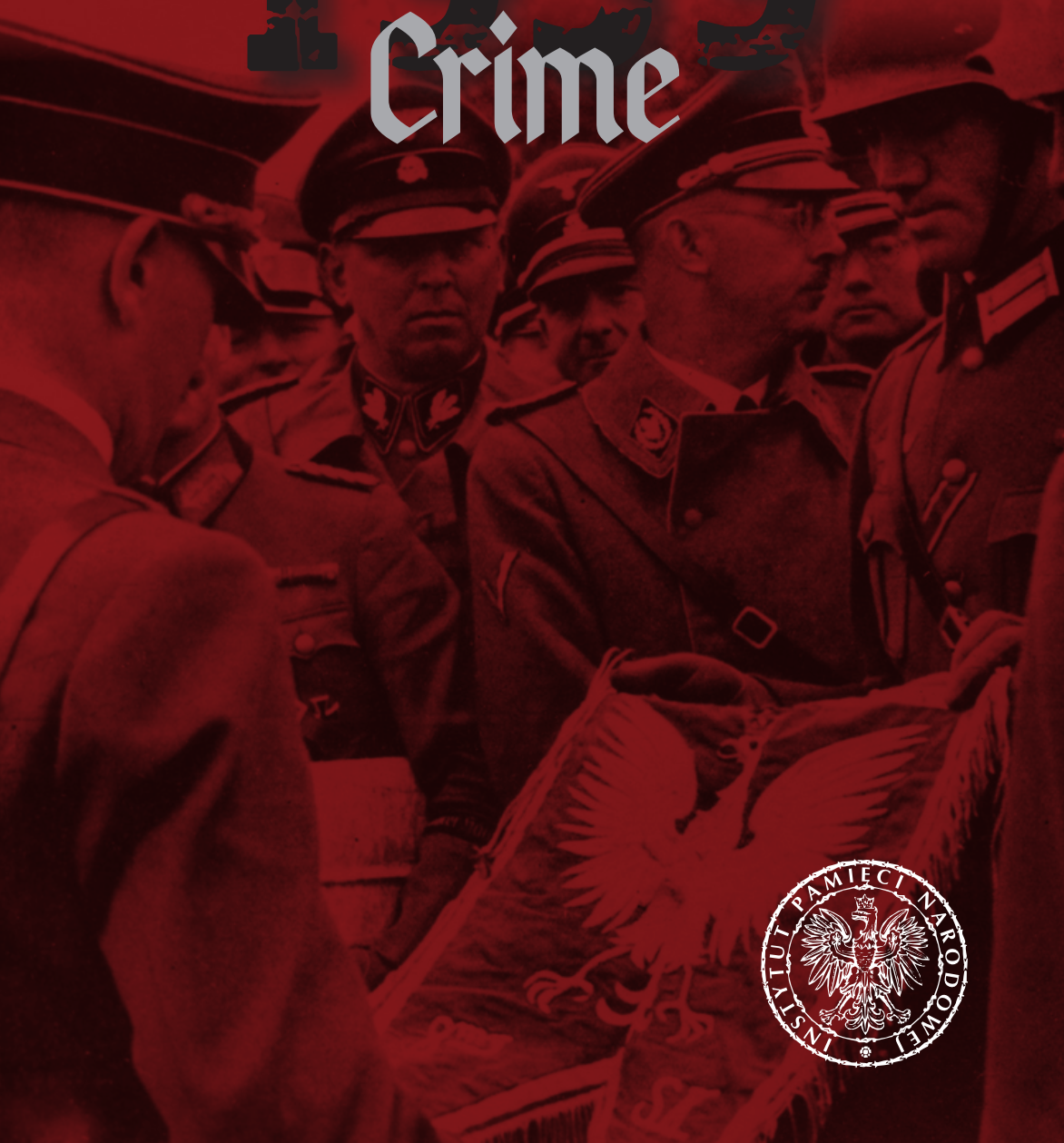


The Pomeranian 1939 Crime





NIEMCY

NIEMCY

WOLNE MIASTO GDAŃSK

TORUŃ

województwo poznańskie

województwo warszawskie

woj. łódzkie

WODA

Puck

Wejherowo

Gdynia

Sopot

GDAŃSK

Kartuzy

Kościerzyna

Tczew

Starogard

Gniew

Chojnice

Tuchola

Sępólno

Świecie

Chełmno

Wąbrzeźno

Nowe Miasto Lubawskie

Brodnica

Wyrzyk

Nakło nad Notecią

Bydgoszcz

Szubin

Rypin

Inowrocław

Aleksandrów Kujawski

Lipno

Włocławek

INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL REMEMBRANCE
Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation

The Pomeranian 1939 Crime



Warsaw 2018

[...] several tens of thousands of Poles fell victim to local executions carried out by the SS, the police, and Volksdeutscher Selbstschutz [...] The leading place in this regard was occupied by Pomerania, ahead of all other regions.

Martin Broszat

The world, not even Polish society and the Polish historiography of World War II, has never fully exposed on a greater than regional scale the specific character of German crimes in Pomerania in that first phase of the occupation.

Stanisław Salmonowicz

With the mass executions in Poland and the killing of the ill, the Nazi regime crossed the threshold of a systematic, racially-motivated policy of extermination – nearly two years before the mass genocide of Jews started in 1941.

Peter Longerich

Western Borderlands

As a result of World War I and the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, the Gdańsk Pomeranian region was returned to the reborn Second Polish Republic. After many years of Partitions, the Polish inhabitants of Pomerania recovered the independent country for which their fathers and grandfathers had fought for so long. The Pomeranian Voivodeship was established in August 1919. The actual incorporation of Pomerania into Poland took place in January-February 1920, when Polish troops entered Pomeranian cities, engendering general enthusiasm among Polish society. Many Poles took part in the reconstruction of state structures in the territory that had formed part of Prussia for over a century. Pomeranian Germans had to make a choice: should they stay in their “homeland” (*Heimat*) in the Polish state or should they emigrate to Germany (*Vaterland*) and retain their German citizenship. The outflow of the German population and the Polonisation of Pomeranian cities began even before the incorporation of the Gdańsk Pomeranian region into Poland. In Bydgoszcz, at the beginning of 1920, Germans accounted for approx. 80% of the city's population, a year later – approx. 25%, and in 1933 – only 8%. In 1919, Germans (383,000) accounted for approx. 39% of the population of the Pomeranian Voivodeship. During the next two years, their number fell by nearly half. The outflow of the German population continued over the next years, and in the 1930s approx. 9–12% (approx. 112,000) of the inhabitants of the Pomeranian Voivodeship were German. Despite their small numbers, the German minority in Pomerania retained a strong economic position. Statistically, one German had twice as much land as one Pole. For the Polish population, the year 1920 meant the rebirth of Polish statehood and the transformation of German Prussia into Polish Pomerania; however, for the Germans, “the German East” had become “the Polish West”.

■ Greeting of Polish troops in Bydgoszcz, 20 January 1920 (NAC)





■ Cover of the German propaganda book
Poland the Robber State of 1939

In cultural and national terms, the lost territories were still considered “German lands”. The German population had its privileged position and had become a minority, a foreign national group. Many Germans could not come to terms with that fact and thought of the situation as temporary. That attitude was a derivative of the approach of the German state to the Second Polish Republic, according to which the Polish entity was a “seasonal state”. Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles, but it never accepted its provisions.

In Gdańsk Pomerania in the 1920s, the German Association (*Deutsche Vereinigung*) was highly influential among the local Germans, and in the 1930s. – the Young German Party (*Jungdeutsche Partei*), which directly invoked Nazism. Its leaders from Pomerania and Greater Poland declared: “We, Germans in Poland, are all national socialists,” as early as in 1933. However, not all Pomeranian Germans supported National Socialism. Some of them remained loyal citizens of the Second Polish Republic.



■ Greeting of German troops
by *Volksdeutsche*. Grudziądz,
September 1939 (AIPN)



However, they rarely expressed publicly their rejection of the Nazi ideology for fear of being persecuted and declared “traitors of the nation”. The government of the Second Polish Republic, in turn, pursued a policy of de-Germanisation and re-Polonisation of those lands throughout the interwar period, seeking to weaken the German element.

Particularly important was the German propaganda referring to the Pomeranian Voivodeship as the “Pomeranian corridor” separating the Weimar Republic, and then the Third Reich, from East Prussia. The German press and radio called the formation of the Polish state the greatest historical injustice. However, German propaganda depicting the Second Polish Republic as a “robber state” (*Raubstaat*) was quietened in the years 1934–1938. The Third Reich saw Poland as a potential “junior partner” in a joint attack on the Soviets. In 1938, when it turned out that this would be impossible, the idea of using the German minority in Poland to destroy the territorial integrity of the Polish state was explored again.

Despite the international situation, most inhabitants of Pomerania, both Polish and German, described the Polish-German relationships at the local level – especially in rural areas – before 1938 as proper. Poles and Germans tended to live not with each other, but alongside each other. At the same time, many Pomeranians perceived Germans as “their people”, feeling no stronger bonds towards people living in other regions of the Second Polish Republic, e.g. Galicia or Volhynia. Additionally, Germans tried to convince the Kashubians that they were closer to Germanness than Polishness. After the annexation of Austria and the division of Czechoslovakia, Gdańsk Pomeranians spoke increasingly of forthcoming annexation into the Third Reich. Everything that was Polish was being insulted and degraded. This provoked a response in the form of increasing Polish nationalism. In many towns and cities, the windows of German shops were smashed and *Volksdeutsche* were physically assaulted.

However, while the Polish nationalism was defensive in nature and aimed at preserving the territorial *status quo* (even by means of a defensive war, if necessary), the German nationalism, based on racism and anti-Polish and anti-Slavic stereotypes, called for an aggressive war. Only a relatively small part of the German minority in Poland was involved in diversionary actions against the Second Polish Republic. However, the expectation that Pomerania would be incorporated into the Third Reich was widespread among Pomeranian Germans. Even those who were against Nazism supported the annexation of the Western Borderlands.

For Polish inhabitants of Pomerania, 1 September 1939 was the onset of a historic disaster and a struggle for the preservation of their own statehood. For the Germans, it was the day of liberation from Polish rule.

Depolonisation (*Entpolonisierung*)

The Third Reich did not want to repeat the “mistakes” of Prussia’s 19th-century Germanisation policy. Bismarck’s policy had not led to the eradication of the Polish nation. Hitler, deeming such actions ineffective, added extermination to the list of methods for destroying Polish culture and language and for depriving Poles of their national identity. Already during the war, a Polish Jew, Rafał Lemkin, coined the term *genocide*, derived from the Greek word *genos* – “race, people, tribe” and the Latin *occidere* - “to kill”. The term denationalisation was inadequate for describing the German occupation in Poland as it assumed that the Poles, as human beings, were to be kept alive, with the Germans’ national living models imposed upon them.

Before invading Poland, the German terror apparatus prepared lists of Polish surnames. These continued to be completed after the invasion, mainly using information provided by the *Volksdeutsche*.



■ Albert Forster delivering an anti-Polish speech. Gdańsk, August 1939 (NAC)



■ Adolf Hitler with Heinrich Himmler, 1940 (NAC)

Whereas the future of central Poland was not certain in September and early October of 1939, the western territories of the Second Polish Republic were considered indigenously German by the Germans and were doomed to annexation. The main objective of the German occupant was their “de-Polonisation” (*Entpolonisierung*). The principal method of de-Polonisation was genocide. Having entered Poland, the Wehrmacht committed crimes against Polish civilians. On 3 September, 26 locals were shot in Świekatowo (Świecie district). The next day, German soldiers executed 66 prisoners of war in Serock. On 8 September, 43 people were murdered in the village of Książki (Wąbrzeźno district). German soldiers were made to believe that every Pole, even women and children, is a potential rebel. According to estimates, out of approx. 16,000 people shot dead in the whole of occupied Poland in September 1939, 11,000 were killed in Pomerania.



■ Gdynia inhabitants interned by the Germans, awaiting interrogation in the square at Świętojańska Street, September 1939 (AIPN)

The central role in the extermination of the Pomeranian population was played by Albert Forster, *Gauleiter* (Head) of the Reichsgau Danzig-West Prussia, and his territorial administration. Their objective was the total Germanisation of Pomerania within five years. In the Free City of Danzig, before the outbreak of the war, an assault and sentry unit was set up – the SS Wachsturmbann “Eimann”, which participated in fights in Gdynia and Oksywie, murdered the defenders of the Gdańsk post office and displaced inhabitants of Gdynia. It then participated in the extermination of the Polish population in the Kartuzy and Kościerzyna Districts and of the mentally-ill in the Starogard Gdański and Wejherowo Districts. Apart from the Wehrmacht, Gdańsk Pomerania was invaded

by operational squads of the security police and the security service – Einsatzgruppen IV and V, whose task was to “pacify the territory occupied by the German army and fight against any elements hostile to the Reich in the enemy’s country, at the rear of the fighting troops”. At the beginning of September 1939, Reinhard Heydrich, head of the security police and the security service, decided that the leading layers of Polish society should be neutralised – the people were to be shot or hanged, without investigation. The nobility (the elites), the clergy, and the Jews must be exterminated. A separate group that was to be exterminated were the participants in the Greater Poland uprising.

There were also plans to murder members of the Polish Western

Association (*Polski Związek Zachodni*), seeking to secure the Polishness of Pomerania, and all national and social activists – the grassroots builders of the Second Polish Republic. In order to increase the number of executed people, on 12 September 1939, an additional independent killing squad was formed – *Einsatzkommando 16*, composed of Gestapo officers from Gdańsk. Its units murdered Polish civilians in Gdynia, Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Kościerzyna, Starogard Gdański, Grudziądz, and Brodnica.

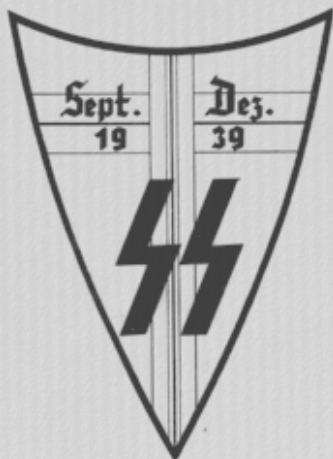


■ Executions in the Old Market Square in Bydgoszcz, September 1939 (AIPN)



■ The butchers of Piaśnica, Wejherowo 1939 (AIPN)

Selbstschutz Westpreußen



■ Selbstschutz Westpreussen badge (AIPN)

■ Management personnel of Selbstschutz Westpreussen, 1939 (AIPN)

Selbstschutz Westpreussen

A special role in the terror apparatus in Gdańsk Pomerania was played by local Germans acting under the supervision of the SS. At the beginning of September, local vigilante units composed of *Volksdeutsche* started to be formed there. They were defensive in nature only formally; in reality, their purpose was to handle personal feuds with Polish neighbours. On 3 September, a German diversion took place in Bydgoszcz. Local Germans started shooting at withdrawing soldiers of the Polish Army. With the help of the city's inhabitants, the situation was brought under control. Arrests and executions of actual and alleged attackers continued until the next day. The number of victims of the events of 3 and 4 September (Catholics and Evangelicals) was established to be 365. Most likely, the diversion was not inspired centrally; however, there were also cases of lynching whose victims were innocent Germans. The Nazi propaganda called the events the "Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) Bloody Sunday" – a barbaric act of the Poles against the local Germans. The "Bromberg Bloody Sunday" and the "March to Łowicz" (the evacuation of Germans acting to the detriment of the Polish state from the borderlands deeper into Poland) were used to justify the pre-planned extermination of the Polish



population in the whole of Gdańsk Pomerania. According to the German propaganda, it was necessary to establish a “self-protection” organisation – the *Selbstschutz* (German: *schützen* – protect).

After a meeting held between 8 and 10 September at Hitler’s headquarters, Heinrich Himmler decided to combine the existing local organisations and form the *Volksdeutscher Selbstschutz*. The organisation was to be active in the whole of occupied Poland; however, it played a special role in Pomerania. Its head was Himmler’s former adjutant – Ludolf von Alvensleben. The *Reichsführer SS* treated *Selbstschutz* units as substitute *Einsatzkommandos*, whose purpose was to de-Polonise German Prussia. His adjutant perceived the killing of Poles as participation in an ideological and racial war. The perpetrator was “Nordic man”, the victims – “Slavic sub-humans”. After the members of the *Selbstschutz* completed their task, they were recruited to the SS and the police. More than 38,000 local Germans joined the organisation in Pomerania, nearly all of them men aged between 17 and 45.



■ Low-ranking members of the *Selbstschutz* with Ludolf von Alvensleben, 1939 (AIPN)



■ A meeting of Joseph Goebbels with *Volksdeutsche* in Bydgoszcz, 1939 (NAC)



■ An SS officer reads a death sentence to a group of Poles. Jewish cemetery in Szubin, 21 October 1939 (AIPN)

“In the name of the Führer”

The inhabitants of Polish villages, towns, and cities were dragged out of their homes at night and transported to various prisons and jails. Asked by Poles by what right they were doing so, Selbstschutz members claimed that they were acting “in the name of the Führer” (im Namen des Führers). Teachers were ordered to report to local offices for a new job assignment or for training and were subsequently detained. Poles were arrested in streets, at train stations and at their workplaces. In towns with a high concentration of Germans, separate jails were established. In towns and cities that were district capitals, one central detainment centre was organised. Sometimes the jails turned out to be too small to accommodate all the prisoners. In such cases, transit camps were set up. Future victims were most often gathered in old factory buildings, basements of former school buildings or police station cells. In Wejherowo, detainees were kept in a court building and a local prison. In Bydgoszcz, one of the largest detention camps was located in the barracks of the 15th artillery regiment on Gdańska Street. In Tczew, where professors of the Pelplin seminary and Collegium Marianum were kept, a camp was organised in the barracks of the 2nd riflemen battalion of the Polish Army. In Toruń, a camp was established in Fort VII of the Toruń Fortress. In Wąbrzeźno, a camp was set up in the buildings of the Polish Rubber Industry factory. In Chełmno, prisoners were kept in the buildings of a primary school and in the convent of the Order of the Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent de Paul, where a “family camp” was established for families whose fathers had been detained. In Gniew, a camp was organised in the

ruins of a Teutonic Order castle, in Grudziądz – in the building of a former boarding school, and in Pelplin – in seminary buildings. In Górką Klasztorna, the Selbstschutz took over a monastery of the Missionaries of the Holy Family. Residents of Radzyń Chełmiński were held in a Capuchin monastery in Rywałd. In Nakło nad Notecią, a local school and a prison were used for the same purpose. The situation was similar in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie. In the Sępólno District, detention camps were organised on rural estates that had belonged to Poles before the war, in Karolewo, Radzim, and Komierowo. In Świecie people were led onto the grounds of the closed psychiatric hospital, and in Szubin to the National Youth Reform School. In Skarszewy, detainees were kept in a sawmill, a police jail, and a prison. In Nowy Wiec, Kościerzyna District, a jail was organised in the farm buildings of the farmer Władysław Wiecki.

Prisoners in such camps and jails were brutally mistreated and were sometimes killed. In Karolewo, Germans used whips with serial numbers to torture prisoners. In Wąbrzeźno, boards with nails were used. In the prison in Starogard Gdański, clergymen were particularly severely mistreated, especially priests having German-sounding names, who had swastikas cut into their foreheads. In Bydgoszcz, the prisoners were beaten with pitchforks; Polish teachers suffered particularly brutal violence. In Rypin, they were threatened with dogs and had nails stuck in their backs, and those who cried for help and out of pain had plaster stuffed into their mouths. Female teachers were tortured and raped. The Germans committed similar atrocities against Polish and Jewish women in



Łobżenica. In Radzim, Jewish women with little children were murdered.

The so-called people's court (*Volksgerecht*), sometimes called the Selbstschutz court (*Selbstschutzgericht*) and referred to as the "Murder Commission" *Mordkommission* by the Poles, was organised in jails and camps. All it took to shoot a Pole was the testimony of two *Volksdeutsche* about his anti-German attitude. Until mid-October of 1939, the fate of the detainees was decided by the district and local leaders of the Selbstschutz, who marked their names appropriately on lists. Then all lists of persons to be executed had to be sent to Bydgoszcz to be approved by Alvensleben.



■ Detention camp in Karolewo (AIPN)

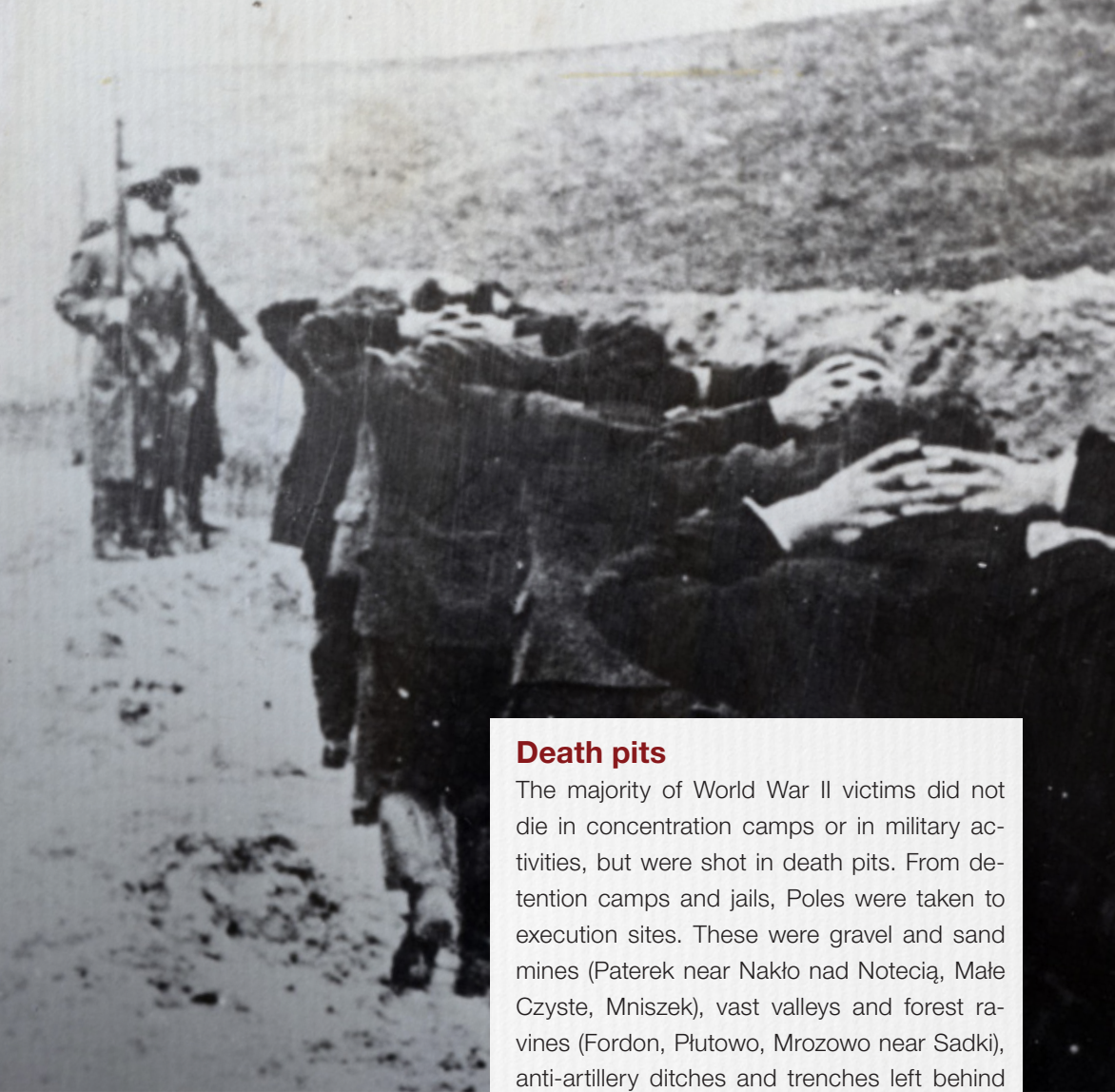




■ Selbstschutz members in front of the monastery in Górká Klasztorna, 1939 (AIPN)



That took place at weekly meetings of district leaders. During such meetings, the head of the Selbstschutz stressed that his objective was to clear Pomerania of Poles. He criticised his subordinates for murdering too few people. Alvensleben argued that “it will be an honour for each Pole that his corpse will fertilise German soil” (*Es sein eine Ehre für jeden Polen als Kadaver die deutsche Erde zu düngen*). These words were later passed on by district leaders to their subordinates, e.g. the Selbstschutz leader in the Sępólno district, SS-Standartenführer Wilhelm Richardt, demanded greater determination in murdering Poles.



■ Bydgoszcz teachers being led to their execution in Fordon, 1939 (Muzeum Oświaty w Bydgoszczy – Education Museum in Bydgoszcz)

Death pits

The majority of World War II victims did not die in concentration camps or in military activities, but were shot in death pits. From detention camps and jails, Poles were taken to execution sites. These were gravel and sand mines (Paterek near Nakło nad Notecią, Małe Czyste, Mniszek), vast valleys and forest ravines (Fordon, Płutowo, Mrozowo near Sadki), anti-artillery ditches and trenches left behind by the Polish army (Tryszczyn, Fordon, Buszkowo, the vicinity of Solec Kujawski, Pola Igielskie near Chojnice), irrigation ditches (Lucim). The majority of executions were carried out in the forests near major towns (Piaśnica Forest, Szpęgawsk Forest, Hopowo and Mestwinowo Forests near Kościerzyny, Skarszewy Forest, Kaliska Forest near Kartuzy, the forests around Łukowo near Czersko, Barbarka near Toruń, Gniewkowo Forest near Inowrocław, Pińczata Forest near Włocławek, Kujawski

Forest and Gdański Forest in Bydgoszcz, Rybienieckie Forest near Klamer, Skrwilno near Rypin, Brzezinka Forest near Brodnica, Karnkowskie and Radomickie Forests by Lipno). Executions were also carried out in town parks (Łasin, Grudziądz, Chojnice, Kcynia), in Gestapo and Selbstschutz jails and camps (“the House of Torture” in Rypin, artillery barracks in Bydgoszcz), and in fields belonging to Polish and German farmers and landowners. The largest execution site in the vicinity of Brodnica was the village of Birkenek (Brzezinki) by Bachotek Lake. In Karolewo (Sępólno District), the execution site was a clearing where sporting competitions and political meetings were held before the war. In the vicinity of Skarszewy, executions were carried out in the field owned by Franciszek Bławat, near Więcków, in a deep ditch used for draining rainwater from the field. It was easy to transport prisoners to such places, murder them, and then bury the large numbers of bodies without attracting much attention. Other execution sites included Jewish cemeteries (Skarszewy, Bydgoszcz, Świecie, Szubin, Wyrzysk, Łobżenica, Kcynia, Włocławek) and Roman Catholic cemeteries (Bydgoszcz, Nakło nad Notecią), as the sight of new graves did not attract much interest there. People were also executed in shooting ranges. Many people were murdered in roadside ditches running between small villages that are difficult to precisely locate today. Sometimes, e.g. in Grudziądz, Lubawa, and Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, the Germans held public executions to intimidate the locals.

Most victims in Pomerania were executed by shooting and died from bullets fired



■ Executions in Barbarka, 1939 (AIPN)



■ Executions, Rudzki Most, 1939 (AIPN)



■ Skulls exhumed in Paterek, July 1945 (Muzeum Ziemi Krajeńskiej w Nakle nad Notecią – Krajna Land Museum in Nakło nad Notecią)

from rifles, pistols or – in some cases – light machine guns. In Paterek, 205 skulls were exhumed from 14 mass graves. Among them, 61 skulls were severely or completely crushed, which suggests that approx. 25 per cent of the victims were not shot, but were murdered in death pits with blunt tools, most likely gunstocks or spades. In Karolewo, 1781 people murdered by the Selbstschutz in the Autumn of 1939 were buried in a cemetery. Among them, 265 bodies without skulls were discovered during post-war exhumations. Most likely, the perpetrators cut the victims' heads off with shovels or spades. In Piaśnica, 305 bodies were exhumed. Among them as many as 166 had crushed, smashed or cleaved skulls. In Radzim, 113 skulls were exhumed, of which 28 were “completely smashed” or “completely crushed”. Body No. 34 was described as follows: “A child’s skull with the remains of black plaits. The body is dressed in low-heeled shoes and the remains of decayed clothes.” In Tzew, 56 bodies were exhumed from three mass graves in the area of military barracks. 18 of the bodies had smashed skulls. As a result of later exhumations, the names of 79 victims were determined. In Trzszczyn, 683 bodies were exhumed. In the exhumation reports, 233 of the bodies were given the annotation that the skulls had been “completely smashed”, “completely crushed” or had the form of “fine bone fragments”. The skeletal remains of a woman marked as no. 1048 were discovered lying in a curled-up position. Most likely, she was nestling her daughter, whose skull had been smashed to pieces. Shoes fitting a 6-7 year old child were found next to body No. 1049. More than 300 bodies were found in Fordon; about 134 had crushed or completely



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 Hitlerowców w rok
 1939. Równocześnie
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■ Execution of Rev. Piotr Sosnowski in Rudzki Most near Tuchola, 1939 (AIPN)



■ Medal of Rev. Piotr Sosnowski (AIPN)

crushed skulls. Body No. 501 had the following annotation: “This body was also accompanied by fine human remains indicating that this woman must have been pregnant”. Body No. 502: “A child’s skull, completely crushed, an opening in the right parietal bone. The body was accompanied by shoes for a child aged 3-5 years.” Many victims were only wounded by bullets and then suffocated in graves, covered with sand and other bodies. Only very few people managed to survive the executions, to run away or scramble out of the heap of bodies and sand. After the war, they gave testimonies describing the bestiality of the perpetrators.

Pomerania and Volhynia

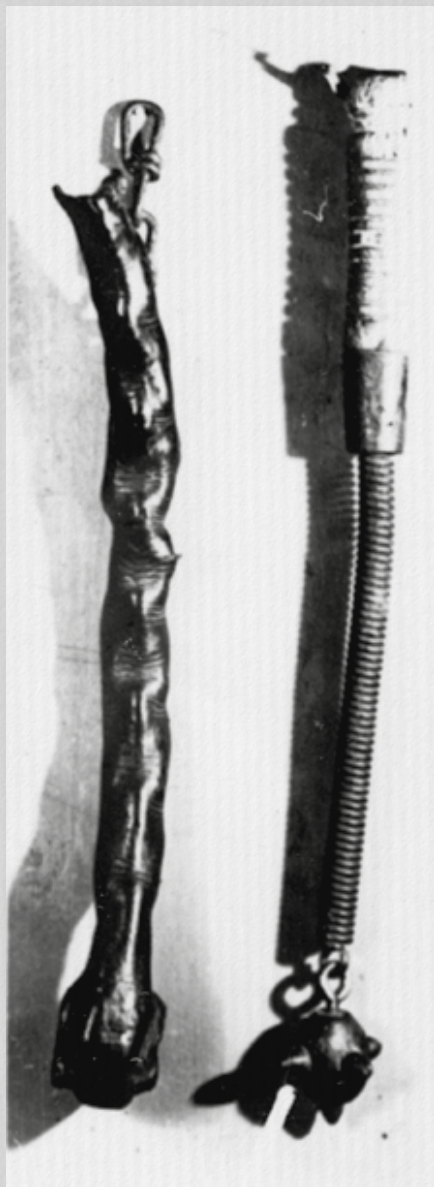
Polish civilians in Pomerania fell victim to mass murders committed using primitive instruments already in 1939, i.e. four years before the killings in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia. Although the scale of the Volhynia crime was nearly twice as great, the killing mechanism was similar. One of its elements was the very cruel *modus operandi*, or the working methods of the perpetrators. The term *genocidium atrox* (atrocious genocide) seems to describe adequately not only the Volhynia events of 1943, but also the Pomeranian events of 1939. An album of the Selbstschutz Westpreussen, which was prepared by the perpetrators themselves to commemorate their “contribution”, contained the following motto: “What you do for your nation and homeland is always right”. The seventh commandment of the Decalogue of the Ukrainian Nationalist was: “Do not hesitate to commit the most atrocious crime, should this be demanded by the good of the cause”. Pomerania and Volhynia were to be “de-Polonised” and “racially pure”.



Not only Ukrainian, but also German nationalists used primitive tools for committing mass murders, although the former did so on a huge scale to give the impression of a peasant massacre and not a planned operation. The perpetrators tried to shift the responsibility for the crimes onto Polish people, using previous persecutions of German and Ukrainian minorities to justify the necessity for the “anti-Polish operation”. Extermination was to be the only right and just response to the “Polish terror”. By murdering their Polish neighbours, Selbstschutz members manifested their Germanness; similarly, members of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) proved their Ukrainianness by murdering Polish civilians. A common feature of the two crimes was the participation of local clergymen – Orthodox in the case of the UPA and Evangelical in the case of the Selbstschutz – as the spiritual leaders of the murders, justifying the necessity of extermination (Więcbork and Rypin). Most German and Ukrainian perpetrators were not subject to criminal liability. However, there were “just traitors” among the Ukrainians, people who helped Poles in the Eastern Borderlands; similarly, not all members of the German minority in the Western Borderlands participated in the persecution of their Polish neighbours in 1939.

■ Exhumations in Wysoka, 1946 (AIPN)

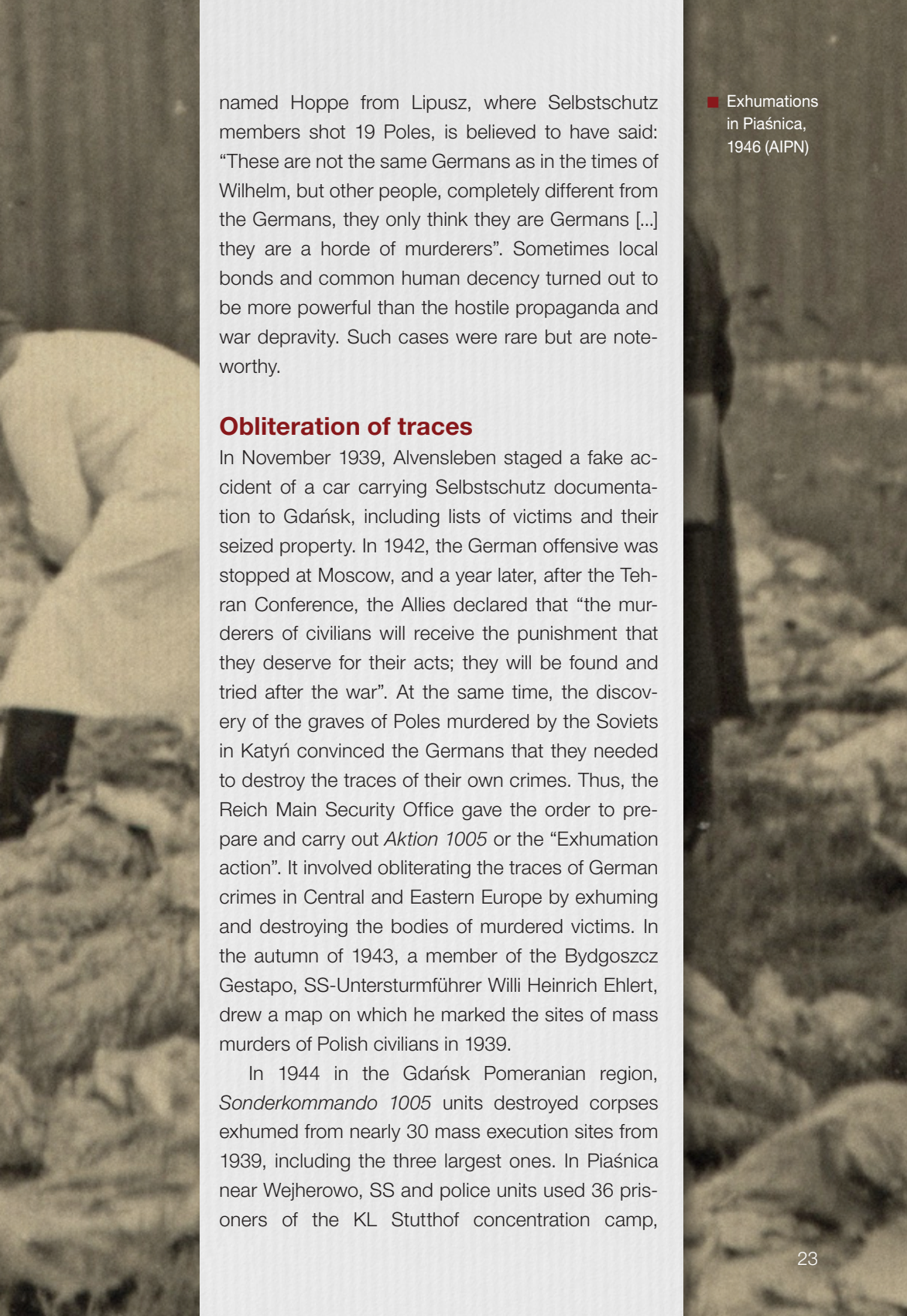
WAS DU FÜR VOLK UND HEIMAT TUST,
IST IMMER RECHT GETAN!



- Motto from an album of Selbstschutz Westpreussen (AIPN)
- Instruments of torture from the Karolewo camp (AIPN)
- Medallion with a cross belonging to Wojciech Bembnista, found in a grave in Paterek in 1945 (Archives of K.M. Hass)

“Other Germans”

In 1939, there were Germans in Pomerania who were not convinced by the Nazi propaganda and acted differently than the majority of their fellow countrymen. Willi Schesinger, standing with a rifle in his hands in the Łopatki sand mine, refused to kill his neighbour – Maria Lewandowska, who was pregnant. Some Volksdeutsche tried to help Poles by warning them against arrest or claiming that they were not “anti-German elements”. They also sought their release from transit camps. They brought them bread and cigarettes and tried to bring them comforting words. Some Germans saved their Polish neighbours by buying their release from detention camps or convincing the oppressors that Poles were needed to work on farms and in German workshops. A German sentry, of unknown name, threw Tylicki, a tax office employee, out of a truck carrying Poles to an execution site in Klamry near Chełmno; the man shouted that he would be grateful to him all his life. Władysław Kleina, head of the Unisław province, was released from the detention camp in Plutowo after 12 days, owing to the intercession of a German named Freichel, whom he had helped to pass a master craftsman exam. The German head of Kleszczewo (Kościerzyna District), Adolf Beier, refused to sign a list with the names of 18 Poles who were to be executed and warned them about the danger. As a result, he lost his office and was severely beaten. Maria Sadowska, a teacher from Kościerzyna, was released from the camp through the intercession of a German woman named Wodrich, who convinced the oppressors that Sadowska treated Polish and German children in the same way at school. An SS member, Bruno Strehlike, hid Ignacy Dysarz, who was a driver at his wedding, in his barn. An Evangelical pastor from Kościerzyna, Fredrich Glahn, saved the lives of Rev. Józef Grochocki and the local Ursuline sisters. A German



named Hoppe from Lipusz, where Selbstschutz members shot 19 Poles, is believed to have said: “These are not the same Germans as in the times of Wilhelm, but other people, completely different from the Germans, they only think they are Germans [...] they are a horde of murderers”. Sometimes local bonds and common human decency turned out to be more powerful than the hostile propaganda and war depravity. Such cases were rare but are noteworthy.

Obliteration of traces

In November 1939, Alvensleben staged a fake accident of a car carrying Selbstschutz documentation to Gdańsk, including lists of victims and their seized property. In 1942, the German offensive was stopped at Moscow, and a year later, after the Tehran Conference, the Allies declared that “the murderers of civilians will receive the punishment that they deserve for their acts; they will be found and tried after the war”. At the same time, the discovery of the graves of Poles murdered by the Soviets in Katyń convinced the Germans that they needed to destroy the traces of their own crimes. Thus, the Reich Main Security Office gave the order to prepare and carry out *Aktion 1005* or the “Exhumation action”. It involved obliterating the traces of German crimes in Central and Eastern Europe by exhuming and destroying the bodies of murdered victims. In the autumn of 1943, a member of the Bydgoszcz Gestapo, SS-Untersturmführer Willi Heinrich Ehler, drew a map on which he marked the sites of mass murders of Polish civilians in 1939.

In 1944 in the Gdańsk Pomeranian region, *Sonderkommando 1005* units destroyed corpses exhumed from nearly 30 mass execution sites from 1939, including the three largest ones. In Piaśnica near Wejherowo, SS and police units used 36 prisoners of the KL Stutthof concentration camp,

■ Exhumations
in Piaśnica,
1946 (AIPN)



known as *Himmelskommando* or “commando of heaven”, to exhume and burn dead bodies. The operation took about 7 weeks. When it was completed, the prisoners were also murdered and their bodies burnt. The bodies were burnt on structures doused with an inflammable substance. The inhabitants of the nearby villages saw the fire and could smell the reek of burnt bodies. After the war, during the exhumations, the sites of 26 obliterated graves were discovered (along with two graves containing unburnt bodies) and two burning structures (referred to as “crematoria” in exhumation reports) on which exhumed bodies had been burnt. There may have been more death pits. In two of the graves only, 305 bodies were found under a layer of lime. About 800 names of people murdered in Piaśnica are known but still need verification.

It is said that in the Szpęgawsk Forest near Starogard Gdański, the Germans, having carried out the executions, displayed boards saying: “Here lie *Volksdeutsche* murdered by Poles”. In 1944, a special commando of “SS-men speaking Ukrainian” exhumed corpses. They were piled in heaps alternately with layers of wood, covered with straw and branches and set on fire. The remaining ashes were passed through special sieves to find valuables such as wedding rings, jewellery or gold teeth. The burnt remains were crushed into fine fragments with mashers and returned to the graves, covered with lime and buried under earth. Areas so prepared were planted with spruce forest. The bodies from 32 mass graves were burnt at 31 sites. After the war, several metal barrels with an inflammable substance were

found there. Approx. 2,400 victims were identified by name and surname, of whom 1,690 were victims of *Aktion T4* or the T4 Program.

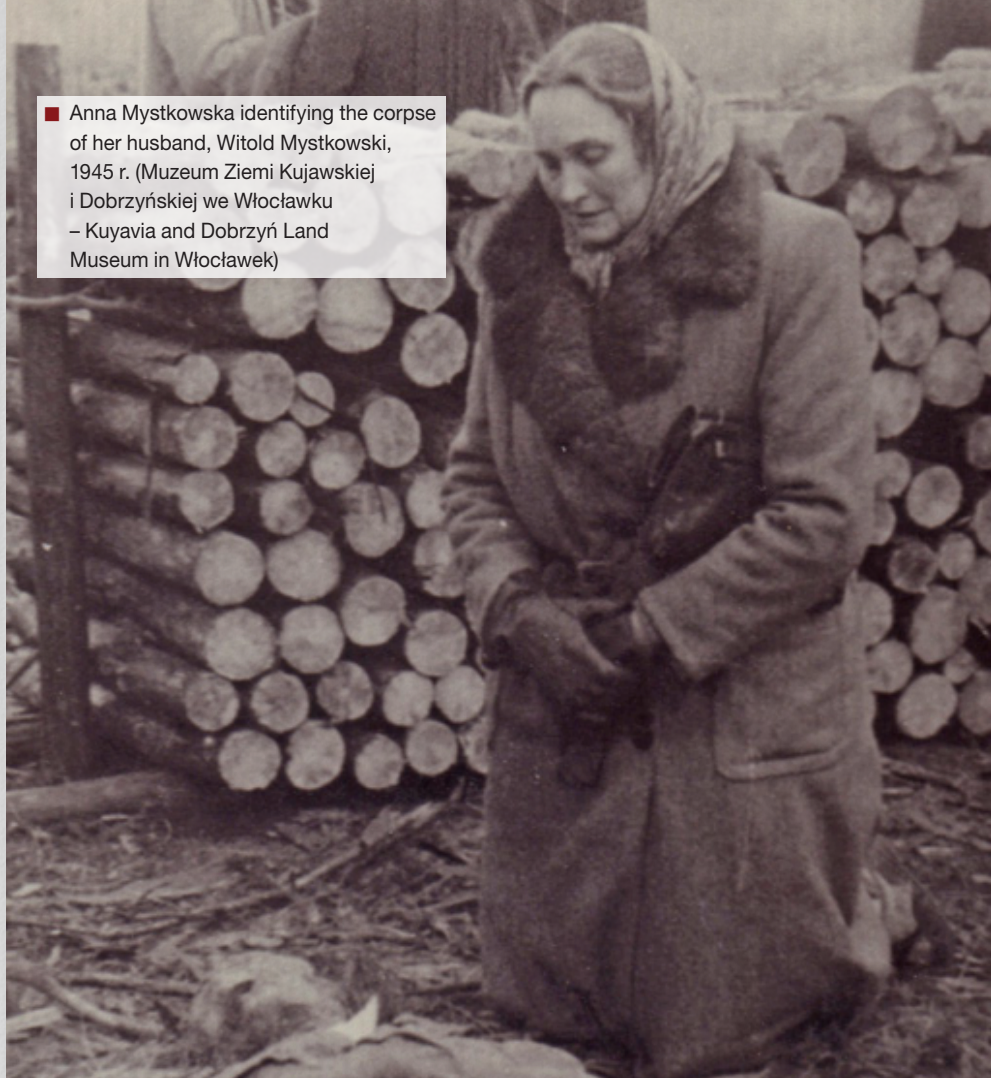
In Mniszek, no exhumations were carried out after the war; the area was levelled off and a symbolic monument was erected. The gully between Górna Grupa and Mniszek was only dug through in 1965. One huge grave, 6 metres wide and 80–100 metres long, was found, though it contained only ashes. The size of the ditches indicates that they may have contained hundreds or thousands of Poles and Jews; however, only approx. 45 persons were identified by name and surname.

In the vicinity of Toruń, the Germans exhumed and burnt bodies in the forests of Barbarka. In 1945, several mass graves were discovered during the inspection of execution sites. Only one grave contained bodies – 87 corpses arranged in three layers. Based on the size of the empty graves, the total number of victims is estimated at 600. So far, 298 people have been identified. In the Łopatki sand mine, where the Germans poured petroleum over corpses, only several partially burnt coins were found after the war. About 150 victims were identified. In Klamry (Chełmno District), the remains of human bones, pieces of a grenade fuse, bullet shells, and a Polish five-zloty coin showing signs of burning were found. About 200 victims were identified by name and surname. In the Brodnica District, the Germans exhumed and burnt the bodies of people murdered in Brzezinka by Bachotek Lake (approx. 100 victims were identified).

■ Exhumations in Trzyszczyń, 1948
(Archiwum Państwowe w Bydgoszczy
– State Archives in Bydgoszcz)



■ Anna Mystkowska identifying the corpse of her husband, Witold Mystkowski, 1945 r. (Muzeum Ziemi Kujawskiej i Dobrzyńskiej we Włocławku – Kuyavia and Dobrzyń Land Museum in Włocławek)



Near Bydgoszcz, the operation was led by the head of the Bydgoszcz Gestapo, Karl-Heinz Rux, who had a photograph of a 1939 execution of Poles on his desk. The Germans burnt corpses in the vicinity of Solec Kujawski, in the woods near the village of Otorowo and in Buszkowo (Koronowo Province). By Borówno Lake, where mentally-ill people from Świecie were probably killed, 102 corpses were exhumed. The bodies were burnt and the

ashes thrown into the water. During the exhumations, a burning site covering 20 square meters was found, with traces of coal, ashes, and human bones. In the Rypin District, in the Skrwilno Forest in the small village of Rak, Poles and Jews were murdered in an L-shaped ditch, 40 metres long and 2 metres wide, and in 5 smaller pits. In July 1944, the bodies from the largest pit were exhumed and burnt and the ashes were thrown into Skrwilno Lake.

Scale of the crime

Polish and German historians, having studied the scale of the German crimes in Gdańsk Pomerania in 1939 for nearly 80 years, agree on three issues. First, due to the burning of the bodies and the destruction of Selbstschutz archives, it is impossible to estimate the number of murdered victims accurately and reliably. Second, Selbstschutz Westpreussen members, operating under the supervision of the SS, were the main perpetrators of the crimes along with Einsatzgruppen units. Third, the scale of the crimes in Pomerania in 1939, irrespective of whose estimates are deemed to be the most reliable, was the largest in occupied Poland at that time. Thus, it was the first extermination operation against civilians of such magnitude during the Second World War. However, estimates as to the number of victims vary. On 20 October 1939, Dr Rudolf Tröger, a lawyer and the commander of *Einsatzkommando 16*, reported that “despite all ruthlessness, it has only been possible to destroy a fraction of the Polish population in West Prussia (approximately 20,000)”. However, this was only the beginning of mass executions. Historians estimate that in the autumn of 1939, the Germans murdered from 20 to 50 thousand people in Gdańsk Pomerania, mainly representatives of the Polish intelligentsia, but also Polish farmers, workers and craftsmen, Jews, and mentally-ill people. Approx. 10,000 victims have been identified by name and surname.

The scale of the crime was decided by a combination of general, country-wide factors (the policy of the Third Reich seeking to Germanise the Polish western lands by extermination); along with local factors (the greater receptivity of Pomeranian Germans to anti-Polish ideology, Nazi propaganda

■ Funeral ceremony at the Old Market Square in Bydgoszcz, 1948 (Archiwum Państwowe w Bydgoszczy – State Archives in Bydgoszcz)





■ Exhumations in Kościerzyna, 1945 (AIPN)




■ Funeral of the victims murdered in Paterek, 1945 (Muzeum Ziemi Krajeńskiej w Nakle nad Notecią – Krajna Land Museum in Nakło nad Notecią)

concerning the “Pomeranian corridor”, deaths of *Volksdeutsche* used as a pretext for revenge, the much more murderous operations of the Pomeranian Selbstschutz in comparison with other regions of occupied Poland, a more efficient terror apparatus using mainly Gestapo members from the Free City of Gdańsk, and the personalities of the leaders of the perpetrators).

(Un)punished crime

Albert Forster, who was responsible for the general German occupation policy in Gdańsk Pomerania, was sentenced to death by the Supreme National Tribunal in Gdańsk in 1948. The sentence was carried out in the Mokotów prison in Warsaw in 1952. Richard Hildebrandt, a senior leader of the SS and the Police in the Reichsgau Danzig-West Prussia, met a similar fate. Rudolf Tröger died in battle in France in 1940. Kurt Eimann, leader of the SS-Eimann unit, admitted before the Hanover Court in 1968 that his unit had killed 1,400 mentally-ill people and 30–40 members of the “grave-digging” commando in Piaśnica. He was sentenced to only four years in prison and served half of the sentence. A majority of the perpetrators managed to evade any criminal liability. Jakob Lólgen, the commander of the *Einatzkommando 16* unit in Bydgoszcz, successfully went through de-Nazification after the war and became the head of the Criminal Police in Trier. In 1966, the Munich court acquitted him of all charges of murdering Polish civilians, deciding that he had only obeyed orders and thus was innocent.

The commander of the Selbstschutz Westpreussen escaped to Argentina, where he died as an upright citizen in 1970.



■ Public execution
in Lubawa, December
1939 (AIPN)



■ Ludolf von Alvensleben (AIPN)

Argentines remembered him as a pleasant, jovial man; they simply could not understand why he used the words “Heil Hitler”, performing the Nazi salute. The deputy mayor of Wejherowo from the time of the occupation, a participant in the selection of prisoners in the local jail, Gustav Bamberger, served as the deputy mayor of Hanover after the war. West-German judicial authorities for National Socialist crimes committed in West Prussia identified 1701 perpetrators (excluding the proceedings concerning the KL Stutthof concentration camp). 258 proceedings were instigated, of which 233 were discontinued. Final and non-appealable sentences were passed

in 12 proceedings. Only 10 persons were sentenced, including 8 members of the SS and the Selbstschutz. Most of the interrogated Germans had only heard about the executions of Poles (*Hörensager*). If they did admit their membership in the Selbstschutz, they claimed that their function was to perform sentry duty or play in the orchestra. The perpetrators were discharged in peculiar circumstances; they explained that “they did it to avoid trouble” or that they had believed that what they were doing was “proper” from a legal point of view. Karl Strauss from Toruń explained that during executions he had not aimed at the victims, but had shot beside them.

The Pomeranian 1939 Crime

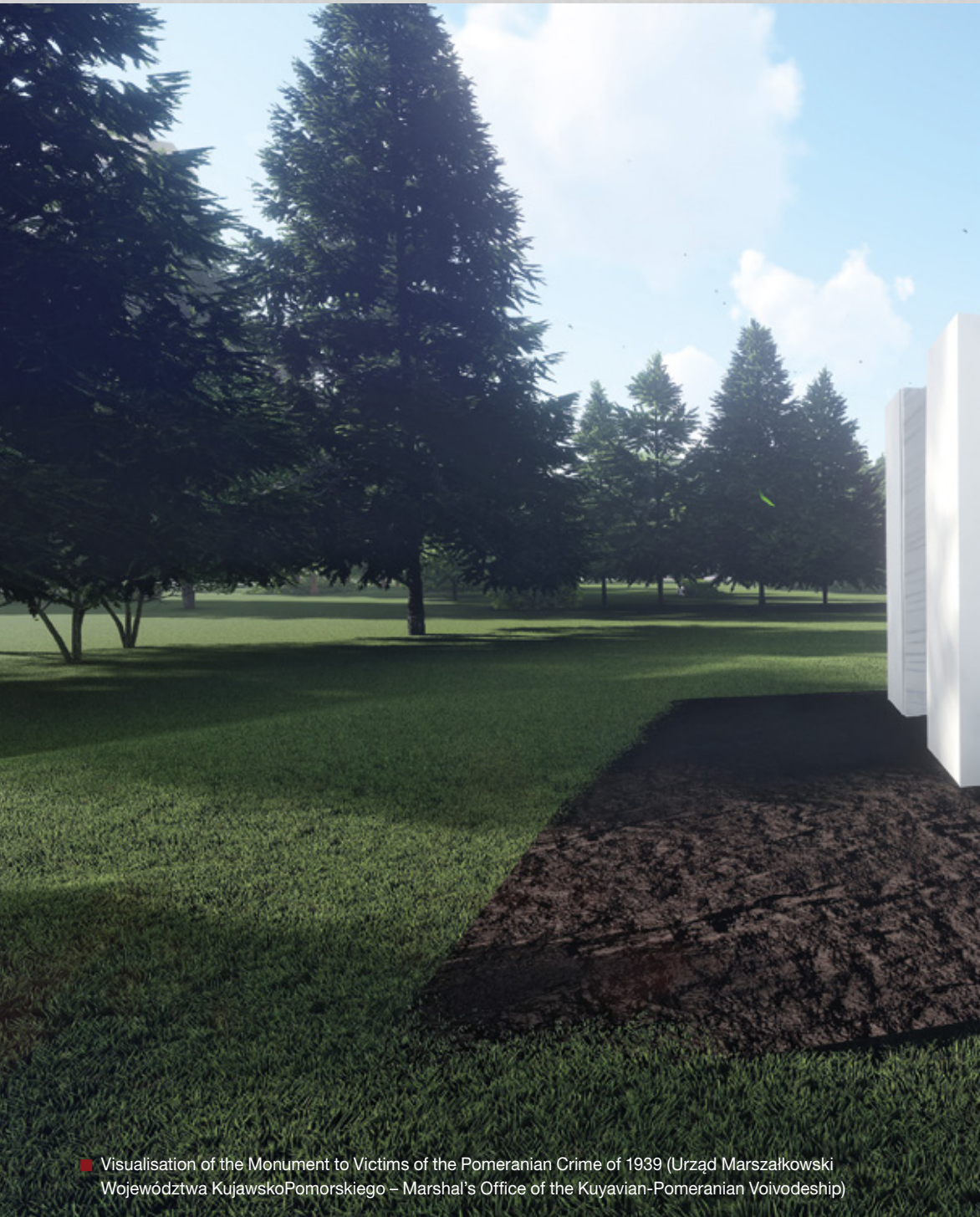
Erich Lupprian from the Wyrzysk District explained that he had understood the term “sending” (*Verschicken*) (of Poles) not as “sending underground” (*Verschicken unter die Erde*), but as displacement to the General Government. The accused were declared to be not direct perpetrators, but accomplices, and the statute of limitations for their crimes had already expired. Similarly, the statute of limitations mechanism was used in treating the perpetrators as killers and not murderers (with a “murder” being committed for base motives and deliberately). Usually only Hitler and Himmler were blamed. The acts of the perpetrators were justified by a “state of necessity”. At the same time, no case is known where refusal to execute an order involved a threat to life. In Poland, at least 67 members of the Selbstschutz Westpreussen received sentences after the war, including 11 default judgements (e.g. the occupation mayor of Puck, Friedrich Freimann).

The Pomeranian crime of 1939

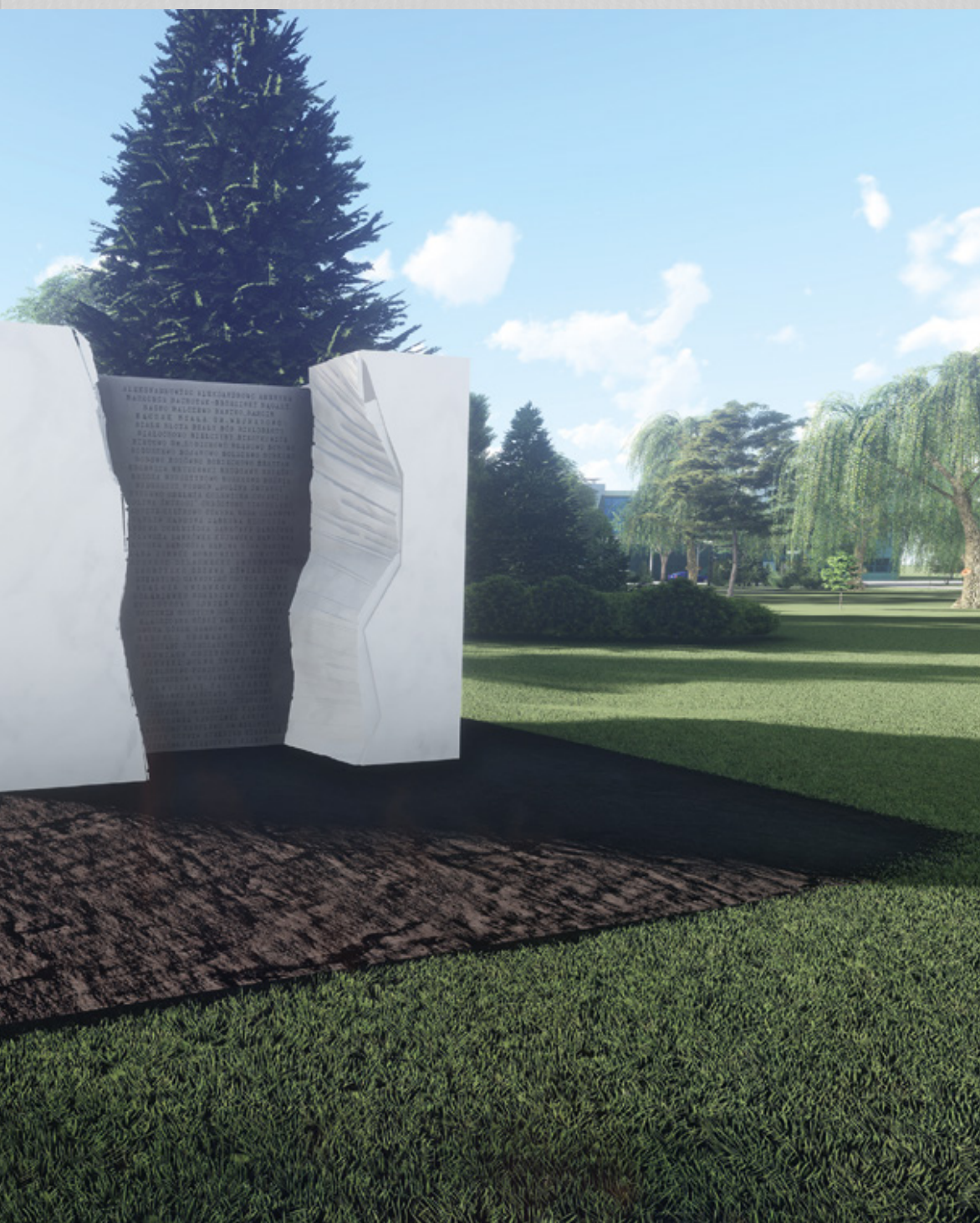
According to Jochen Böhler, in 1939 approx. 30,000 people were murdered in the Gdańsk Pomerania region, 10,000 people were murdered in the *Reichsgau Wartheland*, 1,500 in the province of Silesia, and 1,000 – in *Regierungsbezirk Zichenau*. Under the General Government 5,000 people were executed by shooting at that time. The scale of the German crimes committed in the territory of the pre-war Pomeranian Voivodeship in 1939, their character, and the role of the Selbstschutz Westpreussen are arguments indicating the need to introduce a new concept into historiography, education, and national memory.

- **murders committed by neighbours of Polish farmers, workers, craftsmen**
- **extermination of the Polish intelligentsia and representatives of the Polish state**
- **pacification of Bydgoszcz after the events of 3 and 4 September**
- **killing mentally-ill people under *Aktion T4***
- **extermination of Pomeranian Jews**
- **crimes of the Wehrmacht**

Source: author's own work



■ Visualisation of the Monument to Victims of the Pomeranian Crime of 1939 (Urząd Marszałkowski Województwa KujawskoPomorskiego – Marshal's Office of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship)



The Pomeranian crime of 1939 principally involved the extermination of tens of thousands of Polish civilians, executed under the *Intelligenzaktion*, but also farmers, workers, and craftsmen murdered by German neighbours in revenge or out of greed. In Pomerania, in line with the Nazi maxim that “healthy animals kill the ill ones”, thousands of mentally-ill people were murdered in death pits in Piaśnica, Szpęgawsk, Mniszek and Chojnice. The German crime in Pomerania also involved the extermination of at least 600 Polish citizens of Jewish origin. Before the mechanism of genocide and the Holocaust was developed in the East after 1941, it was implemented on a smaller scale in the occupied Polish territory during the first days of the invasion.

Modern historiography should reject the German terminology (*Intelligenzaktion*, *Gewaltaktion*, *Säuberungsaktion*, *Ausrottungsaktion*), which, as typically done in a totalitarian state, changed the meaning of words, referring to mass killings as an “action”, and to murders – as “liquidation” (one does not “liquidate” a person), “evacuation” or “special treatment” (*Sonderbehandlung*). The terminology of the perpetrators, though it tells us a lot about them, should not always be adopted by modern historians in referring to historical events. It was a crime, not an “action” or “program”. The Selbstschutz Westpreussen was divided into six inspectorates covering nearly all the territory of the pre-war Pomeranian Voivodeship, and not the Reichsgau Danzig-West Prussia, which did not exist at that time. The decree on the annexation of Polish lands into the Third Reich did not enter into force until 26 October 1939, when the extermination program had already begun. Thus, it seems proper to use the adjective “Pomeranian” to describe the territory in which mass murders were carried out. The crimes were committed during the first four months of the occupation. The main execution authorities were disbanded in December 1939; therefore, although in isolated cases executions may have taken place until the beginning of the next year, only the year 1939 should be used in the name.



■ Jakub Stencel, Jew murdered in Rypin (Muzeum Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej w Rypinie – Dobrzyń Land Museum in Rypin)

The Pomeranian crime was based on the National Socialist ideology. Apart from anti-Semitism, a major element of the Nazi ideology was anti-Polonism, which dehumanised the victims in the eyes of the perpetrators and gave rise to callousness. It replaced that lack of compassion for victims with hatred for them. The common conviction of the Germans that “whatever you do for your nation and homeland is always right” was important here. Unnamed events do not exist in history and historical memory. The Pomeranian crimes are commemorated in particular places where they were committed, though only on a local level. The majority of Poles not residing in the present-day Pomeranian or Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeships have never heard of them. Attempts should also be made at internationalising the issue of the Pomeranian crime – the first genocide of the Second World War, in which a considerable proportion of the Pomeranian population was killed. Owing to the many years of work of all people for whom the past is important, the Katyń massacre and the Volhynia massacre have become part of the national memory of all Polish people. This should be the case also for the Pomeranian crime.

On 6 October 2018, the Monument to the Victims of the Pomeranian Crime of 1939 was unveiled in the centre of Toruń, the capital of the pre-war Pomeranian Voivodeship. The monument, symbolising a deserted house whose inhabitants are never to return, is engraved with the names of 399 villages, towns, and cities in which Pomeranian citizens of the Second Polish Republic were murdered. It was unveiled on the anniversary of the birthday of Doctor Józef Bednarz – the “Pomeranian Korczak” (*Janusz Korczak was a Polish-Jewish doctor, social activist and writer, known as a precursor of the children’s rights movement – translator’s note*). Bednarz was an excellent psychiatrist and the head of the Mental Health Hospital in Świecie. He did not leave his patients and was executed along with them in October 1939. He probably died in Mniszek.



■ Józef Bednarz (Archives of the Voivodeship Mental Health Hospital in Świecie)



■ Blessed Sister Alicja Kotowska, murdered in Piaśnica (Muzeum Piśmiennictwa i Muzyki Kaszubsko-Pomorskiej w Wejherowie – Museum of Kashubian-Pomeranian Writing and Music in Wejherowo)



■ Władysław Mańkowski, participant in the Greater Poland uprising, bookkeeper from Pelplin, murdered in Szpęgawsk (Regional Micro-history Popularisation Group Association of Starogard Gdański)



■ Rev. Bolesław Wysocki, murdered in Paterek (Archives of the Missionaries of the Holy Family in Górką Klasztorna)



■ Paweł Kwiatkowski, student of a secondary school in Chojnice, murdered in Karolewo (Archiwum Państwowe w Bydgoszczy – State Archives in Bydgoszcz)



■ Leon Barciszewski, Mayor of Bydgoszcz, murdered in Bydgoszcz in November 1939 (NAC)



■ Michał Porzych, soldier in the army of General Józef Haller, teacher, murdered in the Fordon Valley of Death (Muzeum Oświaty w Bydgoszczy – Education Museum in Bydgoszcz)



■ Józef Śliwiński, farmer from Bruki Unisławskie, murdered in Płutowo (Unisławskie Towarzystwo Historyczne – Unisław Historical Society)



■ Stanisława Jaworska, teacher and scout from Toruń, murdered in Barbarka (School Group No. 9 in Toruń)



■ Józef Bartkowski, owner of a carpenter's shop, murdered in Dąbrowa (Unisławskie Towarzystwo Historyczne – Unisław Historical Society)



■ Count Edward Poniński, landowner, murdered in Inowrocław (Unisławskie Towarzystwo Historyczne – Unisław Historical Society)



■ Władysław Klimek in the uniform of the Voluntary Fire Brigade, Sejm deputy, murdered in Łopatki (archives of Henryk Klimek)



■ Teodozja Łapkiewicz, teacher, murdered in Rypin (Muzeum Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej w Rypinie – Dobrzyń Land Museum in Rypin)

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List of 1939 execution sites in the pre-war Pomeranian Voivodesip¹

Adamowo gmina Chrostkowo powiat lipnowski
Aleksandrowo gmina Dobrcz powiat bydgoski
Aleksandrów Kujawski
Ameryczka gmina Szubin powiat nakielski
Bachorce gmina Kruszwica powiat inowrocławski
Bachotek-Brzezinki gmina Zbiczno powiat brodnicki
Bagno gmina Nowe Miasto Lubawskie powiat nowomiejski
Balczewo gmina Inowrocław powiat inowrocławski
Banino gmina Żukowo powiat kartuski
Barbarka gmina Toruń powiat toruński
Barcin powiat żniński
Bączek gmina Skarszewy powiat starogardzki
Bągart gmina Kijewo Królewskie powiat chełmiński
Biała gmina Wejherowo powiat wejherowski
Białe Błota gmina Białe Błota powiat bydgoski
Białobłoty gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat grudziądzki
Białochowo gmina Rogóźno powiat grudziądzki
Białośliwie gmina Białośliwie powiat pilski
Biały Bór gmina Grudziądz powiat grudziądzki
Bielczyny gmina Chelmża powiat toruński
Bieszkowice gmina Wejherowo powiat wejherowski
Bietowo gmina Lubichowo powiat starogardzki
Błędowo gmina Płużnica powiat wąbrzeski
Bobowo gmina Starogard powiat starogardzki
Boguszewo gmina Gruta powiat grudziądzki
Bojanowo gmina Skórcz powiat starogardzki
Bolszewo gmina Wejherowo powiat wejherowski
Borkowo gmina Żukowo powiat kartuski
Borowo gmina Kartuzy powiat kartuski
Borówno gmina Dobrcz powiat bydgoski
Borzechowo gmina Zblewo powiat starogardzki
Bratian gmina Nowe Miasto Lubawskie powiat nowomiejski
Brodnica
Brudzawki gmina Książki powiat wąbrzeski
Brudzawy gmina Bobrowo powiat brodnicki
Brzeźno gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki
Brzeźno gmina Śliwice powiat tucholski
Brzoza gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Buk Góralski gmina Jabłonowo Pomorskie powiat brodnicki
Bursztynowo gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat grudziądzki
Buszkowo gmina Koronowo powiat bydgoski
Buśnia gmina Warlubie powiat świecki
Bydgoszcz

¹ The descriptions contain information on the location of the towns and villages according to the present-day administrative division.

Bysław gmina Lubiewo powiat tucholski
Byszewo gmina Koronowo powiat bydgoski
Chelmża powiat toruński
Chlewiska gmina Dąbrowa Biskupia powiat inowrocławski
Chojnice
Chróstowo gmina Dąbrowa Biskupia powiat inowrocławski
Ciechocinek
Cicholewy gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki
Cierpice gmina Wielka Nieszawka powiat toruński
Ciężkowo gmina Szubin powiat nakielski
Czarna Woda gmina Czarna Woda powiat starogardzki
Czarnowo gmina Zławieś Wielka powiat toruński
Czarnylas gmina Skórcz powiat starogardzki
Czernikowo gmina Czernikowo powiat toruński
Dąblin gmina Gniewkowo powiat inowrocławski
Dąbrowa gmina Szubin powiat nakielski
Dąbrowa Biskupia gmina Dąbrowa Biskupia powiat inowrocławski
Dąbrowa Chelmińska gmina Dąbrowa Chelmińska powiat chelmiński
Dąbrówka gmina Barcin powiat żniński
Dąbrówka Królewska gmina Gruta powiat grudziądzki
Dąbrówka Kujawska gmina Złotniki Kujawskie powiat inowrocławski
Dąbrówka Słupska gmina Szubin powiat nakielski
Dębogóra gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Dębowa Góra gmina Koronowo powiat bydgoski
Dębowa Łąka gmina Dębowa Łąka powiat wąbrzeski
Dobrcz gmina Dobrcz powiat bydgoski
Dobromierz gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Domatowo gmina Puck powiat pucki
Dorposz Szlachecki gmina Kijewo Królewskie powiat chelmiński
Dworzakowo gmina Białośliwie powiat piłski
Dworzysko gmina Świecie powiat świecki
Dziewa gmina Dąbrowa biskupia powiat inowrocławski
Dźwierzchno gmina Złotniki Kujawskie powiat inowrocławski
Egertowo gmina Somonino powiat kartuski
Fordon
Gawroniec gmina Bukowiec powiat świecki
Gdynia
Glinno Wielkie gmina Rojewo powiat inowrocławski
Gniewkowo gmina Gniewkowo powiat inowrocławski
Godzięba gmina Gniewkowo powiat inowrocławski
Gołębiewko gmina Gruta powiat grudziądzki
Gołębiewo gmina Radzyń Chelmiński powiat grudziądzki
Goręczyno gmina Somonino powiat kartuski
Gorzeń gmina Nakło nad Notecią powiat nakielski
Gorzędziej gmina Subkowy powiat tczewski
Gorzuchowo gmina Stolno powiat chelmiński
Gostomie gmina Kościerzyna powiat kościerski

Gostycyn gmina Gostycyn powiat tucholski
Gościcino gmina Wejherowo powiat wejherowski
Górka Klasztorna gmina Łobżenica powiat pilski
Górki Dąbskie gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Górna Grupa gmina Dragacz powiat świecki
Górsk gmina Zawieś Wielka powiat toruński
Grabowo Kościerskie gmina Nowa Karczma powiat kościerski
Grochol gmina Osielesko powiat bydgoski
Gromadno gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Gruczno gmina Świecie powiat świecki
Grudziądz
Grzmiąca gmina Włocławek
Grzybowski Młyn gmina Kościerzyna powiat kościerski
Horniki Dolne gmina Nowa Karczma powiat kościerski
Inowrocław
Jabłonowo Pomorskie gmina Jabłonowo Pomorskie powiat brodnicki
Jablówo gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki
Jacewo gmina Inowrocław powiat inowrocławski
Januszkowo Kujawskie gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Jarcewo gmina Chojnice powiat chojnicki
Jaroszewy gmina Skarszewy powiat starogardzki
Jastrzębie gmina Drzycim powiat świecki
Jedwabna-Pińczata gmina Włocławek powiat włocławski
Jordanowo gmina Złotniki Kujawskie powiat inowrocławski
Józefkowo gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Józefkowo gmina Płużnica powiat wąbrzeski
Józefowo gmina Włocławek powiat włocławski
Kaliska gmina Kaliska powiat starogardzki
Karczemka gmina Aleksandrów Kujawski powiat aleksandrowski
Karczemki gmina Szemud powiat wejherowski
Karnkowo gmina Lipno powiat lipnowski
Karolewo gmina Więcbork powiat sępoleński
Karpno gmina Lipusz powiat kościerski
Kartuzy
Kcynia gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Kielpino gmina Kartuzy powiat kartuski
Kierwałd gmina Morzeszczyn powiat tczewski
Kijaszkowo gmina Czernikowo powiat toruński
Kitnówko gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat grudziądzki
Klamry gmina Chełmno powiat chełmiński
Klepary gmina Gniewkowo powiat inowrocławski
Kobylarnia gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Kobyłe gmina Stara Kiszewa powiat kościerski
Kobysewo gmina Przodkowo powiat kartuski
Kocborowo (obecnie część Starogardu Gdańskiego)
Kocewka gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Kokoszkowy gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki

Kolno gmina Chelmno powiat chelmiński
Komierowo gmina Sępólno Krajeńskie powiat sępoleński
Koneck gmina Koneck powiat aleksandrowski
Konojady gmina Jabłonowo Pomorskie powiat brodnicki
Kopytkowo gmina Smętowo Graniczne powiat starogardzki
Kornatowo gmina Lisewo powiat chelmiński
Koronowo gmina Koronowo powiat bydgoski
Kowal powiat włocławski
Kowalewko gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Kowalewo Pomorskie powiat golubsko-dobrzyński
Krajenki gmina Kęsowo powiat tucholski
Krąg gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki
Krojanty gmina Chojnice powiat chojnicki
Królikowo gmina Szubin powiat nakielski
Krzywosądz gmina Dobrze powiat radziejowski
Książki gmina Książki powiat wąbrzeski
Księżte gmina Świedziebnia powiat rypiński
Kurkocin gmina Dębowa Łąka powiat wąbrzeski
Kwiatkowo gmina Rypin powiat rypiński
Las Balczewski powiat żniński
Las Mestwinowo gmina Liniewo powiat kościerski
Las Witnik gmina Smętowo Graniczne powiat starogardzki
Lasy Kaliskie powiat kartuski
Las Zajęczki gmina Skórcz powiat starogardzki
Lembarg gmina Jabłonowo Pomorskie powiat brodnicki
Leśna Jania gmina Smętowo Graniczne powiat starogardzki
Leśniewo gmina Puck powiat pucki
Leżno gmina Żukowo powiat kartuski
Liniewo gmina Liniewo powiat kościerski
Linowo gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat grudziądzki
Lińsk gmina Śliwice powiat tucholski
Lipinki Szlacheckie gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki
Lipno
Lipusz gmina Lipusz powiat kościerski
Lisewo gmina Lisewo powiat chelmiński
Lisnowo gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat grudziądzki
Lisówko gmina Osiek powiat starogardzki
Lubań gmina Nowa Karczma powiat kościerski
Lubawa powiat ławski
Lubichowo gmina Lubichowo powiat starogardzki
Lubicz gmina Lubicz powiat toruński
Lulkowo gmina Łysomice powiat toruński
Luszkówko gmina Pruszcz powiat świecki
Luzino gmina Luzino powiat wejherowski
Łabiszyn gmina Łabiszyn powiat żniński
Łągiewniki gmina Kruszwica powiat inowrocławski
Łasin gmina Łasin powiat grudziądzki

Łążyn gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Łebieńska Huta gmina Szemud powiat wejherowski
Łobżenica gmina Łobżenica powiat pilski
Łochowo gmina Białe Błota powiat bydgoski
Łopatki gmina Książki powiat bydgoski
Łubiana gmina Kościerzyna powiat kościerski
Łukowo gmina Czersk powiat chojnicki
Łyniec gmina Stolno powiat chełmiński
Malenin gmina Tczew powiat tczewski
Mała Klonia gmina Gostycyn powiat tucholski
Małe Czyste gmina Stolno powiat chełmiński
Małe Łunawy gmina Chełmno powiat chełmiński
Małe Walichnowy gmina Pelplin powiat tczewski
Małki gmina Bobrowo powiat brodnicki
Małkowo gmina Żukowo powiat kartuski
Mały Komorsk gmina Nowe powiat świecki
Mały Mędromierz gmina Tuchola powiat tucholski
Marusza gmina Grudziądz powiat grudziądzki
Mazowsze gmina Czernikowo powiat toruński
Mełno gmina Gruta powiat grudziądzki
Mestwinowo gmina Liniewo powiat kościerski
Mgowo gmina Płużnica powiat wąbrzeski
Michelin gmina Włocławek powiat włocławski
Mirotki gmina Skórcz powiat starogardzki
Młyniec gmina Lubicz powiat toruński
Mniszek gmina Dragacz powiat świecki
Mochle gmina Sicienko powiat bydgoski
Morzeszczyn gmina Morzeszczyn powiat tczewski
Najmowo gmina Zbiczno powiat brodnicki
Nakło
Nawra gmina Nowe Miasto Lubawskie powiat nowomiejski
Nicponia gmina Gniew powiat tczewski
Nielub gmina Ryńsk powiat wąbrzeski
Nieszawa powiat aleksandrowski
Niewieścín gmina Pruszcz powiat świecki
Nieżurawa gmina Czersk powiat Chojnice
Nieżywięć gmina Bobrowo powiat brodnicki
Nogat gmina Łasin powiat grudziądzki
Nowa Chełmża gmina Chełmża powiat toruński
Nowa Karczma gmina Nowa Karczma powiat kościerski
Nowa Tuchola gmina Tuchola powiat tucholski
Nowa Wieś gmina Jabłonowo Pomorskie powiat brodnicki
Nowa Wieś Wielka gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Nowackowo gmina Sicienko powiat bydgoski
Nowe Dobra gmina Chełmno powiat chełmiński
Nowe Miasto Lubawskie
Nowy Młyn gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat grudziądzki

Nowy Świat gmina Górzno powiat brodnicki
Nowy Wiec gmina Skarszewy powiat starogardzki
Obielewo gmina Łabiszyn powiat żniński
Obory gmina Zbójno powiat golubsko-dobrzyński
Olek gmina Łysomice powiat toruński
Orle gmina Liniewo powiat kościerski
Osie gmina Osie powiat świecki
Osieczek gmina Książki powiat wąbrzeski
Osieczna gmina Osieczna powiat starogardzki
Osiek Wielki gmina Solec Kujawski powiat bydgoski
Osielsko gmina Osielsko powiat bydgoski
Osówiec gmina Sicienko powiat bydgoski
Ostromecko gmina Dąbrowa Chelmińska powiat bydgoski
Ostrów Świecki gmina Chelmno powiat chełmiński
Paparzyn gmina Stolno powiat chełmiński
Papros gmina Kruszwica powiat inowrocławski
Parchanie gmina Dąbrowa Biskupia powiat inowrocławski
Parski gmina Grudziądz powiat grudziądzki
Partęczyny gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat grudziądzki
Pastwiska gmina Nowe powiat świecki
Paterek gmina Nakło nad Notecią powiat nakielski
Pelplin gmina Pelplin powiat tczewski
Pępowo gmina Żukowo powiat kartuski
Piaśnica gmina Puck powiat pucki
Piece gmina Kaliska powiat starogardzki
Piecki gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Pieńki Królewskie gmina Grudziądz powiat grudziądzki
Pińczata gmina Włocławek powiat włocławski
Piotrków Kujawski gmina Piotrków Kujawski powiat radziejowski
Piotrowo gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Pluskowęsy gmina Kowalewo Pomorskie powiat golubsko-dobrzyński
Płonkowo gmina Rojewo powiat inowrocławski
Płutowo gmina Kijewo Królewskie powiat chełmiński
Pniewite gmina Lisewo powiat chełmiński
Podlaski gmina Szubin powiat nakielski
Podwiesk gmina Chelmno powiat chełmiński
Pogódki gmina Skarszewy powiat starogardzki
Pokrzydowo gmina Zbiczno powiat brodnicki
Polichno gmina Nakło nad Notecią powiat nakielski
Połączyno gmina Somonino powiat kartuski
Pomieczyno gmina Przodkowo powiat kartuski
Pomieczyńska Huta gmina Kartuzy powiat kartuski
Prądocin gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Przedbojowice gmina Kruszwica powiat inowrocławski
Przetoczyno gmina Szemud powiat wejherowski
Przęsławice gmina Łasin powiat grudziądzki
Przodkowo gmina Przodkowo powiat kartuski

Przyłęk gmina Białe Błota powiat bydgoski
Puck
Raciniewo gmina Unisław powiat chełmiński
Radojewice gmina Dąbrowa Biskupia powiat inowrocławski
Radomice gmina Lipno powiat lipnowski
Radzic gmina Sadki powiat nakielski
Radziejów
Radzim gmina Kamień Krajeński powiat sępoleński
Radzim Zaremba Kamień Krajeński powiat sępoleński
Radzyń Chełmiński powiat grudziądzki
Rafa gmina Dąbrowa Chełmińska powiat bydgoski
Rajkowy gmina Pelplin powiat tczewski
Rak (Las Skrwileński) gmina Skrwilno powiat rypiński
Reskowo gmina Chmielno powiat kartuski
Reszki gmina Wejherowo powiat wejherowski
Robakowo gmina Stolno powiat chełmiński
Rogóźno gmina Rogóźno powiat grudziądzki
Rokocin gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki
Rotembark gmina Kościerzyna powiat kościerski
Rozstrzębowo gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Różniaty gmina kruszwica powiat inowrocławski
Różanna gmina Koronowo powiat bydgoski
Ruda (Rudy) gmina Solec Kujawski powiat bydgoski
Rudzki Most powiat tucholski
Rumia
Rusinowo gmina Rypin powiat rypiński
Rynarzewo gmina Szubin powiat nakielski
Rypin
Rytel gmina Czersk powiat chojnicki
Rywald gmina Radzyń Chełmiński powiat grudziądzki
Rzęczkowo gmina Zawieś Wielka powiat toruński
Sadki gmina Sadki powiat nakielski
Salno gmina Gruta powiat grudziądzki
Sarnowo gmina Stolno powiat chełmiński
Serock gmina Pruszcz powiat świecki
Sędzin gmina Zakrzewo powiat aleksandrowski
Sępólno Krajeńskie
Silno gmina Obrowo powiat toruński
Sipiory gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Sitno gmina Sośno powiat sępoleński
Skarbiewo gmina Koronowo powiat bydgoski
Skarszewy gmina Skarszewy powiat starogardzki
Skępe gmina Skępe powiat lipnowski
Skibice gmina Choceń powiat włocławski
Skórcz powiat starogardzki
Skrwilno gmina Skrwilno powiat rypiński
Słońsko gmina Choceń powiat włocławski

Słupski Młyn gmina Gruta powiat grudziądzki
Słupówko gmina Mrocza powiat nakielski
Smogorzewo gmina Łabiszyn powiat żniński
Solec Kujawski powiat bydgoski
Somonino gmina Somonino powiat kartuski
Sośno gmina Sośno powiat sępoleński
Srebrnica gmina Koronowo powiat bydgoski
Stara Ruda gmina Radzyń Chelmiński powiat grudziądzki
Stare Blonowo gmina Łasin powiat grudziądzki
Starkowa Huta gmina Somonino powiat kartuski
Starogard Gdański
Starogród gmina Chelmno powiat chelmiński
Strych gmina Kaliska powiat starogardzki
Subkowy gmina Subkowy powiat tczewski
Sumówko gmina Zbiczno powiat brodnicki
Swarzewo gmina Puck powiat pucki
Szadłowice gmina Gniewkowo powiat inowrocławski
Szczepanki gmina Łasin powiat grudziądzki
Szczutki gmina Sicienko powiat bydgoski
Szpegawsk gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki
Szubin powiat nakielski
Szumiąca gmina Lubiewo powiat tucholski
Świecie nad Osą gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat grudziądzki
Świecie nad Wisłą
Świekatowo gmina Świekatowo powiat świecki
Świerkocin gmina Grudziądz powiat grudziądzki
Targowisko powiat bydgoski
Tczew
Terespol gmina Świecie nad Osą powiat świecki
Toruń
Tryszczyn gmina Koronowo powiat bydgoski
Trzczeńsk gmina Starogard Gdański powiat starogardzki
Tuchola
Tupadly gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Turlejewo gmina Inowrocław powiat inowrocławski
Twardy Dół gmina Zblewo powiat starogardzki
Uciąż gmina Płużnica powiat wąbrzeski
Wabcz gmina Stolno powiat chelmiński
Waldowo gmina Sępólno Krajeńskie powiat sępoleński
Waldowo Szlacheckie gmina Grudziądz powiat grudziądzki
Wałownica gmina Nowa Wieś Wielka powiat bydgoski
Warlubie gmina Warlubie powiat świecki
Warszewice gmina Łubianka powiat toruński
Wąbrzeźno
Wądzyn gmina Bobrowo powiat brodnicki
Wąglikowice gmina Kościerzyna powiat kościerski
Wejherowo

Weronika gmina Kcynia powiat nakielski
Węgrowo gmina Grudziądz powiat nakielski
Wętfie gmina Lniano powiat świecki
Wichrowice gmina Chocień powiat wrocławski
Widoń gmina Włocławek powiat wrocławski
Wielka Klonia gmina Gostycyn powiat tucholski
Wielka Wieś (Władysławowo) gmina Władysławowo powiat pucki
Wielkie Lniska gmina Grudziądz powiat grudziądzki
Wielkie Łunawy gmina Chełmno powiat chełmiński
Wiewiórki gmina Płużnica powiat wąbrzeski
Więcbork gmina Więcbork powiat sępoleński
Witowice gmina Kruszwica powiat inowrocławski
Włocławek
Wnorze gmina Dąbrowa Biskupia powiat inowrocławski
Wola gmina Pelplin powiat tczewski
Wolental gmina Skórcz powiat starogardzki
Wrocki gmina Golub-Dobrzyń powiat golubsko-dobrzyński
Wycinki gmina Osiek powiat starogardzki
Wypaleniska gmina Solec Kujawski powiat bydgoski
Wyrzysk
Wysin gmina Liniewo powiat kościerski
Wysoka gmina Wysoka powiat pilski
Wyszecino gmina Luzino powiat wejherowski
Zajezerze-Świątokrzyż gmina Gniewkowo powiat inowrocławski
Zarośle gmina Śliwice powiat tucholski
Zblewo gmina Zblewo powiat starogardzki
Zgniłobloty gmina Bobrowo powiat brodnicki
Zławieś Mała gmina Zławieś Mała powiat toruński
Złotniki Kujawskie gmina Złotniki Kujawskie powiat inowrocławski
Zwierzynek gmina Tczew powiat tczewski
Żagno gmina Skępe powiat lipnowski
Żalno gmina Kęsowo powiat tucholski
Żelistrzewo gmina Puck powiat pucki
Żurawki gmina Osiek powiat starogardzki²

i inne nieznanne miejsca egzekucji

² Źródło: *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945. Województwo wrocławskie*, Warszawa 1980, *Województwo bydgoskie*, Warszawa 1981, *Województwo toruńskie*, Warszawa 1983, *Województwo gdańskie*, Warszawa 1987; A. Jansen i Ch. Weckbecker, *Der „Volksdeutsche Selbstschutz“ in Polen 1939–40*, München 1992; informacje dotyczące miejsc pamięci nadesłanych do IPN przez urzędy miast i gmin w województwie kujawsko-pomorskim.

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Archiwum Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance) Archiwum Państwowe w Bydgoszczy (State Archives in Bydgoszcz)

Book cover of E. Peter, Raubstaat Polen, Berlin-Leipzig 1939.

Muzeum Oświaty w Bydgoszczy (Education Museum in Bydgoszcz)

Muzeum Piśmiennictwa i Muzyki Kaszubsko-Pomorskiej w Wejherowie (Museum of Kashubian-Pomeranian Writing and Music in Wejherowo)

Muzeum Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej w Rypinie (Dobrzyń Land Museum in Rypin)

Muzeum Ziemi Krajeńskiej w Nakle nad Notecią (Krajna Land Museum in Nakło nad Notecią)

Muzeum Ziemi Kujawskiej i Dobrzyńskiej we Włocławku (Kuyavia and Dobrzyń Land Museum in Włocławek)

Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe (National Digital Archives)

Stowarzyszenie Regionalna Grupa Popularyzacji Mikrohistorii ze Starogardu Gdańskiego Unistawskie Towarzystwo Historyczne (Regional Micro-history Popularisation Group Association of Starogard Gdański – Unistaw Historical Society)

Marshal's Office of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship in Toruń

Archives of Henryk Klimek

Archives of Maria and Katarzyna Hass

Archives of the Missionaries of the Holy Family in Górka Klasztorna

School Group No. 9 in Toruń

The map of the Pomeranian Voivodeship in 1939 was produced on the basis of a map in: R. Golba, 'Województwo pomorskie i Wolne Miasto Gdańsk w latach 1920-1939', included in *Historia Pomorza, vol. 5: 1918-1939. Województwo pomorskie i Wolne Miasto Gdańsk, part 1: Ustrój, społeczeństwo i gospodarka*, S. Wierzchosławski, P. Olstowski (eds.), Toruń 2015.



Selbstschutz
 Westpreussen
 Inspektion I...Strassburg
 " II...Plutowo
 " III...Hohensalza
 " IV...Konitz
 " V...Pr.Stargard
 " VI...Bromberg

Danziger Bucht

DANZIG
 Gdynia
 Zoppot

Pr. Stargard

Konitz

Plutowo

Strassburg

Bromberg

Hohensalza

Gniezno

Wyrzysk

Wieliczka
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