PAPIESKI WYDZIAŁ TEOLOGICZNY WE WROCŁAWIU

Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny
Online First, 31 grudnia 2025
Wrocław Theological Review
DOI: 10.52097/wpt.9799

WROCŁAWSKI PRZEGLĄD TEOLOGICZNY

Rafał Kowalski
Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław, Poland
rafal.kowalski@pwt.wroc.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-1062-1762

Katarzyna Pawlak Weiss
Lower Silesian Center for Teacher Training in Wrocław, Poland
kpawlak@hm.pl

Cardinal Adolf Bertram and the Fate of the Jews During World War II Based on Selected Correspondence*†

Kardynał Adolf Bertram a los Żydów podczas II wojny światowej na podstawie wybranej korespondencji

Abstract: The text, based on previously unpublished archival documents, analyzes the position of German Cardinal Adolf Bertram, president of the Bishops' Conference in Fulda from 1920 to 1945, in relation to the Holocaust. The authors present and analyze letters that Cardinal Bertram received, detailing the fate of Jews during World War II. Most of these letters end with a plea directed at the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Germany to intervene with the Nazi authorities to halt the extermination of the Jewish people. The article reveals the correspondence Cardinal Bertram had with Adolf Hitler and other high-ranking officials in the Third Reich, as well as with other bishops and private individuals. The researchers' goal is to find an answer to the question: In the context of his policy towards the Third Reich,

* Tekst powstał jako efekt projektu badawczego nr NdS-II/SN/0587/2024/01 realizowanego i finansowanego w ramach konkursu ogłoszonego przez Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego pn. „Nauka dla Społeczeństwa II".
The text was created as a result of the research project no. NdS-II/SN/0587/2024/01 implemented and financed within the framework of the competition announced by the Minister of Science and Higher Education entitled "Science for Society II."

† We hereby declare that the contribution of individual authors to the creation of the article can be estimated as equal (50 percent each).
The idea of preparing such a text arose during the planning of a query in the Archive of the Archdiocese of Wrocław, related to the search for a (considered lost) anonymous letter

was Cardinal Bertram a clever politician who defended the position of the Catholic Church in the face of an expanding regime, carefully choosing actions that were considered feasible at the time or demonstrating unquestionable loyalty to the state authorities? In conclusion, they refrain from making an unambiguous judgment on Cardinal Bertram's attitude towards the extermination of Jews. The authors' aim to bring to light the final words of the mentioned correspondence, which – according to the authors – should be included in every place commemorating the Holocaust: "A nation capable of such crimes has no right to live under the sun. Every German, including you [Cardinal Bertram – editor's note], is guilty of these mass crimes. May Almighty God not leave this nation unpunished. I firmly believe that punishment will come. The Jewish people, who brought Revelation to the world, will live on after this crime. The German nation, which gave birth to the devil, will perish through him."

Keywords: Cardinal Adolf Bertram, Holocaust, Jews, World War II, Adolf Hitler, Mielec, Nazism, extermination of Jews

Abstrakt: Tekst na podstawie niepublikowanych dotychczas akt archiwalnych analizuje postawę niemieckiego kard. Adolfa Bertrama, przewodniczącego konferencji biskupów w Fuldzie w latach 1920–1945, wobec Holocaustu. Autorzy przytaczają i poddają analizie listy, jakie otrzymywał kardynał, relacjonujące szczegółowo los Żydów w czasie II wojny światowej. Większość z nich kończy się prośbą kierowaną do hierarchów Kościoła katolickiego Niemczech o interwencję u władz nazistowskich, mającą na celu wstrzymanie eksterminacji narodu żydowskiego. Autorzy artykułu docierają do korespondencji, jaką niemiecki duchowny prowadził z Adolfem Hitlerem

---

from a Jew to Cardinal Adolf Bertram, describing – as indicated by the descriptions – the situation of Jews in Breslau. In the course of their work, the authors drew attention to the extensive correspondence of the Wrocław bishop with the authorities of the Third Reich, not excluding Adolf Hitler himself. This led to the idea of expanding the query to include archives such as: Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem, the Holocaust Museum in Washington, Bundesarchiv in Berlin and Koblenz, adopting as a research hypothesis the conciliatory policy of Cardinal Bertram, one of the most important hierarchs of the Catholic Church in Germany during World War II, towards the extermination of Jews. This area of research seemed particularly interesting because historians were very divided in their opinions on the actions of the Wrocław bishop.

After a joint query and analysis of the found sources, the authors jointly established the text structure and proceeded with the task. Each author independently analyzed the material obtained during the query (the authors exchanged materials they had individually acquired), and then performed an analysis and interpretation according to the previously assumed structure, with Katarzyna Pawlak Weiss focusing more on issues concerning state-Church relations, and Rafał Kowalski on the theological aspects of the analyzed texts. After exchanging observations, the final editing of the text was undertaken by Rafał Kowalski. Subsequently, Katarzyna Pawlak Weiss made corrections and additions based on her own observations.

During negotiations, the final version of the material was agreed upon and sent to the editorial office.

i osobami pełniącymi ważne funkcje w Trzeciej Rzeszy, z innymi biskupami i osobami prywatnymi. Celem badaczy jest odpowiedź na pytanie, czy w kontekście prowadzonej przez niego polityki wobec Trzeciej Rzeszy mieliśmy do czynienia z wytrawnym politykiem broniącym pozycji Kościoła katolickiego w warunkach rozprzestrzeniającego się reżimu, dobierającego sposoby działania uznane za jedyne do zrealizowania w ówczesnych warunkach, czy raczej był on bezspornie lojalny wobec władzy państwowej. W zakończeniu wprawdzie powstrzymują się od jednoznacznego osądu postawy kard. Bertrama wobec Żydów. Chcą jednak, by światło dzienne ujrzały słowa kończące wspomnianą korespondencję, które – ich zdaniem – powinny znaleźć się w każdym miejscu upamiętniającym Holokaust: „naród zdolny do takich zbrodni nie ma prawa żyć pod słońcem. Każdy Niemiec, także Pan [kard. Bertram – przyp. autorów], ponosi winę tych masowych zbrodni. Niech Bóg Wszechmogący nie pozostawi tego narodu bez kary. Mocno wierzę w to, że ta kara nadejdzie. Naród żydowski, który przyniósł światu Objawienie, będzie żył nadal po tej zbrodni. Naród niemiecki, który zrodził diabła, przez niego zginie."

Słowa kluczowe: kardynał Adolf Bertram, Holokaust, Żydzi, II wojna światowa, Adolf Hitler, Mielec, nazizm, eksterminacja Żydów

Introduction

On Saturday, October 25, 1980, the German daily newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* published an article by Klaus Scholder titled "Requiem for Hitler." The subtitle of the article was "Cardinal Bertram and the German Episcopate in the Third Reich."[1] Its author described the tense relationship between Cardinal Adolf Bertram, who also served as the chairman of the German episcopate, and Berlin Bishop Konrad Count von Preysing. The conflict was reportedly rooted in the submissive and conservative attitude of the Breslau hierarch toward the policies of the Chancellor of the Third Reich Adolf Hitler and his regime. While Bishop von Preysing perceived Nazi ideology as a destructive direction for the German state from the very beginning, Cardinal Bertram, according to Scholder, sought to "[...] avoid any statement that could be interpreted as criticism of the Führer and his policies [...]."[2]

The author observed that the issuance of Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (With Burning Concern), dated March 14, 1937, and addressing the situation of the Church in the Third Reich by criticizing the theological aspects of the policies pursued by Hitler-ruled Germany, read in German churches on

1 [Klaus Scholder], Ein Requiem für Hitler, (1980), IA 25 a 106, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

2 [Scholder].

Palm Sunday, March 21, 1937, was to be perceived by Cardinal Bertram as a disruption to his ecclesiastical policy. Although he defended the papal document before the Reich government, he allegedly accepted news of its publication "[...] without any enthusiasm [...]."[3] The German newspaper noted that "[...] when von Preysing's associate, Walter Adolph, informed the cardinal that the Holy Father had issued an encyclical on the situation of the Church in the German Reich [...], Bertram merely replied: '[...] Well, yes, it exists, but I don't have it yet [...].'"[4]

Later in his article, K. Scholder highlighted that, in 1940, out of concern for maintaining good relations between the state and the Church, Cardinal Bertram sent a birthday letter to Adolf Hitler without consulting the other bishops of the German episcopate. Later, he sent similar congratulatory letters to the Führer every year around April 20. In his 1940 letter, he assured the Third Reich leader of the devout prayers offered by Catholics on his birthday "[...] for the nation, the army, and the homeland, for the state and the Führer [...]" (Bertram, 1940). The cardinal added that the Church's goals were not in conflict with the program of the National Socialist Party.

The favorable reception of this letter by A. Hitler can be inferred from the reply sent to the metropolitan curia in Breslau on April 29, 1940. It included the following words:

> [...] I sincerely thank you for the kind wishes you sent me on the occasion of my birthday on behalf of the spiritual dignitaries of all German dioceses. I received with satisfaction your assurance that German Catholics faithfully stand by today's state and its government. You can be certain that the State and its government reciprocate this loyalty. I am particularly pleased with your conviction that the Catholic Church's efforts to preserve the Christian character of the German people do not conflict with the program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party [...] I therefore believe we share the view that, in the difficult struggle the German nation now faces against its enemies, the Catholic Church in Germany will contribute to safeguarding and strengthening the internal cohesion of our nation [...].[5]

It is, therefore, hardly surprising that K. Scholder writes about the creation of an atmosphere of trust and understanding between Hitler and Cardinal

[3] [Scholder].
[4] [Scholder].
[5] Letter from Adolf Hitler to Cardinal Bertram, (1940), IA 25 d 15, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Bertram, evidence of which is found in the closing words of the last letter the Führer sent to him on July 13, 1944: "[...] with expressions of sincere admiration, your Adolf Hitler [...],"[6] as well as in the instruction reportedly handwritten by the metropolitan upon learning of the death of the Third Reich leader, "[...] to hold a solemn requiem in memory of the Führer and all members of the Wehrmacht who died for the German homeland [...]."[7] Although the author of the article published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* acknowledges that the note containing this instruction has no date or signature and that the handwriting of the hierarch is difficult to verify, he still considers it evidence that Bertram confirmed his church policy in this manner. In Scholder's opinion, all acts of kindness toward Hitler were not mere tactical maneuvers fitting the political actions of the head of the German episcopate but rather stemmed from the fact that, despite the persecution of the Catholic Church, the threats directed at its representatives, and the numerous crimes committed by the Nazi regime, the cardinal saw the leader of the Third Reich as a Catholic head of state, which he characterized this as "[...] the blindness and tragedy of German nationalism, which the cardinal shared with countless Germans of his time [...]."[8]

This depiction of a German cardinal submissive to Hitler's policies and seemingly blind to the evil of the Holocaust is supported by historian Michael Phayer. In his book, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1945*, Phayer questions claims made by figures such as Cardinal Adolf Bertram and Bishop Conrad Gröber of Freiburg, who asserted after World War II that they were unaware of the Holocaust. According to the American historian, if these hierarchs indeed lacked knowledge of the Holocaust's scope or certainty about the extermination of the Jewish people, it could only be because they deliberately avoided acquiring such knowledge. As an example, Phayer cites Cardinal Bertram's behavior in 1944 after receiving a report from Margarete Sommer[9]

6 [Scholder], Ein Requiem für Hitler.

7 [Scholder].

8 [Scholder].

9 Margarete Sommer studied philosophy and economics in Berlin, earning her doctorate in 1924. She worked as an instructor at several newly established schools of social care. Beginning in 1927, she taught at the Pestalozzi-Fröbel House Institute of Social Welfare in Berlin. In 1934, when she refused to teach Nazi sterilization laws in her courses, she was forced to resign. From 1935, Sommer worked at the Episcopal Diocesan Office in Berlin, advising victims of racial persecution through Caritas Emergency Relief. In 1939, she became the diocesan instructor for women's ministry, and in 1941, she also assumed the role of managing director of the Social Welfare Office of the Berlin Diocesan Office. She served under Cathedral Provost Bernhard Lichtenberg, and after Lichtenberg's arrest in October 1941, under Bishop Konrad Graf von Preysing. In this capacity, Sommer coordinated

about the fate of deported Jews. The cardinal demanded that such documents be countersigned by the Berlin bishop, which, under conditions of constant surveillance, would have resulted in exposure to severe reprisals. Without this condition being met, he refused to accept any information on the matter and even declared that otherwise, he would ignore such reports.[10] This suggests, at the very least, an extreme level of caution of the hierarch. Considering Sommer's role and the scope of her activities, it is clear today that her reports were based on information to which she had direct access.

For the American historian, it is certain that German Church leaders, including Cardinal Bertram, were well-informed about the atrocities committed against Jews. Phayer believes that they received information almost immediately after acts of starvation in ghettos, mass shootings, or other killings occurred. Moreover, he claims that German bishops were among the first to learn of these events. Margarete Sommer, a Catholic social activist, reportedly obtained her knowledge of events concerning Jews directly from Hans Globke, a high-ranking official in the Ministry of the Internal Affairs. Therefore, if Cardinal Bertram could hide behind ignorance in this regard, it was, using moral theology language, a case of culpable ignorance.

Additionally, when comparing Cardinal Bertram to Bishop Gröber of Freiburg, the former does not fare favorably. Bishop Gröber was seen as one of the German episcopate's most cooperative figures with the Nazi authorities. He became a supporting member of the SS and gave his blessing to the Working Group of German Catholics, an organization approved by the NSDAP that aimed to promote collaboration between the party, the state, and the Church. For this, he earned the nickname "the Brown Bishop."[11]

Catholic aid for victims of racial persecution, providing spiritual support, food, clothing, and financial assistance. She collected information about deportations, living conditions in concentration camps, and SS execution squads. Beginning in 1942, she wrote several reports on these subjects. One of her reports, titled "Report on the Exodus of the Jews," reached Rome in August 1942. Sommer survived the war. After 1945, she continued her work at the Episcopal Diocesan Office in Berlin, providing assistance to survivors of Nazi persecution. "Margarete Sommer," Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand, accessed January 10, 2023, https://www.gdw-berlin.de/en/recess/biographies/index-of-persons/biographie/view-bio/s/margarete-sommer.

10 Michael Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 70–71.

11 Kevin P. Spicer, *Księża Hitlera: Kler katolicki i narodowy socjalizm* [Hitler's Priests: The Catholic Clergy and National Socialism], trans. Marek Chojnacki (Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2024), 24.

Although Cardinal Bertram's ministry has already been subjected to extensive historical analysis and described in both academic and popular-science publications,[12] the question remains open as to whether, in the context of his policy toward the Third Reich, he was a shrewd politician defending the position of the Catholic Church under the conditions of an expanding regime, carefully selecting actions deemed feasible at the time, or if he was unquestionably loyal to the state authorities. Evidence of the political game played by both sides seems to emerge from the diaries of Joseph Goebbels, the Third Reich's Minister of Propaganda. Goebbels mentions exchange of courtesies in correspondence from 1940, referring to them with statements such as, "[...] we do not want more enemies today than we absolutely must have. Everything else will follow later

[12] Selected publications on Cardinal Adolf Bertram: Gregor Ploch, "'Troppo buon tedesco' ('za bardzo niemiecki')? Kardynał Adolf Bertram a kwestia reorganizacji Kościoła na Górnym Śląsku (1919–1922) [*Troppo buon tedesco (too German)?* Cardinal Adolf Bertram and the Reorganisation of the Church in Upper Silesia (1919–1922)]," *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* [Silesian Historical and Theological Studies] 55, no. 2 (2023): 149–75, https://doi.org/10.31261/ssht.2022.55.2.03; Sascha Hinkel, *Adolf Kardinal Bertram*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen 117 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010); Anselm Reichhold, *Die deutsche katholische Kirche zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus (1933–1945)* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1992); Mirosław Sadowski, "Korespondencja kardynała Adolfa Bertrama z Adolfem Hitlerem (1933–1944) [Correspondence Between Cardinal Adolf Bertram and Adolf Hitler (1933–1944)]," in *Ludzie śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego* [Figures of the Silesian Catholic Church], ed. Krystyn Matwijowski (Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1992), 113–27; Burkhard van Schewick, "Kościół katolicki a narodowosocjalistyczna polityka rasowa [The Catholic Church and the National Socialist Racial Policy]," in *Kościół, katolicy i narodowy socjalizm* [The Church, Catholics, and National Socialism], ed. Klaus Gotto and Konrad Repgen, trans. Zygmunt Zieliński (Warszawa: Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, 1983), 71–94; Karol Jonca, "Kardynał Adolf Bertram wobec ideologii totalitarnych (1930–1945) [Cardinal Adolf Bertram and Totalitarian Ideologies (1930–1945)]," in *Ludzie śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego* [Figures of the Silesian Catholic Church], ed. Krystyn Matwijowski (Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1992), 87–104; Karol Jonca, "Kardynał Bertram a nazizm [Cardinal Bertram and Nazism]," *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*. No. 2214. *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* [Studies on Fascism and Nazi Crimes] 24 (2001): 293–323; Karol Jonca, "Kościół katolicki na Śląsku wobec problemu oznakowania niemieckich Żydów (1941 r.) [The Catholic Church in Silesia and the Problem of Marking German Jews (1941)]," *Studia Śląskie* [Silesian Studies] 41 (1983): 82–113; Karol Jonca, "Niemieckie kościoły wobec polityki rasistowskiej NSDAP na Śląsku (1933–1945) [German Churches and the Racial Policy of the NSDAP in Silesia (1933–1945)]," in *Studia z historii państwa, prawa i idei: Prace dedykowane profesorowi Janowi Malarczykowi* [Studies on the History of State, Law, and Ideas: Essays Dedicated to Professor Jan Malarczyk], ed. Artur Korobowicz and Henryk Olszewski (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1997), 123–40.

[...]" while expressing his disdain for both Cardinal Bertram and the Catholic Church.[13] In another diary entry, dated March 26, 1942, Goebbels writes,

> […] These political clerics, besides the Jews, are the most disgusting rabble, which we still shelter in the Reich today. After the war, the time will come to resolve this issue comprehensively. In the state, only one force can rule: either the Church or the state itself. National socialism has the task of relentlessly opposing the political ambitions of the Churches [...].[14]

Upon learning of divisions within the German episcopate and plans to remove Bertram from his position as chairman of the Bishops' Conference in Fulda in favor of appointing Berlin Bishop von Preysing, Goebbels remarked, "[...] this means that Bertram's radical course will be replaced by von Preysing's even more radical course [...]."[15] This indicates that, in the view of a representative of the authority close to Hitler, Bertram was not regarded as an ally of Nazi policy. His conciliatory stance and words about a willingness to cooperate were seen rather as a diplomatic strategy to protect the interests of the Catholic Church.

The extent of Cardinal Bertram's knowledge of the Holocaust and his response to the information he received on the subject remains an open question. The analysis of some of the documents he received reveals that he was kept informed about the fate of the Jews through various sources. Whether and how this information influenced his teachings and public statements became the main focus of the research.

Our research relied primarily on an analysis of sources obtained through inquiries conducted at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław, the State Archives in Rzeszów, and the Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) in Koblenz and Berlin.

1. The Letter from a "Jew of Breslau" and Cardinal Bertram's Knowledge of the Holocaust

While an individual's state of knowledge is inherently subjective, official documents from Cardinal Bertram's correspondence found in archives indicate

[13] [Joseph Goebbels], Tagebucheintrag vom 25. August 1940, TJG-4736, Budesarchiv.

[14] Joseph Goebbels, *1939–1943*, vol. 2 of *Dzienniki* [Diaries], ed. and trans. Eugeniusz Cezary Król (Warszawa: Świat Książki, 2013), 371.

[15] [Joseph Goebbels], Tagebucheintrag vom 22. August 1942, TJG-5485, Budesarchiv.

that he was informed about the situation of Jews deported from Germany and other countries. Documents have survived that detailed the locations of mass killings and provided estimates of the number of victims.

The first document confirming this fact is the manuscript "Letter from a Jew of Breslau," the original of which is housed in the Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław,[16] with a copy preserved at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. The significance of this source, dated August 24, 1943, lies in the fact that it has not yet been the subject of in-depth analysis or broader studies. This can be underscored by the erroneous description in the archive, which notes that it pertains to the fate of Jews from Breslau. The content of the document reveals that the author of the letter described events in the General Government area, where the letter was also sent from, addressed to Cardinal Bertram.

The correspondence was written entirely in German, with the exception of a signature in Hebrew that reads "one of many." The letter details the fate of Jews who, for various reasons, found themselves in the territory of the General Government. The author explicitly states that the purpose of the letter was to inform the Chairman of the German Episcopate about how Germans in occupied Polish territories were brutally murdering Jews. By August 1943, the author claims, approximately 4 million Jews had already been killed.[17]

The level of detail in the letter and the author's extensive knowledge of the events described are striking. The narrative traces back to the German invasion of Poland in 1939, which, according to the letter, was accompanied by the expulsion of Jews from their properties and the shooting of Jewish people. Specific examples include accounts of "[...] 150 Jews being shot in Sosnowiec, 36 in Wieliczka, 100 in Mielec, and 700 in Dynów, among others [...]."[18] The letter also informed the hierarch that

> [...] when SS Obergruppenführer Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger oversaw Jewish affairs in the occupied territories, German forces looted Jewish shops, expelled Jewish families from their homes, and allowed them to take nothing with them. The expelled were forced to move in with relatives or friends. It was common for several Jewish families to share a single apartment, with at least ten people living in one room […].[19]

[16] Letter... Jews from Breslau, Germany (Wroclaw, Poland), 1943, IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.
[17] Letter... Jews from Breslau.
[18] Letter... Jews from Breslau.
[19] Letter... Jews from Breslau.

Additionally, the letter described laws requiring Jews to wear identifying markers indicating they were Jewish, which the author referred to as "branding." It also informed the Cardinal that Jews were subjected to beatings, ridicule, humiliation, and even abduction. Many, the letter claims, disappeared under unexplained circumstances.

The reader of the letter is then presented with an account of the expulsion of Jews from Kraków. The author writes:

> [...] Leaving the city before August 1, 1940, allowed the possibility of taking one's entire property. However, in reality, the limited availability of transport ("carts and wagons") and the lengthy wait for a railway permit forced Jews to sell their possessions for next to nothing. By the specified deadline – as reported by "one of many" – 20,000 Jews had left the city out of approximately 80,000 who resided in Kraków. Those who remained faced the threat of roundups, deportations to camps, beatings, and even death. "Thousands of Jews lived in cellars and sewers to avoid being caught by the oppressors. That period was terrifying [...]" –

the author noted, recounting the circumstances leading to the creation of the Kraków Ghetto in March 1941.

The letter then describes events in Mielec, the first city in the General Government declared "free of Jews." According to the account:

> […] In early April 1942, the city commander ordered that all Jews in Mielec, about 10,000, gather at a designated place and time with 10 kilograms of luggage. Anyone found in their homes after this deadline would be shot. When the day arrived, SS and SA units came to Mielec and began searching homes. Anyone found hiding was shot on the spot. Upon arriving at the gathering point, segregation began: women, children, the elderly, and the sick were separated from young men. The former group was led out of the city to a site where a mass grave had been dug by Polish construction service. All those brought there were ordered to strip naked and lie in the grave. When the first layer of bodies was in place, the shootings began. Eight thousand were executed in a single day. Eyewitnesses from the Polish construction service who covered the graves reported that the ground continued to heave afterward, as many victims were still alive. The remaining young men were sent to forced labor camps. They were told their families had been resettled […].[20]

[20] Letter... Jews from Breslau.

The above excerpt was quoted in full because the information it contains requires verification against the available state of knowledge on the subject. The author most likely describes the deportation of Jews from Mielec, which, according to numerous publications, began on March 9, 1942.[21] While the discrepancy regarding this date is indisputable, it is essential to address other details concerning the Jewish population of Mielec. The mentioned figure of 10,000 Jews living in the area significantly differs from pre-war statistical data, which estimate the Jewish population of Mielec at 5,500 to 6,000 individuals. Even if one assumes that the author included all Jews residing in the entire Mielec County, it is difficult to find confirmation in existing published materials of the presence of 10,000 Jews in the Mielec market square for deportation in March 1942. The information about a mass grave allegedly containing nearly 8,000 victims of the massacre of Mielec's Jewish population also requires investigation. According to the author of the letter, this grave would be located near Mielec.

Currently, only two confirmed mass burial sites of Jewish victims in Mielec are known, namely Traugutta Street and Wspólna Street. In both cases, available data suggest that several dozen bodies are buried there. Local residents have pointed to a third possible location, referred to as the Berdechowski Forest,[22] but this has not been verified through research. Today, a makeshift memorial marks the site, which is difficult to locate without specific guidance. This area is believed to be where Jews awaited transport to extermination sites, as it was located near a railway line. The site is also close to airport hangars where Jews from Mielec were held after being expelled from the city. Estimates from various sources suggest that the mass grave here may contain at least several hundred victims, with some estimates as high as 800 individuals.[23] These figures align with the accounts of researchers who note that, while the elderly and the sick were murdered during the deportation operation, the majority of Mielec's Jewish

21 Shmuel Spector, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and During the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), 529.

22 Berdechowski Forest – a small group of trees located between the northern part of the former WSK Mielec facilities, now the SSE EURO-PARK, and the airport. During the Nazi occupation, it was significantly larger and served as a site where the Nazis executed unknown groups of people transported in trucks covered with tarpaulins. It was also a place where some executions of Flugzeugwerke workers – both Jews and Poles – were carried out. In the 1980s, a stone obelisk was erected to commemorate the murdered. "Lasek Berdechowski [Berdechowski Forest]," Encyklopedia miasta Mielca, accessed January 10, 2023, https://encyklopedia.mielec.pl/?p=66.

23 Andrzej Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich* [The Holocaust of the Jews of Mielec], 2nd ed., Biblioteka Muzeum Regionalnego w Mielcu 33 (Mielec: Muzeum Regionalne, 2013), 135–36.

population was deported to ghettos in locations such as Bełz, Biała Podlaska, Dubienka, Włodawa, Krasnystaw, Międzyrzec, and Parczew. From these ghettos, the Jews were subsequently sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.[24]

Comparing the information contained in the letter with previously published historical materials suggests that such a mass grave of Jews deported from Mielec could be located near the airport. This area was guarded and prohibited to local residents, designated as a "security zone" due to wartime production. Preserved documents indicate that the Jews gathered in Mielec's market square in 1942 were marched along a route of approximately 7 kilometers to the airport grounds. There, they were placed in two large hangars used to store airplanes. After a selection process, the elderly, women, and children were directed toward a nearby railway siding, while young, able-bodied men were detained on-site as prisoners assigned to a sub-camp of the Płaszów concentration camp, tasked with supporting the Third Reich's aviation industry. By 1944, the camp in Mielec housed approximately 1,000 Jewish prisoners. Based on this data and using terrain analysis methods, four locations around the airport were identified where anomalies in soil structure and size could indicate the presence of mass graves. To investigate these sites, the landowner was asked for permission to verify these suspicions. In September 2024, non-invasive ground-penetrating radar[25] surveys were conducted. This resulted in 24 vertical sections from 24 echograms, revealing several geophysical anomalies consistent with those typically recorded near mass graves.[26] However, none of the anomalies corresponded in size to a grave capable of holding such a large number of victims. This issue requires further research. It is worth noting, however, that as the airport grounds have undergone development over the years, comprehensive field studies have become increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to conduct.

In another part of the letter, the author describes to the cardinal the situation of Jews in Lublin, where, according to the account "[...] approximately 30,000 people were killed, with the remaining Jewish residents deported to the

[24] Martyna Grądzka-Rejak, "*Fala płynie z tobołami na plecach, w rękach...* Zagłada Żydów z Mielca [*The Wave Flows with Bundles on Its Back, in Its Hands...* The Holocaust of the Jews of Mielec]," Przystanek Historia, March 12, 2021, accessed January 10, 2023, https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/tematy/zydzi/79697,Fala-plynie-z-tobolami-na-plecach-w-rekach-Zaglada-Zydow-z-Mielca.html.

[25] Location of the examined sites: see Appendix.

[26] Jacek Adamiec, Mariia Antoniv, and Szymon Bieniek, *Archaeological Geophysics Research Within the Framework of the Project "Cardinal Bertram and the Situation of the Jews During World War II"* (Warsaw, 2024), computer printout in the possession of the authors.

Majdanek camp. [...] One district after another began killing Jews in the same manner. Every town where Jews lived experienced the same method of killing. Every town has the same mass grave," wrote "one of many [...]."[27]

The next towns described in the letter are Tarnów and Kraków. In the case of Tarnów, the extermination of Jews was reportedly led by an Oberscharführer named Müller, whose actions were characterized by extreme brutality. According to the letter,

> He boasted that under his command, he killed 10,000 Jews in two days, personally shooting 4,000 of them. "[...] He didn't waste bullets on children; they were grabbed by the legs and their heads were smashed against walls. Dead or half-dead, the bodies were then gathered by residents and buried […]."

These accounts were reportedly communicated to Cardinal Bertram. It is possible that this refers to Heinrich Müller, the infamous SS officer and Gestapo chief known for his close association with Heinrich Himmler and his role in war crimes during World War II. In describing Kraków, the author mentions not only those murdered but also Jews deported to the Bełżec extermination camp and other forced labor camps. In this context, the name Amon Leopold Göth is mentioned, described as "the greatest murderer." Göth was responsible for liquidating Jewish ghettos in Kraków and Tarnów and served as the commandant of the Płaszów concentration camp. The harsh conditions in Płaszów are well-documented in historiography, supported by numerous eyewitness accounts. The letter's details align almost completely with what historians and researchers uncovered after the war. Regarding the camp's conditions in August 1943, the letter recounts:

> [...] All Jews in the camp are forced to work 18 hours a day, seven days a week. The workers are housed in barracks, with less than one cubic meter of space per person. Daily food rations consist of 200 grams of bread, two half-liter of weak coffee, and one liter of soup for lunch. The work is supervised by Germans, and anyone too weak to perform their tasks is executed. There is a hospital, but no one wants to go there because the severely ill are shot every day. Camp Commandant Göth has a daily need to shoot several Jews. Thus, the weak are brought to him for execution. It is also worth mentioning how the German nation satisfies its greed. Jewish cemeteries are excavated with diggers; gold

[27] Letter... Jews from Breslau.

> teeth and bridges are removed from the dead. In this way, even the deceased who had found eternal rest years ago are desecrated […].[28]

The letter concludes with an emotionally charged statement in which the author holds every German accountable for the mass atrocities, including Cardinal Bertram. The passage reads:

> […] A nation capable of such crimes has no right to live under the sun. Every German, including you, bears responsibility for these mass murders. May Almighty God not let this nation go unpunished. I firmly believe that punishment will come. The Jewish people, who brought Revelation to the world, will continue to live after this crime. The German nation, which has spawned the devil, will perish by his hand […].[29]

During research and historical consultations, a hypothesis arose that the letter's author might have been a member of the Polish underground resistance. The Home Army's (Armia Krajowa – AK) intelligence network was active in this region, with numerous instances of informing the public about the Holocaust and attempting to counteract it. Due to the author's anonymity, this issue remains unresolved and requires further investigation, particularly by comparing the letter with reports the AK intelligence sent to the Polish government-in-exile in London. Another theory suggests that the AK provided information to Jews, who then acted according to their own plans.

2. Report on the Deportation of Jews (Evacuation)

Another document that reached Cardinal Bertram at that time is a report concerning the deportation of Jews from the Third Reich to the East and the plans for their extermination. The document, preserved in the archives of the Archdiocese of Wrocław, is a three-page report with a handwritten note indicating that it was presented to the cardinal on February 14, 1942.[30] The author of the report is unknown; however, considering the level of detail and the author's access to Nazi plans, it is assumed to be one of the writings sent

[28] Letter... Jews from Breslau.
[29] Letter... Jews from Breslau.
[30] Bericht über die Abwanderung der Juden. (Evakuierung), (1942), IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

to Bertram by M. Sommer, who worked tirelessly to halt the machinery of death targeting Jews.

From the first part of the report, Cardinal Bertram learned that by the time the letter was written (early 1942), approximately 50,000 Jews had been transported from Germany to the East. These included 18,000 from Vienna, 10,200 from Berlin, 4,000 from Hamburg, 3,000 from Cologne, 3,200 from Düsseldorf, over 3,000 from Frankfurt. In addition, approximately 1,000 people were deported from each of the following cities: Dortmund, Münster, Hanover, Munich, Nuremberg, Württemberg, and Saxony. The deportees were sent to Łódź, Riga, Kovno, and Minsk, though correspondence from deported individuals initially came only from Łódź. Even that correspondence ceased by January 1942. The report also states that mail sent to Łódź began being returned with a note indicating it could not be delivered. The report indicates that the deportation aimed at the physical extermination of Jewish people. Evidence for this can be found in the descriptions of the facilities intended to house such large numbers of people: "[...] 32 to 80 people in one room [...] Food: approximately 200 grams of bread daily, along with thin soup served once or twice a day, at noon and in the evening. Washing is only possible outside at a well. The cold is unbearable [...]."[31] The document reports that these conditions caused the deaths of up to 200 people daily.

The report goes on to state that all traces of those deported to Kovno disappeared. The author refers to the account of a Kovno resident, who claimed that both local Jews and those transported from Germany were executed there. One eyewitness described the execution as follows:

> [...] The Jews were forced to completely undress (the temperature was said to be –18 degrees Celsius), then to step into trenches previously dug by Russian prisoners. They were then shot with machine guns; grenades were thrown in afterward. Without checking if everyone was dead, an order was given to fill in the trenches [...].[32]

According to this account, the dying prayed together, singing psalms aloud.

Cardinal Bertram could learn from the same document about the fate of people transported to Kovno from the territory of what is now the Czech Republic. This detail is particularly significant because many of those individuals were Catholics. Members of the execution squad were reportedly surprised to

[31] Bericht über die Abwanderung der Juden.
[32] Bericht über die Abwanderung der Juden.

discover that many of them carried rosaries and other religious items characteristic of Christians. A scuffle reportedly broke out between the victims and their executioners, during which two members of the squad were pulled into the trenches and died alongside their victims. According to the account, German soldiers did not directly participate in the executions in Kovno. All members of the squad wore Lithuanian uniforms, though the author asserts that they were members of the SS, the Security Service, and local people. The executions were allegedly filmed to create evidence suggesting that Lithuanians, not Germans, were responsible for the extermination of Jews. Based on information obtained from the Gestapo, the deportations were expected to continue until the "total evacuation" was completed.

An intriguing aspect of the report appears in its concluding section, where the author informs the Breslau hierarch about plans for new legal regulations that were yet to be introduced in Germany. These laws pertained to so-called "mixed marriages" and the expanded definition of the term "Jew," which would include children from mixed families where the husband was not Aryan. As a result of these proposed changes, the persecutions, which under the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 had primarily targeted the Jewish population, would now extend to those under the cardinal's spiritual care – Christians of Jewish descent. According to the report, after the legal changes, non-Aryan Catholics would be subjected to the same restrictions as Jews, including those related to "professional life, forced identification, and deportation."[33] The author also highlights the catastrophic consequences of such measures, including the potential necessity of breaking up families.

It is certain that those informing the Bishop of Breslau about the actions taken by Nazi authorities against persecuted social groups hoped to prompt him to defend innocent people and to voice open opposition to the ongoing evil. Perhaps they believed his cordial relationship with Hitler, the leader of the Third Reich, might prove useful in this case. Within Catholic circles, there was widespread awareness of the connection between the hierarch from Breslau and the highest authority in the German state. This is evidenced by a letter

[33] Reinhard Heydrich sought the comprehensive inclusion of first-degree *Mischlinge* in the policies of persecution. He demanded the forced divorces of privileged mixed marriages, followed by the deportation of Jewish spouses. However, Hitler, who consistently refrained from altering the classification criteria outlined in the Nuremberg Laws, once again decisively rejected this demand in 1942. One possible motive for this decision was the desire to avoid unrest within German society. Read more: Hans Mommsen, "Ustawy norymberskie [Nuremberg Laws]," HistMag, March 29, 2020, accessed January 10, 2023, https://histmag.org/Ustawy-norymberskie-20413#.

sent to the hierarch on September 10, 1941, by Emmanuel Golletz, a merchant from Breslau. Golletz informs about a ministerial directive requiring Jews to wear a prominently displayed Star of David "the size of a hand."[34] He adds that "[...] this directive demands that even children from mixed marriages who are Roman Catholic – therefore neither religiously nor racially Jewish – must wear this badge [...]." He concludes the letter by stating that "[...] only a high-ranking individual has the means to step in here and speak with the appropriate offices to amend this directive [...]." From the documents cited here, it is evident that society placed significant hope in the cardinal's ability to intervene with the highest authorities. Unfortunately, in the reviewed documentation, no correspondence was found that would indicate Cardinal Bertram took a firm stance on the matters brought to his attention. In his homilies, he emphasized accountability before God for the death of innocent people, but there is no evidence of direct intervention.

3. Reaction of Cardinal Bertram – Was It Sufficient?

Emmanuel Golletz's letter referred to the police decree of September 1, 1941, regarding the "marking of Jews." Archival materials preserved in the Archdiocesan Archive in Wrocław indicate that this issue was among the topics addressed by Cardinal Bertram. He received numerous reports from lay faithful, parish clergy within his archdiocese, and bishops from across Germany highlighting the problems associated with this law. Just ten days after its announcement, Father Richardt, the pastor of St. Ignatius Church in Breslau (Wrocław), alerted his bishop that the law not only targeted individuals of Jewish descent but also converts to Catholicism who had been baptized many years before and had no connection to Judaism. He further noted that "[...] according to the new legal regulations, some members of the same family would have to wear the 'Star of David,' while others would not, which, as he suggested, creates significant inconveniences [...]." In the same letter, Father Richardt requested that Cardinal Bertram intervene "with the appropriate authorities," justifying the request primarily on the grounds of difficulties in organizing church services, as it necessitated singling out individuals of the same faith.[35]

[34] Letter from Emmanuel Golletz to Cardinal Bertram, (1941), IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[35] Letter from Pfarrer Th. Richardt to Cardinal Bertram of September 10, 1941, IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

A few days later, the same priest shared additional observations with Cardinal Bertram about the practical consequences of the September 1, 1941, regulations. He noted that baptized Jews were remaining in their homes and refraining from attending services. As an exception, he mentioned Dr. Kurt Mandowski, who, despite being affiliated with St. Dorothy's Church, attended Mass at St. Ignatius wearing the Star of David and received Holy Communion. According to the priest, four other individuals attended Sunday Mass, attempting to conceal the mark indicating their Jewish heritage. He also highlighted that the greatest challenges posed by the new laws were faced by individuals in racially mixed marriages and their children baptized after September 15, 1935, as well as single non-Aryans. "[...] A courageous housemaid, who has received almost exclusively Catholic upbringing since birth, wrote to me saying she felt like a marked criminal when she had to go to Holy Communion with that thing on her [...]" wrote Father Richardt.[36]

Kurt Mandowski, mentioned earlier, personally wrote to Cardinal Bertram, requesting a meeting and proposing specific guidelines for organizing worship services. He suggested designating a certain number of pews for non-Aryan Catholics, holding special Masses for them, or allocating chapels where they could pray. He explained that non-Aryan Catholics "[...] experience psychological torment when entering a church labeled as a Jew, even though they have no inner connection to Judaism [...]."[37]

In the meantime, a form of pressure was exerted on the Bishop of Breslau by the Berlin Ordinary, Bishop von Preysing, who suggested the need to develop uniform solutions to address the new law across the entire German Church. Von Preysing shared questions and doubts arising from the regulations introduced in 1941. Among these, recurring questions included: should the Star of David be worn in church during services?, can Jews freely participate in prayer despite being "stigmatized" with the marking?, can they feel equal to their brothers and sisters in faith, or should they expect special rules and restrictions?, can non-Aryan Catholics mix with other worshippers when approaching Holy Communion, or should they come forward in a separate group after Communion has been distributed to Aryan Catholics?, and finally, will the Church protect Catholic Jews, and will it take an appropriate stance against their overt discrimination?

---

[36] Letter from Pfarrer Th. Richardt to Cardinal Bertram of September 25, 1941, IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[37] Letter from Kurt Israel Mandowsky to Cardinal Bertram, IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

On the other hand, von Preysing urged Cardinal Bertram to avoid any form of "special" treatment for non-Aryan Catholics. He argued that introducing "special" services would confine them to a church-based ghetto, thereby providing "ill-intentioned individuals" with a pretext to claim that secret Jewish groups were being organized under the Church's leadership. Such actions, he warned, could pave the way for further persecution of non-Aryan Catholics. In conclusion, the Bishop of Berlin emphasized the need for a united objection by German bishops to what he described as the disgraceful segregation of people. He explained that even if such a statement did not elicit the desired reaction from German authorities, it would likely have a significant impact on Aryan Catholics. It would demonstrate to them that discriminatory human laws cannot hold authority within churches.[38]

Cardinal Bertram's response to the September 1, 1941, law and the explicit requests to take a position on these regulations is best illustrated by two letters preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Wrocław. The first letter, addressed to the German bishops, shows the Wrocław hierarch cautioning against issuing hasty special instructions that could be perceived as offensive to Jewish Catholics, e.g., by the introduction of special pews, separation during the sacraments, or the creation of separate services. Bertram refers to the teachings of St. Paul in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians on the equality of all baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. However, he immediately adds that "[...] if possible, Catholics of Jewish origin may be encouraged to participate in morning prayers [...]."[39] The tone of the letter is more diplomatic than pastoral. Cardinal Bertram argues that calls for fraternal treatment and the reporting of contemptuous attitudes toward non-Aryan Catholics should only occur "[...] when disturbances are genuinely felt [...]" and further notes, "[...] one must hope that such disturbances will not occur to any significant extent [...]."[40] Later in the letter, despite his earlier remarks, the chairman of the German episcopate concedes that special prayers for non-Aryan Catholics could be organized if it turns out that their presence discourages state officials, party members, and others from attending services.

The lack of explicit opposition to state authorities might be explained by information Cardinal Bertram received from Bishop Hermann Wilhelm Berning of Osnabrück. In a letter dated October 27, 1941, Bishop Berning reported

[38] Letter from Konrad von Preysing to Cardinal Bertram, September 13, 1941, IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[39] [Adolf Bertram], Zur Polizeiverordnung vom 1. September 1941 betr. Kennzecihnung der Juden, IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[40] [Bertram].

that he had personally discussed the possibility of softening the regulations on marking Jews with the chief of police. The latter reportedly replied that submitting any petitions from the Church was futile, as "[...] there will be no exceptions to the rules [...]."[41]

It can also be surmised that Cardinal Bertram had no intention of provoking an open conflict with state authorities, which may have been the true reason behind his superficial actions regarding the regulations requiring Jewish individuals to wear special identification. This is further evidenced by his correspondence with his counterpart in Munich, Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber. In their exchange, Bertram argued that wearing the Star of David within church premises had not caused significant difficulties in the Diocese of Breslau (Wrocław). He assured that he had received no concerning reports on the matter from other German dioceses. Bertram suggested that the episcopate should focus its efforts on "[...] other, more important and far-reaching issues [...]," with the foremost priority being "[...] preventing anti-Christian and anti-clerical influences in the education of Catholic youth [...]."[42]

Even though the collected materials do not definitively prove that Cardinal Bertram's approach to the 1941 anti-Jewish laws was driven by cold political calculation and a concern for preserving the Catholic Church's position and operational capabilities, it is difficult to ascribe his actions to a genuine concern for the Jewish people. His efforts were limited to addressing issues that affected Catholics and primarily dealt with initiatives within the Church's domain.

Another issue that sheds light on the Cardinal's stance toward the Jewish population is the matter of forced separation of spouses in racially mixed marriages. On November 10, 1942, the Wrocław Curia received a document marked "strictly confidential," outlining in several points a forthcoming law. This law, described as inevitable despite lacking Hitler's signature, would facilitate divorces in cases where one spouse was of non-Aryan descent. It also authorized prosecutors to enforce the separation of spouses who "[...] refused to divorce voluntarily under the state's mandatory decree [...]."[43] Children from such marriages were allowed to choose which parent they wanted to stay with. However, only those choosing the Aryan parent "[...] were granted the right to live and work in Germany [...]", although as "[...] mixed-race individuals, they

41 [Hermann Wilhelm Berning], Letter from the Bishop of Osnabrück to Cardinal Bertram, October 27, 1941, IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

42 Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Archbishop Dr. Faulhaber of Munich, November 17, 1941, IA 25 j 12, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

43 Zur Frage zur zwangsweisen Trennung rassisch gemischter Ehen, (1942), IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

were to be sterilized [...]."[44] The document indicated plans to deport non-Aryan spouses and their children who chose to remain with them to the East.

If Cardinal Bertram read the document that his office received in November 1942, as indicated by its official seal, he would have been made aware of specific examples illustrating that the law, even though not yet officially enacted, was already resulting in deadly consequences in certain cases. In Berlin, twelve Aryan women were reportedly handed draft letters that they were instructed to pass on to their husbands, asking them to sign. These letters required each husband to formally declare that he was leaving his wife and their shared home, with a promise never to return. Attempts to refuse these demands proved futile, and according to the information provided, one man reportedly committed suicide in response. This fact was underscored by the mass arrests of non-Aryan husbands that took place in Berlin in February 1943. A protest followed, during which Aryan wives gathered en masse at Rosenstrasse, demanding the release of their Jewish husbands. This was a highly unusual occurrence given the strict ban on public gatherings at the time. The women's actions involved great risk but ultimately succeeded, as the authorities yielded to their demands, leading to the release of several thousand Jewish men.

From the documents preserved in Cardinal Bertram's correspondence, we learn of numerous tragic cases tied to the enforcement of anti-Jewish laws across the Third Reich. One such case involved a German actor who, along with two colleagues, was assigned work in Reich cultural offices under the condition that they divorce their non-Aryan wives. One of the men committed suicide along with his entire family, including his children. Another threatened to take similar action, while the third requested to be released from his post. His request was granted, but he was warned that his wife would be arrested in his absence. Another case involved the Berlin Gestapo summoning several Aryan women and ordering them to divorce their husbands. When the women refused, their husbands were immediately detained by the police.[45]

The information from the secret document that reached Cardinal Bertram's office in late 1942 quickly became a harsh reality. In response, Bertram engaged in extensive correspondence regarding these issues. From today's perspective, it is difficult to evaluate whether he did everything he could. However, it is evident that the matter was not indifferent to him. In fact, some letters suggest that he was prepared to jeopardize the Church's relationship with the state authorities to uphold the principles of the Gospel. This is supported by a petition dated

[44] Zur Frage zur zwangsweisen Trennung rassisch gemischter Ehen.
[45] Zur Frage zur zwangsweisen Trennung rassisch gemischter Ehen.

March 2, 1943, addressed to several Reich ministerial offices. In this document, the Wrocław cardinal expressed his strongest opposition to the state's actions, which, as he stated, led to the separation of over 8,000 marriages. He emphasized that, as a shepherd of the Christian people, he could not remain silent on the issue. While he tempered his stance by explaining that his views did not stem from a "[...] lack of love for Germanity [...]" or a "[...] lack of national pride [...]," he unequivocally asserted that "[...] his actions were guided by universally acknowledged principles of life. These principles imposed unshakable obligations of humanity toward members of all races, and the episcopate was firmly committed to defending these values [...]."[46] Bertram reminded his audience of the sanctity and indissolubility of marriage, demanding that the state protect this institution. He clearly stated that racial factors could not justify the dissolution of sacramental bonds.

The impact of this letter resonated in several of Cardinal Bertram's subsequent statements. This is not surprising, given that his office regularly received letters recounting the tragic consequences of enforcing these laws. While the scope of this work does not permit a comprehensive citation of all relevant documents, a few poignant examples can be highlighted. One of the most heartbreaking cases was described by Bishop Maximilian Kaller of Warmia. It concerned Auguste Rosenberg, born on June 23, 1868, who broke ties with the Jewish community in 1900, was baptized in 1910, and married a German district school doctor and dentist, Dr. Zink, in 1911. After her husband's death, she lived with her bedridden sister-in-law, Barbara, for whom she cared. Despite her advanced age (75 years) and her responsibilities as a caregiver, Auguste Zink was arrested under the new laws and sent to a concentration camp. Efforts by Aryan family members and the local bishop to secure her release were futile. Neither her age nor her German patriotism – over 40 years of "[...] open manifesting of her truly German attitude [...]"[47] and no bonds with the Jewish community – convinced the authorities to show leniency. According to records from the former Theresienstadt concentration camp museum, Auguste Zink died in the camp, and her body was cremated on May 9, 1944.[48]

---

46 Cardinal Bertram's Letter to the Ministers of Internal Affairs, Church Affairs, Justice, and the Reich Main Security Office, dated March 2, 1943, IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

47 [Maximilian Kaller], Letter from the Bishop of Warmia to Cardinal Bertram of October 5, 1943, IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

48 "Auguste Zink," Terezín Memorial, accessed January 10, 2023, https://www.pamatnik-terezin.cz/prisoner/te-zink-auguste.

Cardinal Bertram also learned of an incident in Bytom, where the mother of six-month-old twins was separated from her family.[49] In the same city, Jette Galle, née Epstein, born on November 27, 1907, who had been baptized and entered into a Catholic marriage in 1939, was the wife of a local police officer and mother of four children (the oldest eight years old, the youngest five months). She was taken from her home without any explanation.[50]

He also received reports about the "[…] harsh, oppressive, and inhumane […]"[51] conditions in the camps to which people were sent after being separated from their families. This is reflected in the extensive correspondence the cardinal conducted with various institutions in Germany. Among others, he appealed to Hermann Göring for intervention. A letter to the Reichsmarschall dated February 2, 1944, was written in a rather cautious tone. It did not contain outright opposition or explicit demands but instead included a plea to halt actions that, as the Bishop of Breslau argued, were "[…] unjust to countless members of German dioceses […]."[52] The letter also expressed the deepest respect for its recipient.[53]

In this context, it is worth noting the arguments Cardinal Bertram used in his letters to various German offices. Pleading for attention to the plight of prisoners deported from Germany and placed in extermination or concentration camps for non-Aryans, he argued that "[…] creating appropriate living conditions in these places would not go against the interests of the German state. On the contrary, it could improve Germany's reputation and help establish a 'good name for Germany' both domestically and abroad […]."[54] The style and tone of Bertram's correspondence can be understood through a passage from one of his letters:

> […] Through the undersigned chairman of the Bishops' Conference in Fulda, we most humbly submit a request to the highest competent offices of the Reich

[49] Zur Frage der rassischen Mischehe, (1943), IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.
[50] [Heinrich Müller], Letter from the Rector of the Bytom Chapter of the Sacred Heart to Cardinal Bertram, November 19, 1943, IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.
[51] Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Reich Minister of Internal Affairs and the Reich Security Main Office of November 17, 1943, IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.
[52] Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Herman Göring, (1944), IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.
[53] Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Herman Göring.
[54] Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Reich Minister of Internal Affairs and the Reich Security Main Office of November 17, 1943.

> government to kindly conduct a thorough examination of the living conditions and dependencies in these camps […].[55]

The words "most humbly submit" and the appeal for the government to "kindly" address the issue suggest that the German cardinal was not inclined to jeopardize relations with state authorities through his interventions.

The letter issued by the bishops during the Fulda Conference concerning the situation of mixed marriages, signed by Cardinal Bertram, may come as a surprise. As indicated by correspondence conducted by the hierarch during the same period, he did not consider it appropriate to address the government on behalf of the entire episcopate. Instead, he directed parishes under his jurisdiction in Bytom to submit reports on the enforcement of laws in their respective areas.[56] After analyzing the submitted documents, he concluded that the data was so sparse and insufficiently verified that it could not serve as a basis for addressing the highest offices of the Third Reich on behalf of the entire episcopate.[57] He explained that although the reports reaching him appeared credible, they were of a private nature and often provided by individuals under emotional duress. In Cardinal Bertram's view, as chairman of the Bishops' Conference, he could not advocate for more humane treatment in every individual case because his authority to make such appeals would likely be questioned. Instead, he placed the responsibility for intervention on individual parish priests in areas where concerning incidents were reported.[58]

Why, then, did Cardinal Bertram decide to sign several letters to the highest offices of the Third Reich? One might assume that pressure from other clergy, such as the Bishop of Berlin and his supporters, as well as public opinion – evidenced by the extensive correspondence on the separation of racially mixed marriages – prevented him from remaining entirely inactive. However, there is little evidence to suggest that he drew upon teachings, such as those found in the letters of St. Paul, to advocate for all individuals persecuted by the Nazi regime. The correspondence paints a picture of a church politician more concerned with the position and operational conditions of the Church as an institution.

---

55 Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Reich Minister of Internal Affairs and the Reich Security Main Office of November 17, 1943.

56 Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Eight Parishes in Bytom and Bytom area of November 14, 1943, IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

57 Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Bishop Osnabrück of November 19, 1943, IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

58 Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Countess Gabriele Magnis of December 4, 1943, IA 25 z 136, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

If he supported individuals of Jewish origin, it was only in cases where they had abandoned their religion and converted to Christianity. He believed he lacked the authority to advocate on behalf of all the persecuted. Furthermore, the German hierarch understood that many of the reports he received could contain false information or serve as provocations intended to sow discord between the Church and the state. This likely explains his cautious approach to such information and why many letters, such as the anonymous letter from a Jewish individual discussed in this study, went unanswered.

Cardinal Bertram's cautious responses to the persecution carried out by the Germans against certain national groups are reflected in his letter to the Bishop of Osnabrück. There, he explicitly states that "[...] neither the cause itself nor the position of the episcopate is served by raising demands based on unreliable information from an untrustworthy source [...]."[59]

Conclusion or Cardinal Bertram's Letters to the Vermacht

Historians are divided in their assessment of Cardinal Bertram's stance toward Hitler's Nazi policies and the actions undertaken by the Germans during World War II. Their opinions often vary widely, ranging from those who argue that he was a critic of the Third Reich to those who directly accuse him of submission to the Führer.

In conclusion, we also present source materials indicating that Bertram's actions were motivated less by diplomacy, church politics, or concern for the welfare of clergy and lay Catholics in Germany, and more by a belief in the validity of Hitler's war efforts. This is evident in letters addressed to Wehrmacht soldiers fighting on various fronts.

In nearly all the texts he wrote, often labeled as "personal correspondence," the Cardinal expressed a spiritual bond with those to whom he wrote. He believed they were "[...] sacrificing their blood and lives on the battlefield for the salvation of the nation and the homeland [...],"[60] These texts lack any calls for adherence to human rights. Instead, they are written in a tone that encourages fighting the enemy, whom the Cardinal occasionally described as "the spirit of Bolshevism."

[59] Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Bishop Osnabrück of November 19, 1943.

[60] [Adolf Bertram], Segensgruß den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of June 29, 1941, IA 25 a 93, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Particular attention should be paid to the comparisons and examples the hierarch referenced. In a letter dated November 1, 1942, he informed soldiers that "[...] he prayed for them in October at the tomb of St. Hedwig in Trzebnica, recalling the life sacrifice made by her son, Henry the Pious in 1241, fighting to save the Church and the homeland from eastern hordes [...]."[61] He added that the primary intention of his rosary prayers was assistance in the struggle against Bolshevik enemies. In the same correspondence, he evoked the image of the victorious Battle of Lepanto with the Turks, asserting that "[...] the Christian army was supported precisely by the prayer of the rosary [...]."[62]

A few months later, in a letter from March 1943, Cardinal Bertram once again compared Wehrmacht soldiers to Henry the Pious. They, he wrote, "[...] sacrifice their blood and lives for the salvation of the nation and the defense of Germany against Bolshevism, which is hostile to God [...]."[63] He argued that their call to military service was an expression of Divine Providence and that their mission, given by God, was to ensure that Germany remained a truly Christian nation. He held up the son of St. Hedwig as an example, asserting that Henry II "[...] gave his life in the Battle of Legnica to save Christian Germany from the pagan Tatars [...]."[64] Furthermore, he added that "[...] Duke Henry II's decision to fight and his sacrifice of life to save the freedom and Christianity of Germany was one of those acts of love we call a heroic apostolic deed [...]."[65]

Addressing those on the front lines, the Bishop of Breslau frequently used words such as "sacrifice," "devotion," and "giving one's life for others."[66] He assured them that the crosses marking the graves of those who died in the war were signs that these were the graves of heroes who died for Christian Germany, and evidence that their lives had most fully embodied the words of Christ: "No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's life for one's friends." He also reminded them that, in moments of fear and sorrow, every soldier had the right to hear the words of Jesus: "And behold, I am with you always, until the end of the age."[67]

---

61 [Adolf Bertram], Den leben Bekannten im Wermachtsdienste herzlischen November – Segensgruß aus der schlesischen Metropole of November 1, 1942, IA 25 a 93, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław

62 [Bertram].

63 [Adolf Bertram], Segensgruß den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of March 1, 1943, IA 25 a 93, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław

64 [Bertram].

65 [Bertram].

66 [Adolf Bertram], Adventsgruß na liebe Bekannte im Wehresdienste of December 1, 1944, IA 25 a 93, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

67 [Bertram], Segensgruß den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of March 1, 1943.

Cardinal Bertram also referred to the mental strain and emotional suffering endured by German soldiers as a form of sacrifice. He claimed to understand this from the letters he received from them. He compared them to the disciples on the road to Emmaus, who were disheartened and confused after Jesus' crucifixion, assuring them that in such moments, God quietly draws near to strengthen and reassure them of His presence. Once again, the Cardinal emphasized to those fighting on the front lines that God was with them.[68] In moments of despair among those at the front, the Cardinal encouraged the practice of spiritual communion, which he described as an inner longing for union with the Eucharistic Christ. He explained that this practice was a favored devotion of early Christian martyrs during times of persecution when they were killed and had no access to the sacraments.[69]

We reference the above writings of Cardinal Bertram for several key reasons. While it can be stated with considerable certainty that the plight of the Jews during the war was not reflected in the correspondence the cardinal had with Nazi authorities, we were unable to definitively ascertain his stance toward Hitler and his supporters. The final segment of the German cardinal's correspondence presented here, particularly his overuse of biblical rhetoric, historical imagery, and theological arguments, combined with a lack of evidence suggesting concern for the victims' plight, largely demonstrates that his primary focus remained on the welfare and security of the Church as an institution and on avoiding confrontation with the Nazi authorities. It is difficult to find any reference to love of neighbor or concern for the persecuted and murdered innocent individuals.

The information he had, even if it raised doubts, should have compelled him to verify it. Casting doubt on the reports provided by a deeply undercover informant who accessed significant documents from the highest levels of government that shed new light on Nazi policies toward specific groups of innocent people can be interpreted as a deliberate dismissal of information that might have stirred his priestly conscience toward concrete action.

The lack of reaction to war crimes, encouragement of German soldiers in battle, refusal to objectively evaluate Nazi Germany's policies and their tragic consequences for other nations, including Poland, are just some of the factors that make his stance difficult to accept.

---

[68] [Adolf Bertram], Ein herzlischer Ostergruß den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of 1942, IA 25 a 93, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[69] [Adolf Bertram], Den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of June 20, 1943, IA 25 a 93, Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

One potential explanation (though not justification) for his actions may lie in his correspondence with the Reich Minister for Church Affairs. On October 24, 1944, the minister congratulated Cardinal Bertram on the 30th anniversary of his service in Breslau. In expressing gratitude for the acknowledgment of his jubilee, the cardinal replied:

> […] In the letter inaugurating my service in Breslau in 1914, I stated in a few sentences about the divinely established origin of state and ecclesiastical authority how much I value the cooperative understanding between state and church authorities and mutual loyalty. I concluded with the words: "God desires harmony between Church and state." From this spirit comes the greeting I extend to the state authorities from this holy place as I take office.[70]

The cardinal ended his letter with the declaration: "Yours most devotedly, Adolf Cardinal Bertram."[71]

An analysis of the available documents suggests that the actions of the Wrocław hierarch rendered him a "silent bishop," adhering to the principle of avoiding conflict with state authorities. However, we do not claim the right to make an unequivocal judgment about the German cardinal's attitude toward the Holocaust. A full assessment of Cardinal Bertram requires in-depth studies covering his correspondence with the Holy See, other bishops, Third Reich authorities, and private individuals. The letters we have obtained only confirm that this German church hierarch was aware of the extermination of Jews. This study, however, is intended to be a voice in the discussion of whether he made proper use of this knowledge and to contribute to the expansion of knowledge about the Holocaust.

Bibliography

Adamiec, Jacek, Mariia Antoniv, and Szymon Bieniek. *Archaeological Geophysics Research Within the Framework of the Project "Cardinal Bertram and the Situation of the Jews During World War II"*. Warsaw, 2024. Computer printout in the possession of the authors.

"Auguste Zink." Terezín Memorial. Accessed January 10, 2023. https://www.pamatnik-terezin.cz/prisoner/te-zink-auguste.

[70] [Adolf Bertram], Letter to the Minister for Church Affairs of the Third Reich of October 27, 1944, R5101/21802, Bundesarchiv.

[71] [Bertram].

Bericht über die Abwanderung der Juden. (Evakuierung). (1942). IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[Berning, Hermann Wilhelm]. Letter from the Bishop of Osnabrück to Cardinal Bertram, October 27, 1941. IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[Bertram, Adolf]. Adventsgruß na liebe Bekannte im Wehresdienste of December 1, 1944. IA 25 a 93. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[Bertram, Adolf]. Ein herzlischer Ostergruß den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of 1942. IA 25 a 93. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[Bertram, Adolf]. Den leben Bekannten im Wermachtsdienste herzlischen November – Segensgruß aus der schlesischen Metropole of November 1, 1942. IA 25 a 93. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[Bertram, Adolf]. Letter to the Minister for Church Affairs of the Third Reich of October 27, 1944. R5101/21802. Bundesarchiv.

[Bertram, Adolf]. Den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of June 20, 1943. IA 25 a 93. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[Bertram, Adolf]. Segensgruß den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of June 29, 1941. IA 25 a 93. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[Bertram, Adolf]. Segensgruß den lieben Bekannten im Heeresdienste of March 1, 1943. IA 25 a 93. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

[Bertram, Adolf]. Zur Polizeiverordnung vom 1. September 1941 betr. Kennzecihnung der Juden. IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Archbishop Dr. Faulhaber of Munich, November 17, 1941. IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Bishop Osnabrück of November 19, 1943. IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Countess Gabriele Magnis of December 4, 1943. IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Eight Parishes in Bytom and Bytom area of November 14, 1943. IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Herman Göring. (1944). IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Cardinal Bertram's Letter to Reich Minister of Internal Affairs and the Reich Security Main Office of November 17, 1943. IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Cardinal Bertram's Letter to the Ministers of Internal Affairs, Church Affairs, Justice, and the Reich Main Security Office, dated March 2, 1943. IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Goebbels, Joseph. *1939–1943*. Vol. 2 of *Dzienniki* [Diaries], edited and translated by Eugeniusz Cezary Król. Warszawa: Świat Książki, 2013.

[Goebbels, Joseph]. Tagebucheintrag vom 22. August 1942. TJG-5485. Budesarchiv.

[Goebbels, Joseph]. Tagebucheintrag vom 25. August 1940. TJG-4736. Budesarchiv.

Grądzka-Rejak, Martyna. "*Fala płynie z tobołami na plecach, w rękach*... Zagłada Żydów z Mielca [The Wave Flows with Bundles on Its Back, in Its Hands... The Holocaust of the Jews of Mielec]." Przystanek Historia, March 12, 2021. Accessed January 10, 2023. https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/tematy/zydzi/79697,Fala-plynie-z-tobolami-naplecach-w-rekach-Zaglada-Zydow-z-Mielca.html.

Hinkel, Sascha. *Adolf Kardinal Bertram*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen 117. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010.

Jonca, Karol. "Kardynał Adolf Bertram wobec ideologii totalitarnych (1930–1945) [Cardinal Adolf Bertram and Totalitarian Ideologies (1930–1945)]." In *Ludzie śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego* [Figures of the Silesian Catholic Church], edited by Krystyn Matwijowski, 87–104. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1992.

Jonca, Karol. "Kardynał Bertram a nazizm [Cardinal Bertram and Nazism]." *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*. No. 2214. *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* [Studies on Fascism and Nazi Crimes] 24 (2001): 293–323.

Jonca, Karol. "Kościół katolicki na Śląsku wobec problemu oznakowania niemieckich Żydów (1941 r.) [The Catholic Church in Silesia and the Problem of Marking German Jews (1941)]." *Studia Śląskie* [Silesian Studies] 41 (1983): 82–113.

Jonca, Karol. "Niemieckie kościoły wobec polityki rasistowskiej NSDAP na Śląsku (1933–1945) [German Churches and the Racial Policy of the NSDAP in Silesia (1933–1945)]." In *Studia z historii państwa, prawa i idei: Prace dedykowane profesorowi Janowi Malarczykowi* [Studies on the History of State, Law, and Ideas: Essays Dedicated to Professor Jan Malarczyk], edited by Artur Korobowicz and Henryk Olszewski, 123–40. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1997.

[Kaller, Maximilian]. Letter from the Bishop of Warmia to Cardinal Bertram of October 5, 1943. IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Krempa, Andrzej. *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich* [The Holocaust of the Jews of Mielec]. 2nd ed. Biblioteka Muzeum Regionalnego w Mielcu 33. Mielec: Muzeum Regionalne, 2013.

"Lasek Berdechowski [Berdechowski Forest]." Encyklopedia miasta Mielca. Accessed January 10, 2023. https://encyklopedia.mielec.pl/?p=66.

Letter from Adolf Hitler to Cardinal Bertram. (1940). IA 25 d 15. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Letter from Emmanuel Golletz to Cardinal Bertram. (1941). IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Letter from Konrad von Preysing to Cardinal Bertram, September 13, 1941. IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Letter from Kurt Israel Mandowsky to Cardinal Bertram. IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Letter from Pfarrer Th. Richardt to Cardinal Bertram of September 10, 1941. IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Letter from Pfarrer Th. Richardt to Cardinal Bertram of September 25, 1941. IA 25 j 12. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Letter... Jews from Breslau, Germany (Wroclaw, Poland). 1943. IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

"Margarete Sommer." Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand. Accessed January 10, 2023. https://www.gdw-berlin.de/en/recess/biographies/index-of-persons/biographie/view-bio/s/ margarete-sommer.

Mommsen, Hans. "Ustawy norymberskie [Nuremberg Laws]." HistMag, March 29, 2020. Accessed January 10, 2023. https://histmag.org/Ustawy-norymberskie-20413#.

[Müller, Heinrich]. Letter from the Rector of the Bytom Chapter of the Sacred Heart to Cardinal Bertram, November 19, 1943. IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Phayer, Michael. *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Ploch, Gregor. "'Troppo buon tedesco' ('za bardzo niemiecki')? Kardynał Adolf Bertram a kwestia reorganizacji Kościoła na Górnym Śląsku (1919–1922) [*Troppo buon tedesco (too German)?* Cardinal Adolf Bertram and the Reorganisation of the Church in Upper Silesia (1919–1922)]." *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* [Silesian Historical and Theological Studies] 55, no. 2 (2023): 149–75. https://doi.org/10.31261/ssht.2022.55.2.03.

Reichhold, Anselm. *Die deutsche katholische Kirche zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus (1933–1945)*. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1992.

Sadowski, Mirosław. "Korespondencja kardynała Adolfa Bertrama z Adolfem Hitlerem (1933–1944) [Correspondence Between Cardinal Adolf Bertram and Adolf Hitler (1933–1944)]." In *Ludzie śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego* [Figures of the Silesian Catholic Church], edited by Krystyn Matwijowski, 113–27. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1992.

Schewick, Burkhard van. "Kościół katolicki a narodowosocjalistyczna polityka rasowa [The Catholic Church and the National Socialist Racial Policy]." In *Kościół, katolicy i narodowy socjalizm* [The Church, Catholics, and National Socialism], edited by Klaus Gotto and Konrad Repgen, translated by Zygmunt Zieliński, 71–94. Warszawa: Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, 1983.

[Scholder, Klaus]. Ein Requiem für Hitler. (1980). IA 25 a 106. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Spector, Shmuel, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and During the Holocaust*. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001.

Spicer, Kevin P. *Księża Hitlera: Kler katolicki i narodowy socjalizm* [Hitler's Priests: The Catholic Clergy and National Socialism]. Translated by Marek Chojnacki. Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2024.

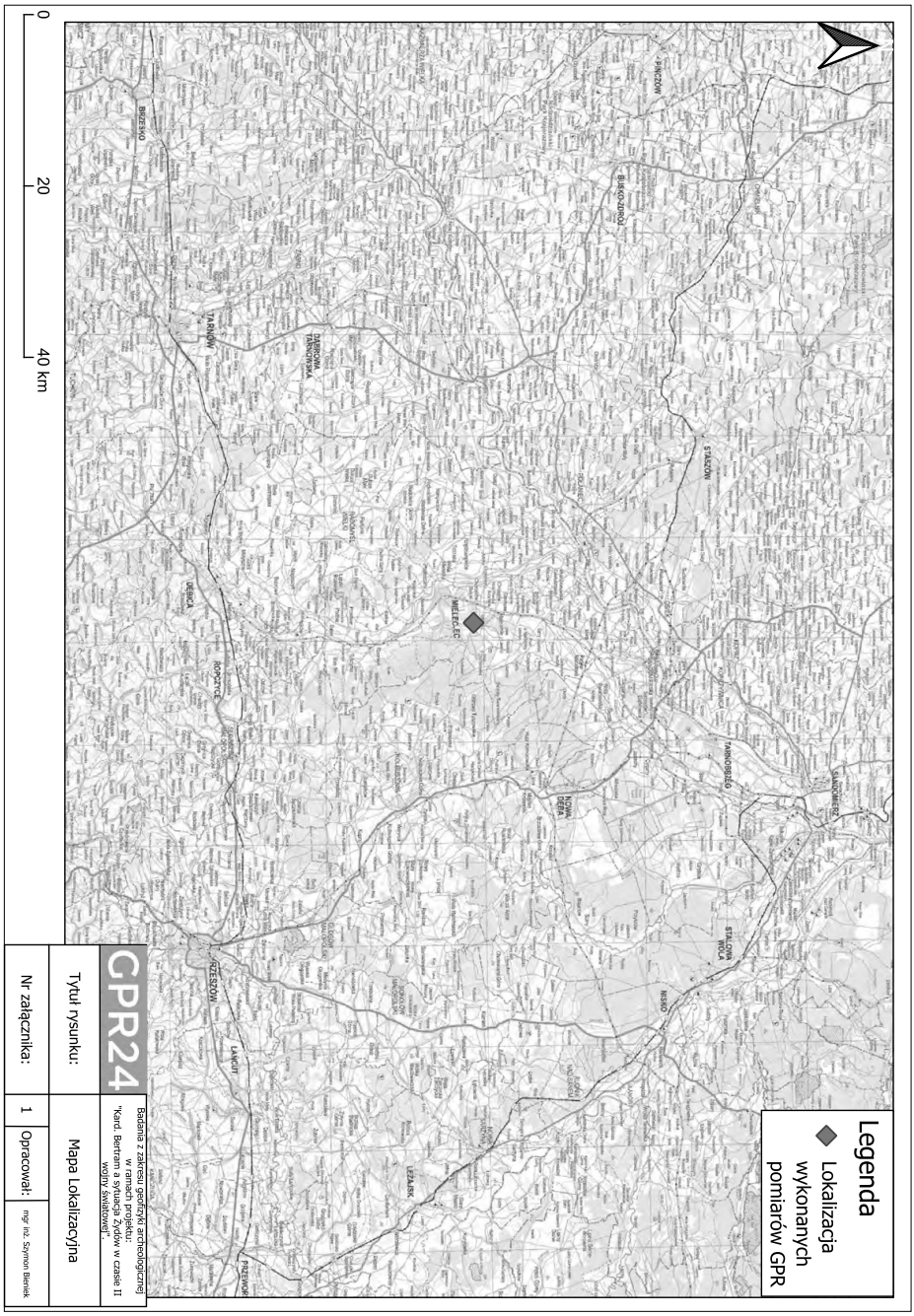
Zur Frage der rassischen Mischehe. (1943). IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

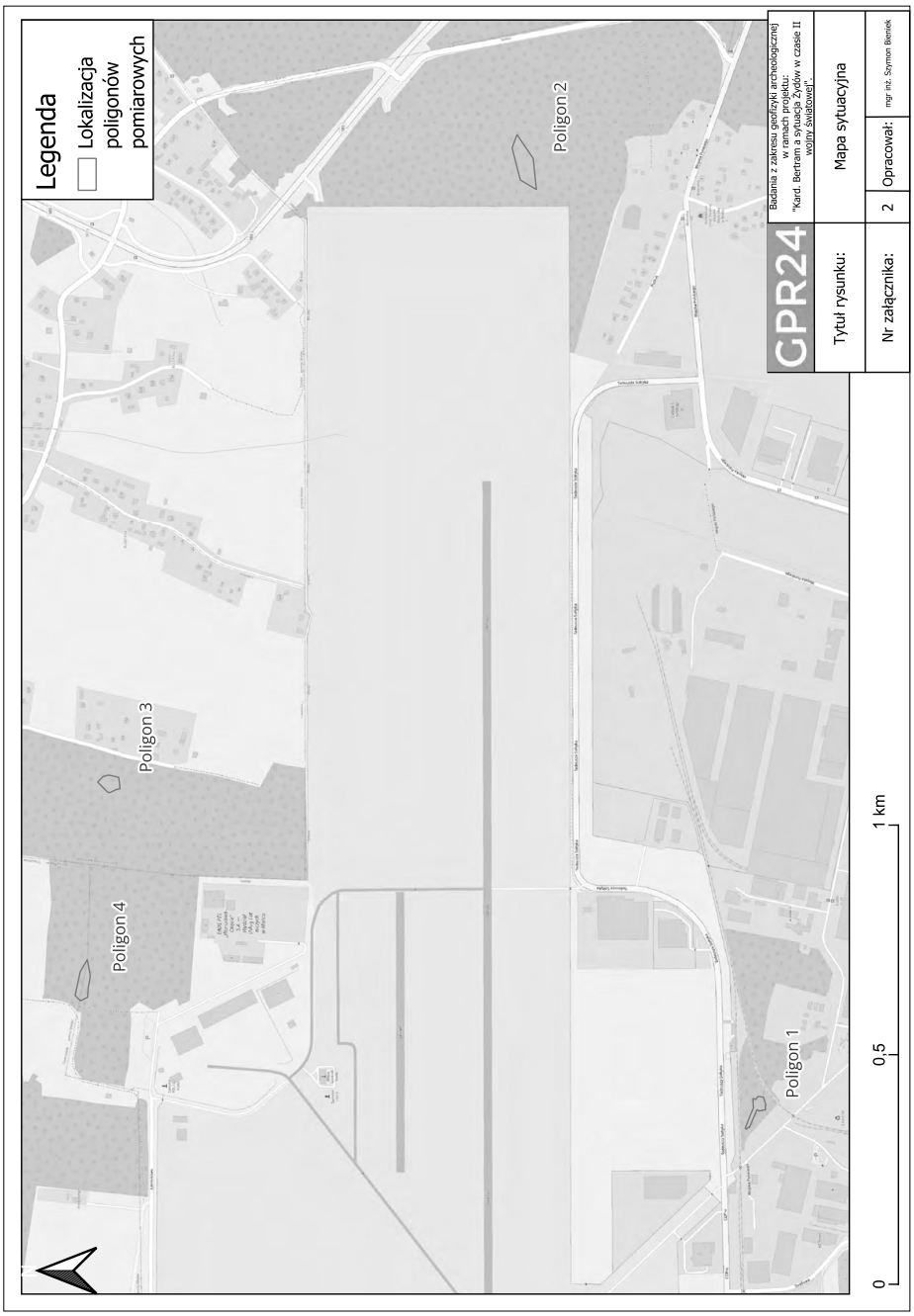
Zur Frage zur zwangsweisen Trennung rassisch gemischter Ehen. (1942). IA 25 z 136. Archdiocesan Archives in Wrocław.

Rafał Kowalski (Dr. Hab.) – presbyter of the Archdiocese of Wrocław, post-doctoral degree in theological sciences (pastoral theology - homiletics) (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin in Lublin), vice-rector for promotion and development of the Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław, head of the Department of Religious Communication at the Institute of Social Sciences of the PWT in Wrocław, director of the PWT Publishing House (2020–2023), press spokesman of the Wrocław Archdiocese (2014–2024). Runner – marathon runner.

Katarzyna Pawlak Weiss (Dr.) – Doctor of Humanities in History. She has worked, among others, in such institutions as: the Gross-Rosen Museum in Wałbrzych, the Institute of National Remembrance – Branch in Wrocław, and currently at the Lower Silesian Center for Teacher Training in Wrocław. University lecturer since 2002, she has conducted classes, among others, at the Academy of Land Forces in Wrocław. Since 2025, associated with the Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław. Author of many books on historical topics.

Appendix


Legenda
Lokalizacja wykonanych pomiarów GPR
0
20
40 km
GPR24
Badania z zakresu geofizyki archeologicznej w ramach projektu: "Kard. Bertram a sytuacja Żydów w czasie II wojny światowej"
Tytuł rysunku:
Mapa Lokalizacyjna
Nr załącznika:
1
Opracował:
mgr inż. Szymon Bieniek


Legenda
Lokalizacja poligonów pomiarowych
Poligon 1
Poligon 2
Poligon 3
Poligon 4
0
0,5
1 km
GPR24
Badania z zakresu geofizyki archeologicznej w ramach projektu: "Kard. Bertram a sytuacja Żydów w czasie II wojny światowej"
Tytuł rysunku:
Mapa sytuacyjna
Nr załącznika:
2
Opracował:
mgr inż. Szymon Bernik