way, the toy served as a coping tool.

Survivors had fond memories of the toys they had as children. The girls especially remembered their dolls with longing and regretted their loss keenly.[43] Niusia (Bronisława) Horowitz-Karakulska recalls,

> I remember I played in the yard of this house and I was upset, that it was paved, because I could not play hopscotch. Besides, I missed my beautiful doll [dressed] in a beautiful red coat, which I don't know why mother did not let me take into the ghetto. It was a gift from my beloved uncle Jerzyk [Jerzy Rosner]. I don't remember so many things from my childhood, but this doll I see till this day.[44]

The doll was desired by and important for the girls because she served as a representation of the female role assigned to girls, mainly the expectation of taking care of others. A doll was the recipient of a girl's

secrets, and a symbol of a friend whose silence was comforting. She had an identity given by the girl; hence the doll could not be discarded on a whim. The doll was a part of the girl's identity, and losing her meant that the girl's sense of stability and continuity had been shaken.

In many cases, parents showed their ingenuity and 'organised' toys for their children.[45] Being aware of the importance attached to their daughters' dolls, mothers sewed dolls from rags. Parents smuggled out and brought scraps of glass from work, or gave their children objects of daily use to play with. Children also invented toys and games from whatever they could find, like sliding a pebble into each other's hands, or searching through possessions abandoned by people who had been deported.[46] A small number of children owned scooters – prized in a child subculture, and objects of jealousy of those who were not so lucky to have them.[47] These endeavours were important for older children because they gave them an illusion of a continuity of life that they lost when entering the ghetto. Confronted with daily hardships in the ghetto, possessing any kind of objects to play with helped the youngsters regain a degree of emotional stability.

Just Being a Child

Children invented further ways in their attempts to recreate normality in the Kraków ghetto. 'Despite the limited freedom, our lives were not dominated by fear', Roman Polański explained. 'During that time, I had moments of fun: I was sledge-riding, exchanged post stamps, ran with children my age.'[48] These activities were ways for children to manage their life circumstances in the only way they knew – to behave like children do in times of peace. Roman remembers going near the barbed wire to sneak a peek at the German propaganda films screened for the Poles on Podgórze Square. During the breaks he saw words flash on the screen 'Jews = Lice = Typhus'. This little boy was fascinated by movies and, lacking other entertainment opportunities, he watched the propaganda films and saw the offensive slogans directed against the Jews.[49] Marian Keren also used to go by the gate in the evenings to watch German propaganda films.[50] Other children around him, scared, would run back home. His mother admonished him for going near the ghetto gate but, as Marian explained decades later, the movies were his sole

source of joy as a child. In the absence of any entertainment venues movies with their dose of mystery and fantasy offered a temporary escape from reality. This is exactly what the children sought to help them deal with the distorted conditions.

Even in the ghetto, children had hobbies. Seemingly minor things sparked the children's interests. Their hobbies were limited in choice and resources, nevertheless their interests such as stamp collecting, playing, or even watching German propaganda films helped them cope with reality. Children also directed their energies to writing, reading, and drawing. A girl named Martha (age unknown), published a poem in the *Gazeta Żydowska* which presents her state of mind at the time. This poem is a rare surviving example from the Kraków ghetto of how children used creativity to express their emotions and life circumstances. Martha took an active approach to confront her feelings publicly and this artistic outlet functioned as her way of responding to the conditions imposed on her, and other children, by the Nazis. At first reading, Martha's writing exemplifies the girl's strong spirit, her will to live and survive against all odds. On closer examination, however, her poem expresses tremendous pain and emotional devastation:

I must be saving these days
(I have no money to save),
I must save health and strength,
Enough to last me for a long while.
I must save my nerves,
And my thoughts, and my mind,
And the fire of my spirit;
I must be saving of the tears that flow –
I shall need them for a long, long while.
I must save endurance these stormy days.
There is so much I need in my life:
Warmth and feeling and a kind heart –
These things I lack; of these I must be saving!
All these, the gifts of God,
I wish to keep.
How sad I should be
If I lost them quickly.[51]

While the older children dealt with the new situation on an individual basis and in a variety of ways, the youngest children had to rely on the resources and abilities of older children and adults for organising daily activities and keeping them occupied. The children's corners helped youngsters cope and played an essential role in their intellectual and social lives.[52] Teenagers searched for various places to create clubs, relatively safe places where they could meet, talk, and play. Some older children took upon themselves the task of organising meeting places for children.[53] Young people too tried to recreate structures from pre-ghetto life. As Mieczysław Staner recalled: 'For us, the teenagers, there was no place or time for any kind of social life, but the need to talk to someone of our own age group, to be close to someone, and to be understood, to be able to trust someone and to share your dreams and hopes, was stronger than the fear.'[54] Staner expressed the need for an age-appropriate companionship that would alleviate the feeling of loneliness, and would provide moral support. Longing to establish relationships with people of similar age, with whom one could share dreams and hopes, mirrored the attempts at striving for a regular life. The experiences of children and youth in the Kraków ghetto shared much with the life experiences and problems of young people in ordinary times. Children in the ghetto, like pre-war youngsters, had dreams and wishes. In the ghetto context, these dreams and hopes helped the children believe they had a future ahead of them.

Wanting their offspring to continue life as usual, a number of parents, especially of the youngest children, made efforts to create an illusion of normal life. This was a coping tool applied for the sake of the children's sanity. However, it led to deception and further distortion of what was actually taking place. Those parents showered their children with love, and spoiled them, so that the youngsters were sheltered from much of the tragedy.[55] This, of course, was an exception to the family dynamics *in extremis*. A few parents continued to celebrate their children's birthdays, thereby providing them with a sense of continuity and relative peace. As Suzanne Kaplan argued in *Children in the Holocaust*, celebrating birthdays provided a need to assert one's existence, and as a milestone it connected the children to pre-ghetto life.[56] Roman Polański wrote about a birthday party for the three-year-old Ryszard Horowitz. The

children enjoyed cakes and hot chocolate, which was inconceivable for most ghetto inhabitants. To Roman's amazement, the birthday boy threw a tantrum, and took his privileged position for granted.[57] Stella Muller-Madej also celebrated her birthday in the ghetto. When she turned 12 years old, she received a gift from her grandmother: a dress. In her case, she found joy in simple acts of human kindness. However, she was old enough to understand the transitions in her life, and had a greater appreciation for the efforts taken by others.

Secular Education

Jewish children were branded as different when they were expelled from school. Children from assimilated families had to confront their identity, sometimes realising their Jewish origins for the first time. Continuing their education in the ghetto served as yet another method of coping with the new reality, as it established a ritual and gave the youngsters something to look forward to. Dwork discussed the significance of child education for the child's psyche.

> With a paucity of alternatives and a plethora of time, intellectual pursuits were a natural choice. Furthermore, children expected to go to school. To continue with their education signified in a very basic and fundamental way that they meant to return to society, that they believed they would resume a normal life.[58]

When the ghetto was first established, a number of older children and university-age students attended classes outside the ghetto. Tadeusz Pankiewicz recorded in his diary that

> a number of students took music, drawing, and painting lessons outside of the ghetto as long as it was possible to leave it with a pass. Quite a number of these young people, without cost, studies with the well-known Cracow artist, Prof. Chomicz, residing on Grodzka street.[59]

Later on, teachers organised secret schooling. This assured that children received basic education, kept them occupied, and instilled hope that they had a future. Some children attended informal learning groups, others were lucky enough to have their own tutors,

and still others learned independently. Teachers in the ghetto taught a wide array of classes and recognised the importance of subjects that developed professional skills that the children could use.

Matylda Weinfeld recalled her schooling in the Kraków ghetto. Like other classes, they met in secret: 'Before noon I used to go for clandestine education meetings.' And she, too, learned a trade. 'Besides the regular school program we were taught there also sewing, because everybody thought that one needs to have a solid profession.' At the same time, they enjoyed the kind of education they would have had in normal life.

> We also had German lessons. Out teacher was in love with German poetry, so we read Goethe and Schiller in original. I read a lot in those times – London, Hamsun, memoirs of Marie Skłodowska-Curie written by her daughter Ewa … I loved books, so I read a lot.[60]

An abundance of adults from a rich range of social, cultural, and professional backgrounds contributed to the creation of a fairly well-developed network of clandestine education. Language study, especially Polish, German, Hebrew, and even English, was popular among youngsters in the ghetto.[61] For many children, language and literacy were combined with learning other subjects, such as math, Jewish history, music, and dance.[62] Education was a coping mechanism that required action mostly on part of adults to overcome the problem of ensuing ignorance of children and as a promise for the future of Jewish life. Also, children who participated in educational endeavours could divert their attention to productive activities.

Certainly, there were those children who did not have any schooling. A number of children relied on their carers to organise activities for them. Sometimes, the carers took pity on the younger children and introduced them to learning by using the scarce resources available. At other times, their own boredom led to them taking action. Then, too, there were those who could not come to terms with the fact that the youngest members of the community were not receiving any education. Halina Nelken wrote of her endeavours to educate an eight-year-old girl, Rita, and other children under her care. She wrote about the lack of educational tools. 'There is no school, and "small group instruction" cannot take the place of

school. There are no toys, there are no books.' Then she took steps to educate the children. 'So I dragged out my own trusty, worn volume of children's stories, typed out several poems, and drew and colored some amusing illustrations to give to Rita and also to the other children in our house.'[63]

Due to the lack of reading materials, books were cherished treasure. Children appreciated any books that they could find, which did not always correspond with their parents' wishes and were not always appropriate for the child's age.[64] Stella Muller-Madej learned on her own and for a short time from older girls who gave her reading and writing assignments. However, due to everyone's preoccupation with themselves, it was only a temporary solution, because in the end 'Nothing came out of reading and writing, nobody had the time nor the mind to take care of that.' Hungry for knowledge and to pass time, Stella turned to the only way she knew, 'I began my reading from the so-called prohibited books. My education progressed in this way, but not in the direction that my parents would have wanted it.'[65]

Religion

A number of children in the Kraków ghetto came from observant Jewish homes. Some of these children had received religious education before being forced into the ghetto. Most of these children continued their studies, as well as observing Jewish religious holidays and rituals. Their actions contravened the official German policy that forbade the practice of Judaism. For these children, religion was a way of maintaining continuity and offered stability; as well as constituted a type of resistance behaviour. In some instances, parents wanted their children to be introduced to Judaism to learn about their identity and to be proud of it. Those children who came from either non-observant homes, or assimilated families, or those who had limited exposure to religion before entering the ghetto, had different approaches to the practice of Judaism in the ghetto. They did not send their children for solely religious education, but it was common for those children to attend Hebrew language classes, where teachers frequently incorporated lessons about Jewish history and Palestine. No matter where the family was on the religious spectrum,

introducing children to Judaism or Jewish studies enabled children to try to find or look for answers to their current predicament in religion and Jewish history, and to help them cope with ghetto life.

Apart from secular education, religious education also existed in the Kraków ghetto. Lazar Panzer, a pre-war director of Jesodej Hatorah, the Orthodox school in Kraków, together with rabbi Schein Klingberg, organised Jewish religious education for children aged five to 18 who came from observant Jewish homes.[66] Some boys studied either in a *cheder* or, like Mark Sternlicht,[67] with a rabbinical student in preparation for bar mitzvah. Some Jews could not understand the persistence of Mark's mother, who claimed that it was important for her son to undergo a religious life cycle event. Children attended religious services, prayed, observed Shabbat, and at least some holidays, like Passover.[68] For those children who hailed from Orthodox homes such religious activities helped them maintain a familiar structure when everything else seemed devalued and changed.

Religious practice was also cultivated in children in the orphanage. Dawid Kurzmann, the head of education at the orphanage, was preoccupied with maintaining religious observance among children. He ensured that every Friday night the children attended Shabbat meals. The institution also had a kosher kitchen thanks to illegal meat supplies from nearby localities (the village on the outskirts of the city, Piaski Wielkie, and the town of Wieliczka), that continued until the end of 1942. The same year, the orphanage also served as a prayer house during the High Holy Days at the request of Symcha Spira, the head of the Jewish police in the Kraków ghetto.[69] The choice of the location was made with a purpose. Spira together with his wife supported the orphanage. His choice sent a message to the children housed there that Judaism, and observance of the most important Jewish holidays at least, provided an opportunity for the community to come together in prayer. Despite all the differences that might have divided individuals in the ghetto, holding the High Holy Days services in the orphanage was meant to demonstrate to the children the commonalities shared by all Jews.

Not all children were comfortable with their Jewish identity and with Judaism. Having seen and experienced the conditions in the ghetto, and the atrocities committed by the Germans, there were some Jewish children who began to question their faith, or the faith

because of which they were isolated from the rest of society, and the faith that, in the children's eyes, caused their persecution. Some children found solace in the Catholic religion of their pre-war carers. Anita Lobel and her brother Bernard had received Catholic medals from their nanny and Anita believed that Catholicism, not Judaism, offered protection. 'Whenever I touched my medals, I felt safer. The medals made us less Jewish. The Holy Mother and Niania would take care of us again.'[70] Other children, like Stella Muller-Madej, showed contempt for Jewish holidays, and observance in general. During the holiday of Passover, when Jews are forbidden to eat leavened food, she mocked observant Jews by ostentatiously holding and pretending to be devouring a slice of bread.[71] She despised the Yiddish that she heard on the streets, and did not understand and was annoyed by Orthodox boys who explicitly exhibited their religious (and, for the Nazis, racial) affiliation by keeping their *peyes* (side-curls).[72] Her behaviour might have been a child's rebellion against people who insist on practising the religion that, in her understanding, led to their tragedy. Distancing herself from the religion that was said to have contributed to her isolation from the larger society, and prompted persecution, might have served as a mechanism that helped her (and others like her) cope with the new situation through self-deception; they persuaded themselves that they really did not deserve to be there. They were not like those religious people at all.

Temporary Refuge from Ghetto Reality

Sneaking out of the ghetto provided an opportunity for some children to experience a different life in a place where they believed they belonged. Curiosity, the need to visit familiar places, or to compare life inside and outside the ghetto, or doing it just for fun, were some of the reasons why children slipped away without the knowledge of their parents. This activity was of course different than stealing away with the knowledge of the parents in order to smuggle goods into the ghetto. Sneaking out provided a physical escape, albeit temporary, for the children. Such a coping strategy was a direct response to the adversities of the ghetto by changing the environment itself.

Mark Sternlicht ventured out twice out of curiosity, and was amazed and could not comprehend that life continued there as usual.[73] Of course, life did not proceed as usual. What is interesting

and important is that by comparison to the ghetto, life on the Polish side appeared normal to him. Lucie Brent sneaked out of the ghetto for fun, she bought candy and also managed to obtain other products, which she brought home to the ghetto.[74] Roman Polański was flabbergasted at the sight of relatively normal life outside the ghetto, and said 'It was like walking through a mirror and emerging on the other side – entering a different world complete with streetcars and people leading normal lives.'[75] Polish gentile life under German occupation was not and did not resemble life as usual. However, when Roman compared it to life in ghetto he had a more positive impression of the conditions that the gentile Poles enjoyed. The boys used to go to a stamp shop, where the saleswoman suspected that they were Jewish. They never returned there again. However pleasant life on the Aryan side appeared, Roman always returned to the ghetto. 'It wasn't until I was back inside the ghetto, after slipping through the wire again, that I felt entirely safe',[76] he admitted.

Sneaking out of the ghetto was only a temporary way of evading ghetto existence through experiencing a relatively normal life beyond the wall. In the end, children, confronted with dangers of denunciation, discovery, or blackmail by gentile Poles, or due to fear of being randomly selected by the Germans in a round-up, paradoxically found the ghetto to be the safest place. It was also the most distorted place they knew that ultimately reinforced their perceptions of their inferior status and confirmed them in their differences from the gentile Poles. In spite of Jewish children's attempts to confront and experience life on the gentile side of the wall, they eventually returned to the ghetto whose reality they were nevertheless forced to cope with.

Conclusion

Youngsters' lives in the Kraków ghetto were certainly not one-dimensional. Quite the contrary – Jewish children's existence was multilayered. Their participation in and preoccupation with activities typically reserved for younger people illuminate children's longing for normality and innocence. This need existed irrespective of the circumstances imposed on the children. Their activities were marked and influenced by outside factors, but young people reached out to the multitude of familiar ways, made the necessary adjustments, and

found new means for asserting their status as children, with everything it encompassed. The sources tend to idealise childhood and children's behaviour in the ghetto mainly because these are often the last memories that children had of being together with their families. The researcher, however, must exercise caution and be alert to snippets of information that suggest otherwise. On the other hand, sometimes we make assumptions that there must be a darker and more violent side to children's behaviour. In some cases, the sources prove it wrong. That is when we must revise certain expectations we have of behaviour *in extremis*.

Children's coping mechanisms were a product of their own invention. At times they were assisted in their attempts by parents, or others. Children who were old enough to experience life before being forced into the ghetto, or who had some memories of that time quickly realised the differences in and level of deterioration of their pre-ghetto and ghetto lives. However, children did not succumb totally to ghetto conditions. While most of these children soon understood that the ghetto signified an end to their childhoods, they also took action to create a niche for themselves. Younger children who possessed no clear memories of their lives before entering the ghetto were aided by older children and adults in creating such a niche for expressing childhood, or thought that their lives were part of a natural course of events.

The combination of the unique perspectives and fearlessness (as well as the exact opposite – utter fearfulness) typical for that age group, combined with naivety, and the struggle to cope with the new situation, might have resulted in a form of a child's rebellion. This resistance was aimed against Nazi attempts at curbing and prohibiting the activities and behaviour that encompassed the experience and expression of childhood. The analysis of Jewish children's responses to Nazi oppression elucidates ways in which the children's lives were shaped in the ghetto. Children were not mere passive victims in the Nazi scheme of genocide, but active observers and agents in their own right. This case study shows that even with limited options, and amidst the dire conditions created by the perpetrators, Jewish children exercised their immensely restricted agency, and devised ways of dealing with the new reality in which they found themselves. In doing so, they managed to retain their humanity.

NOTES

1. Mieczysław Staner, *The Eyewitness* (Kraków: M. Staner, 1999), p.7.
2. Deborah Dwork, *Children With a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), p.xxxii.
3. For a discussion on different age groups and how it influenced children's understanding of trauma as it was happening to them, see Susan Rubin Suleiman, 'The 1.5 Generation: Thinking about Child Survivors and the Holocaust', *American Imago*, Vol.59, No.3 (2002), pp.277–95.
4. Dwork, *Children With A Star*, pp.xvii–xlii.
5. Maria Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss (eds.), *The Children Accuse* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996); Wiktoria Śliwowska, Jakub Gutenbaum and Agnieszka Latała (eds.), *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1988); Azriel Eisenberg (ed.), *The Lost Generation: Children of the Holocaust* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1982); Kerry Bluglass, *Hidden from the Holocaust: Stories of Resilient Children who Survived and Thrived* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).
6. George Eisen, *Children and Play in the Holocaust: Games Among the Shadows* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).
7. Jewish Social Self Help, 'Protocol of the Meeting of the Jewish Care Committee of the City of Kraków held on December 17, 1941'. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) 1997 A.0124, reel 31.
8. Jewish Social Self Help, 'Comments to the Report of the Department of Sanitary and Hygienic Care for the Month of July 1942', 3 August 1942. USHMM 1997.A.0124 reel 31.
9. Roman Polański, *Roman* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1983), p.23.
10. Kerry Bluglass, 'Testimony of Janina Fischler-Martinho (born in 1930)', in *Hidden from the Holocaust*, p.85.
11. Allan Zullo and Mara Bovsun, *Survivors: True Stories of Children in the Holocaust* (New York: Scholastic, 2005), p.177; Testimony of Jack Gruener (born 17 February 1927), VHASH 28314.
12. Katarzyna Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat: losy Żydów w Krakowie 1939–1945* (Kraków: Wydawnictwa Literackie, 2004), p.62.
13. Anita Lobel (born in 1934), *No Pretty Pictures: A Child of War* (New York: Greenwillow Books, 1998), p.41; Testimony of Bernard Kempler (born 2 May 1936), VHASH 33193.
14. Halina Nelken, *And Yet, I Am Here!* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), pp.168–9.
15. Roma Ligocka (born Roma Liebling), *The Girl in the Red Coat: A Memoir* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), p.3.
16. Testimony of Jane Schein (born Janina Ast on 11 February 1931), VHASH 415.
17. For a discussion on the process from age displacing to age distorting see Suzanne Kaplan, 'Children in the Holocaust. Dealing with Affects and Memory Images in Trauma and Generational Linking' (PhD dissertation, Sweden: Stockholm University, 2002).
18. Testimony of Leah Lichtiger (born 8 September 1930), VHASH 23429.
19. Testimony of William Shnycer (born 20 March 1936), VHASH 33837; Testimony of Karl Schapiro (born 15 May 1934), VHASH 17050; Testimony of Ryszard Horowitz (born 5 May 1939), VHASH 8402.
20. Testimony of Martin Baral (born 21 March 1933), VHASH 1663.
21. For an examination of responses to trauma among children in the Holocaust, see Judith S. Kestenberg and Charlotte Kahn (eds.), *Children Surviving Persecution: An International Study of Trauma and Healing* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998); Elisabeth Ullmann and Werner Hilweg (eds.), *Childhood and Trauma: Separation, Abuse, War* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999); Elizabeth Goodenough and Andrea Immel (eds.), *Under Fire: Childhood in the Shadow of War* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2008); Randall E.

Marcus (ed.), *Trauma in Children* (Rockville, MD: Aspen Publishers, 1986).
22. Stella Muller-Madej, *Oczami dziecka* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2001), p.21; Testimony of Hanna Wechsler (born 10 August 1936), VHASH 43550.
23. In *Children in the Holocaust* Suzanne Kaplan observed that, 'Faces and windows generally seem to have constituted meaningful boundaries for outer realities and inner fantasy life' (p.114).
24. Testimony of George Hoffman (born 29 November 1933), VHASH 17554.
25. In *Children in the Holocaust* Suzanne Kaplan introduces the concept of 'space creating' by children in response to destruction. Their thinking/fantasising and thinking/taking action led to creating distance to ongoing threat. Kaplan also noted that creating excitement and devising games constituted part of children's coping mechanism.
26. For a theoretical framework on and discussion of friendship see, for example, Robert L. Selman and Lynn Hickey Schultz, *Making a Friend in Youth: Developmental Theory and Pair Theory* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1998); Erwin Phil, *Friendship in Childhood and Adolescence* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); William M. Bukowski, Andrew F. Newcomb and Willard W. Hartup (eds.), *The Company they Keep: Friendship in Childhood and Adolescence* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Ronald F. Reed, *Friendship and Moral Education: Twin Pillars of Philosophy for Children* (New York: P. Lang, 1999); Kenneth H. Rubin and Hildy S. Ross (eds.), *Peer Relationships and Social Skills in Childhood* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1982).
27. Testimony of Marian Keren (born 8 July 1935), VHASH 42453.
28. Testimony of Frances Gelbart (born on 20 August 1929), VHASH 12003; Testimony of Felicia Liban (born on 21 February 1934), VHASH 1451; Testimony of Louise Gans (born 10 July 1933), VHASH 40851.
29. Testimony of Moshe Taube (born 17 June 1927), VHASH 13063.
30. Polański, *Roman*, pp.25–6.
31. Ibid., p.30.
32. For childhood play in general see, for example, Brian Edmiston, *Forming Ethical Identities in Early Childhood Play* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Margaret Lowenfeld, *Play in Childhood* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2008), Elizabeth Dau (ed.), *Child's Play: Revisiting Play in Early Childhood Settings* (Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes Pub. Co., 2001); Joan Packer Isenberg and Mary Renck Jalongo, *Creative Expression and Play in Early Childhood* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill, 2001).
33. Eisen, *Children and Play in the Holocaust*, pp.84, 89.
34. Ibid., p.84.
35. Testimony of Aneta Weinreich (born 24 December 1929), VHASH 14405; Testimony of Roman Ferber (born 25 January 1933), VHASH 43707.
36. Testimony of Jane Schein (born Janina Ast on 11 February 1931), VHASH 415.
37. Testimony of Regina Nelken, AŻIH 301/1078; Hochberg-Mariańska, *Children Accuse*, p.249.
38. Pearl Benisch, *To Vanquish the Dragon* (Jerusalem and New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1991), p.177.
39. Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat*, p.82.
40. Ibid., p.87.
41. Suzanne Kaplan argued in *Children in the Holocaust* that since 'The sense of danger was shifted from the real threat to the children's own things, toys and pets, which by actual fact belonged to the *children's everyday life* and to the essentials of their lives', being in possession of toys established a link to the past, and helped them deal with the present (p.124).
42. Eisen, *Children and Play in the Holocaust*, p.74.
43. Testimony of Aneta Weinreich (born 24 December 1929), VHASH 14405; Testimony of Irene Selecki (born on 24 August 1935), VHASH 16651; Testimony of Jane Schein (born Janina Ast on 11 February 1931),VHASH 415.

44. Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat*, p.62.
45. Testimony of Irene Selecki (born 24 August 1935), VHASH 16651; Testimony of Jane Schein (born Janina Ast on 11 February 1931),VHASH 415; Testimony of Hanna Wechsler (born 10 August 1936), VHASH 43550; Testimony of Frances Gelbart (born 20 August 1929), VHASH 12003.
46. Ligocka, *The Girl in the Red Coat*, p.21; Polański, *Roman*, p.31.
47. Testimony of Ephraim Peleg (born 1 July 1936), VHASH 50441; Testimony of Renee Stern (born 13 October 1930), VHASH 22644; Polański, *Roman*, p.31; scooters and bikes were symbolically perceived as ways to move faster and symbols of freedom (Kaplan, *Children in the Holocaust*, p.124).
48. Polański, *Roman*, p.21.
49. Ibid., p.28.
50. Testimony of Marian Keren (born 8 July 1935), VHASH 42453.
51. Marie Syrkin, *Blessed Is the Match: The Story of Jewish Resistance* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p.182.
52. Dwork, *Children with a Star*, p.184.
53. Miriam Akania (born Matylda Weinfeld), *Jesień młodości* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1989), p.35.
54. Staner, *The Eyewitness*, p.15.
55. Testimony of Felicia Liban (born 21 February 1934), VHASH 1451; Testimony of Renee Stern (born 13 October 1930), VHASH 22644.
56. Kaplan, *Children in the Holocaust*, p.124.
57. Polański, *Roman*, p.25.
58. Dwork, *Children With a Star*, p.75.
59. Tadeusz Pankiewicz, *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy* (Washington, DC: USHMM, 2000), p.6.
60. Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat*, p.87.
61. Testimony of Louise Gans (born 10 July 1933), VHASH 40851; Testimony of David Zauder (born 14 September 1931), VHASH 22599; Testimony of Ruth Gleitman (born 1 February 1928), VHASH 30623.
62. Testimony of Aneta Weinreich (born 24 December 1929), VHASH 14405; Testimony of Renee Stern (born 13 October 1930), VHASH 22644; Testimony of Ephraim Peleg (born 1 July 1936), VHASH 50441; Testimony of Eva Wald (born 15 January 1932), VHASH 28166; Testimony of Frances Gelbart (born 20 August 1929), VHASH 12003.
63. Nelken, *And Yet, I Am Here!*, p.84.
64. Testimony of Renate Schondorf (born 25 September 1929), VHASH 35582; Testimony of Elsa Chandler (born 2 August 1932), VHASH 7744; Testimony of Felicia Friedman (born 18 January 1926), VHASH 43523.
65. Muller-Madej, *Oczami Dziecka*, p.24.
66. Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat*, p.87; Pankiewicz, *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy*, p.6.
67. Testimony of Mark Sternlicht (born 9 December 1929), VHASH 42790.
68. Testimony of Moshe Taube (born 17 June 1927), VHASH 13063; Testimony of Amy Hauer (born 7 June 1937), VHASH 9628; Testimony of Renee Stern (born 13 October 1930), VHASH 22644; Benisch, *To Vanquish the Dragon*, p.207.
69. Aleksander *Bieberstein, Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1986), pp.242, 244; Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat*, pp.88, 90.
70. Lobel, *No Pretty Pictures*, p.45.
71. Muller-Madej, *Oczami Dziecka*, p.47.
72. Ibid., p.21.
73. Testimony of Mark Sternlicht (born 9 December 1929), VHASH 42790.
74. Testimony of Lucie Brent (born 26 December 1934), VHASH 396.
75. Polański, *Roman*, p.28.
76. Ibid., p.29.