

Mary Berg's Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary

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כל הזכויות שמורות למחברת – אין לעשות שימוש מסחרי במאמר זה או בחלקים ממנו

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On April 19, 1944, thousands gathered at the Warsaw Synagogue in New York and marched to the city hall in commemoration of the first anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. They carried signs reading: "We appeal to the conscience of America to help save those Jews in Poland who can yet be saved," "Avenge the blood of the Polish ghetto" and "Three Million Polish Jews have been murdered by the Nazis! Help us rescue the survivors." Heading the marchers that day were the Wattenberg family, Shya and Lena and their daughters Mary (Miriam) and her younger sister Ann.<sup>1</sup>

The Wattenbergs had arrived in the United States as repatriates only four weeks earlier on the exchange ship Gripsholm. Mary had brought a diary of their experiences in the Warsaw Ghetto with her. She began to rewrite her abbreviated notes immediately and in October and December of 1944, S.L. Shneiderman<sup>2</sup> published selected pages from the diary in English translation in the periodical The Contemporary Jewish Record. The diary was titled Pages from a Warsaw Diary and the author's name was shortened to Berg.<sup>3</sup> In February, Mary Berg's full work, Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary, was published by L.B. Fisher in New York with Norbert Guterman and Sylvia Glass as translators.<sup>4</sup>

In the foreword to a special edition of the diary, Berg and Shneiderman's purpose in publishing her diary is clearly outlined. Joseph Thon, the President of the National

Organization of Polish Jews which sponsored a special edition of the diary, explained:

The leaders of the United Nations have declared that they would resort to poison gas and bacteriological warfare only if the Germans used these inhuman methods first. The Germans have used these methods to slaughter millions of Jews in Treblinka, Majdanek, Oswiecim, and other camps. But even today the civilized world does not fully realize this fact. It is therefore our duty to make known the horrible truth, to publicize documents and eye-witness accounts that reveal it beyond any doubt.<sup>5</sup>

It is important to note that Berg's diary was published before the war was over, before people in the United States and abroad and even Mary herself could have known the enormity of the German crimes and the details of the Final Solution. Moreover, we should remember that as a witness to the German crimes against humanity, Mary Berg had arrived in New York before the summer of 1944 when the Hungarian Jews, the last of the European communities, were gassed at Auschwitz.

Of course, Berg was not the only witness of these events to testify. Initial selections of her diary were published at nearly the same time Jan Karski's report, "My Visit to the Warsaw Ghetto," appeared in the American Mercury magazine. Karski, a courier for the Polish underground, had visited Warsaw in 1942 and met with three of the ghetto leaders. He reported on their conversation:

The first thing they made clear to me ...was the absolute hopelessness of their predicament. For the Polish Jews, this was the end of a world. There was no possible escape for them or for their fellows... 'Do you mean that every one of those presumably deported was actually killed?' 'Every last one.'

One of the Bund leaders had told him: "The Germans are not trying to enslave us as they do other people; we are being systematically murdered."<sup>6</sup> Like Karski, Berg intended to

inform America of the Nazi atrocities against the Jews of Europe.

However, Berg's diary is a full and detailed account of these experiences, from the ghetto's establishment through the first deportations July through September of 1942. It is the first published eyewitness testimony from an inhabitant of the ghetto and the first account to testify that gas was being used to kill the Jews at Treblinka. In a preface to the diary, Shneiderman had pointed out that:

At some future time, we hope, chronicles hidden by writers in the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto will be discovered. Other survivors may be found to give additional testimony to this heroic episode of the war...for the time being, Mary Berg's diary is the only existing eye-witness record.<sup>7</sup>

Fortunately, the diaries and chronicles of Adam Czerniakow, Janusz Korczak, Chaim Kaplan and Emanuel Ringelblum who perished in the Holocaust and of the ghetto policeman Stanislav Adler who killed himself in 1946 are available to us today in English,<sup>8</sup> along with many memoir accounts by the survivors of the Warsaw ghetto. Since only one per cent of the ghetto inhabitants survived the war, even accounts written after 1945 remain rare.

Berg's unique contribution was already recognized in reviews during the winter of 1945. The New Yorker reviewer wrote: "This is a grim book, full of darkness and horror, and, because of the picture it gives of the courage and humanity of the people of the Warsaw ghetto, it is also a brave and inspiring one."<sup>9</sup> The Kirkus Review called it "a moving record of terrorism"<sup>10</sup> and the New York Times recommended it as reading for everyone "without qualification."<sup>11</sup> The Saturday Review concluded that Berg's diary notes "bear the imprint of sincerity and authenticity, and apparently are not 'glamorized' by editorial treatment."<sup>12</sup>

A Hebrew translation of the diary also appeared in Tel Aviv in 1945 and in 1946 an Italian edition was published in Rome. A French translation came out in Paris in 1947<sup>13</sup>. A Polish translation also appeared in Poland in 1983 on the fortieth anniversary of the ghetto uprising.<sup>14</sup> Today, Mary Berg's diary is listed in the bibliography of many important works on the Holocaust available to scholars and students, including Lucy's Dawidowicz's War against the Jews, Nora Levin's The Holocaust. The Destruction of European Jewry 1933-1945 and Yisrael Gutman's The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943. Martin Gilbert's recent study The Holocaust draws extensive quotes from the diary in discussing the Warsaw Ghetto.<sup>15</sup> However, the diary has not been re-issued in English since 1945. Consequently, it is difficult to locate and therefore not generally used in Holocaust education today.

Of course, we value the diary for the rarity of its testimony alone. However, a closer study also establishes the uniqueness of Berg's testimony, quite aside from the fact that the diary was the first one in print. First of all, the other diary and chronicle accounts were usually written by adults, men such as Ringelblum and Czerniakow who had reached maturity and were considered successful members of the community. In the ghetto, they realized the hopelessness of their situation and recorded the events around them as a chronicle for the future.

Kaplan felt this strong commitment to record what he saw happening. He explained in one entry:

I sense within me the magnitude of this hour, and my responsibility toward it...continuing this diary to the very end of my physical and spiritual strength is a historical mission which must not be abandoned.<sup>16</sup>

They had little hope that they would survive, so they wrote public accounts to be read after the war as testimony of the destruction of the Jewish community.

Unlike these accounts, Berg's diary is that of a young girl, who was fifteen when the Germans attacked Poland. Alvin Rosenfeld in his work A Double Dying concludes that diaries of the Holocaust written by children or young adolescents "seem almost to constitute a distinctive subgenre of the literature of incarceration."

This is in part because children look in wonderment at the violence of the adult world and at the world's apparent indifference. He points out "a heavy premonition of human finitude is usually no part of childhood awareness," but these diarists became increasingly aware that, although they could indulge in dreams of adulthood, in fact the future might not include them.<sup>17</sup> In a July 1941 entry, Berg expressed this passionately, writing with bitterness:

Where are you foreign correspondents? Why don't you come here and describe the sensational scenes of the ghetto? No doubt you don't want to spoil your appetite...Is the whole world poisoned? Is there no justice anywhere? Will no one hear our cries of despair?<sup>18</sup>

Rosenfeld explains that, unlike the adult diarists and chroniclers, these young people wrote mainly for private reasons. Often, they wrote, like Anne Frank, for companionship and for consolation. He suggests that their principal purpose was to "exorcise their unwanted sense of dread, to find some means of coping with the unexpected but very tangible fearfulness all around." They needed to "control (their) experience in a measurable space"<sup>19</sup> and as children mature, they typically seek privacy as a way of learning about themselves and of defining themselves as individuals.

Berg shared her diary entries with friends in the ghetto. After a party when friends from Lodz helped celebrate her seventeenth birthday, she wrote:

We spent a few pleasant hours together, transported into a completely different world...We talked a great deal and discussed our plans for after the war. I had to read several passages from my diary, which everyone praised, and several of my friends brought me nicely bound little notebooks continue my journal.<sup>20</sup>

Thus the diary had a social function and Mary's friends must have felt it a collective effort that expressed their youthful confrontation with horror and deprivation.

In many of the entries, Mary recorded the experiences of her friends which she learned either from what they told her or later from letters she received in internment. In the first months of ghetto life, Berg realized they all had begun to change, explaining that it is "that precocious war maturity which is so characteristic of so many of us. It is really a psychological rather than a biological maturity."<sup>21</sup>

Rosenfeld suggests that in diaries and other Holocaust writing "the individual cry is always recognizable, but as it echoes across a continent it is the assemblage of pain and rebellion that impresses itself upon us more than anything else."<sup>22</sup> As the experiences of the ghetto become more bitter, Mary knew her mother's being an American citizen gave her at least a greater chance of survival than her friends and she called the American flag on their door "that miraculous sign."<sup>23</sup> At first Mary wrote for her own memory and comfort. But mature beyond her years, she may also have begun to write about her relatives and youthful friends for other purposes as well.

Eventually she began recording ghetto scenes about her as an adult chronicler or witness. In February 1941, standing at the window and watching a snowfall, she dreamed of "a sled driving over the snow, of freedom." With adult understanding, she wrote:

For the time being I am still warm and have food, but all around me there is so much misery and starvation that I am beginning to be very unhappy...sometimes I quickly snatch my coat and go out into the street. I

gaze at the faces of the passers-by, blue with cold. I try to learn by heart the look of the homeless women wrapped in rags and of the children with chapped and frozen cheeks.<sup>24</sup>

Marlene Heinemann in her study Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust explains that: "Holocaust memoirs are also often affected by differences in the present time situation of the writer, which help to determine how the past will be recreated."<sup>25</sup> Berg's work has a freshness, a naivete that cannot be found in memoirs where the authors frequently try to remember or recreate their childhood experiences. She also did not write the diary with the intent to publish as most memoirists do. While the diary was eventually published to inform America about the destruction of European Jews, this was apparently not her conscious purpose.

In terms of perspective, the reader also must recognize that in the ghetto Mary was considered an "American." Although the family's hope often waivered and their rescue was never a certainty or at times really even probable, the possibility remained. Mary had at least the hope of being saved, whereas her friends did not. This undoubtedly made her an objective, careful observer of ghetto life, but at the same time her family was spared the harshest of ghetto experiences.

As a young girl, she was also protected by her family and friends more than a young boy might have been. However, when her boy friend Romek said to her condescendingly: "Little, girl, it is good that you don't understand too much. I am happy that you don't suffer as I do," she wrote: "Tears choked me, because I do know and understand everything, but I am powerless and cannot help anyone."<sup>26</sup> If anything, this made her more intent as an observer and more determined to be independent in her outlook.

Mary began her account on October 10, 1939 which was her fifteen birthday, although she had apparently kept a diary before. She wrote that day:

Today I am fifteen years old. I feel very old and lonely...I have not written my diary for such a long time that I wonder if I shall ever catch up with all that has happened. This is a good moment to resume it. I spend most of my time at home. Everyone is afraid to go out. The Germans are here.<sup>27</sup>

At that time, she was with her family in Warsaw. They had decided to flee from Lodz in early September, as the Germans broke through the Polish lines.

They fled on bicycles, travelling through countryside already ravaged by the Germans. Mary's father was a prosperous art dealer who owned his own shop in Lodz, so the sisters had grown up in a comfortable, pleasant home. This was their first experience with devastation and death. Weakened by hunger, her mother had collapsed on the road. Horrified, Mary began to cry and her sister Ann remained standing still in the road as if in a daze.<sup>28</sup>

Being a young girl, rather than a public figure, Mary recorded only those experiences which she and her family encountered, but free from adult responsibilities, she may also have had more time and opportunity to bear witness of daily life on the streets of Warsaw. As a Jew in German-occupied Poland, these experiences were soon defined by Nazi racial policy. The first atrocity she witnessed was in November after the family had returned to Lodz to find their home and shop looted. From behind the curtain of their apartment, she witnessed for the first time German brutality against Polish Jews.

A man whom she recognized as Jewish was standing on the street curb when a German soldier approached him. After giving him an order, which the man apparently did not carry out, the soldier and several others began beating him. The Germans then tied his feet to the back of a cab and ordered

the driver to start. The stones of the pavement were dyed red with blood, as the cab went down the street.<sup>29</sup>

Resolutely, Mary reported, a few weeks later that "moreover everyone wonders whether the Nazis will even let him live much longer."<sup>30</sup>

With youthful uncertainty, however, her mood often shifted. One minute, she confessed to knowing that the chances that any of them would survive was minimal. In the next entry, she enjoyed being with her friends and with them continued to plan for the future. One day she wrote: "...but who worries about what will happen in eight months? By then the war may be over."<sup>31</sup> But then in a few weeks, she admitted to herself again that "...there is no hope for anyone within the ghetto walls."<sup>32</sup>

On the whole, the diary is a strong testimony to the vitality and perserverance of the human spirit, even on the brink of disaster. The Library Journal review of the diary in February 1945 remarked: "This is not a pleasant book, neither is it entirely depressing for the course of this young person shines through the Nazi atrocities."<sup>33</sup> The Horn Book reviewer also concluded that: "This is a grim, unpleasant record, but it is shot through with the heroism of youth. Our young people need it to show them in human terms what oppression has meant and to give them a stake in the peace to come."<sup>34</sup>

In September 1940, before the ghetto was sealed off from the rest of Warsaw, Berg, with a group of young friends from Lodz, formed a theater group to raise relief funds. Calling themselves the Lodz Artistic Group, or the LZA in Polish abbreviation, this group acquired its own theater and gave musical performances nearly every week. Mary soon grew to enjoy performing and sang English songs for the ghetto audience, ignoring the prohibition against public use of French or English.

Although the first performances were quite successful and the friends enjoyed being together, it could not keep

their minds from the ghetto's omnipresent oppression and horror. Realistically, Mary wrote:

Our little group is having a lively time and is finding preparations for the show absorbing. But one look outside the window is enough to awaken us to reality. At any time one can see tangible evidence of the terror that reigns in the city. The man hunt goes on without interruption. We always have to leave our meetings one by one.<sup>35</sup>

They were proud to be able as young people to make a contribution in the ghetto and gave half of their proceeds to welfare institutions, including Janusz Korczak's childrens' home.

Amidst the fear and horror around them, the young people realized that "life goes on."<sup>36</sup> In the ruins of Warsaw, they planted gardens, attended illegal Gymnasium classes and courses in graphic and manual arts and entertained themselves imaginatively. A favorite pasttime was sunbathing on the roofs. Mary even described a garden cafe called "Bajka" or "Fairy Tale" in the Little Ghetto:"

This cafe covers the site of a completely bombed-out house. To one side stands a wall with burned window openings. This is an excellent backdrop. Near by is a "beach"--a piece of ground on which a few deck chairs have been placed. For two zlotys one can bask in the sun here for an entire day. Bathing suits are obligatory, apparently in order to create the atmosphere of a real beach.<sup>37</sup>

She recognized this momentary happiness was merely an illusion. Even children in the ghetto knew they had little prospect for the future.

With a growing sense of foreboding though, they found it more and more difficult to shut out "the sad world" around them. In the summer of 1941, Mary described a recurrent dream or nightmare:

I am full of dire forebodings. During the last few nights, I have had terrible nightmares. I saw Warsaw drowning in blood; together with my sisters (sic) and my parents, I walked over prostate corpses. I wanted to flee, but could not, and awoke in a cold sweat, terrified and exhausted. The golden sun and the blue sky only irritate my shaken nerves.<sup>38</sup>

In face of the poor health conditions and the stress they were living under, friendship and companionship with others their own age was very important.

The group of young entertainers from Lodz continued their performances until January 1942, when typhus and labor details had taken so many of the members that they agreed there was no reason to continue. They came to this decision on New Year's Eve 1942. Mary's parents had moved to a new apartment and the young people came together in the old one. Instead of champagne, they drank lemonade by the light of a carbide lamp and ate little sandwiches of pickled fish.

Mary wrote the next day: "I feel completely empty, as though I were suspended over an abyss. Last night was a mixture of entertainment and nightmare." As a clock from a nearby church chimed in the New Year, Romek went to the piano. Romek, a talented pianist, was no longer able to play; his hands were so damaged from the work he did maintaining the ghetto wall for the Germans. To everyone's surprise, he began to play Chopin's Funeral March. As he finished playing, he whispered "I have a strange premonition on this New Year's Day, mark my words."<sup>39</sup>

The year 1942 did, of course, mark the beginning of the end of the Warsaw Ghetto's existence. With premonition that New Year's Eve she recalled that while Romek was playing: "Sad ideas flashed through my mind. Was not all this symbolic? Was there not something terrible in store for me, something that would separate me from my friends?" Soon Mary's path did begin to turn from that of her friends, although as a survivor she remained full of despair and

guilt. She often asked herself: "Have I the right to save myself and leave my closest friends to their bitter fate?"<sup>40</sup>

Unbelievably, a very small number of Polish Jews with American or British passports or with papers from South American Republics at war with Germany were singled out shortly before the mass deportations began. Mary's mother had not registered with the Gestapo, so the Bergs were not interned for the first exchange in April 1942.<sup>41</sup>

Czerniakow's diary confirms that he received word from the Germans on June 3, 1942 that "foreign Jews will be allowed to leave, to be exchanged, provided their foreign documents are in order."<sup>42</sup>

Mrs. Berg wrote to the representative of the American colony in the city of Warsaw, who helped her contact Nikolaus, a member of the Gestapo in charge of foreign affairs in the General Government. At first, it was unclear if Mary and her father would be regarded as citizens and allowed to leave with Mrs. Berg and the younger daughter Ann. On July 15 they received news that all foreign citizens should report on July 17.<sup>43</sup>

The next days were emotionally draining for the family. In desperation, friends come to their apartment with addresses of relatives and friends in America, pleading for Mrs. Berg to ask their help. Mary recalled: "All of them pour their troubles out to my mother--they have nothing left to sell, nothing to live on, in another few months they will perish."<sup>44</sup> Everyone recognized the ghetto was doomed and rumors about deportations were heard everywhere. A neighbor, Captain Hertz who was a ghetto police commander, sensed the significance of the moment. He told the Bergs: "'Now' he said, 'you'll see that I was right. We are all doomed. The foreign citizens are being removed because the Germans do not want them to witness what they are preparing for us."<sup>45</sup>

Accompanied to the gate by their tearful friends and relatives, the Berg family left the ghetto and were interned

in the Pawiak Gestapo prison right outside the ghetto walls. Czerniakow reported in his diary on July 15 that:

Nikolaus arrived at the community and issued orders for (over) 80 foreign Jews to be brought to Pawiak (prison) on Friday morning from where they are to be sent abroad. Schmied came. He declared that prisoners would be released in exchange.<sup>46</sup>

The next week on July 22, the day before his suicide, Czerniakow's diary entry notes "we were told that all the Jews irrespective of sex and age, with certain exceptions, will be deported to the East."<sup>47</sup>

Among the seven hundred foreign citizens in Pawiak, there were only twenty-one United States citizens, including the Berg family. These internees remained in the Pawiak prison throughout the summer of 1942. They witnessed from prison windows the mass deportations to the east, primarily to Treblinka death camp. By the end of September the ghetto population had been reduced to a remnant of about 60,000 compared to its 1940 population of 500,000. Mary Berg continued to record what she saw from the prison, reporting news of the ghetto received by the prisoners.

Mary stood at the prison window in August and watched the Germans surround Korczak's children's home and saw the determined doctor marching with his orphans down the street.<sup>48</sup> Throughout the fall, she heard the shootings and cries from the street and watched columns of workers march down the streets under heavy guard as, over and over, their departure date from Pawiak was postponed.<sup>49</sup> In December, Dita, a new arrival at the prison told the internees what she had learned about Treblinka.

At Gestapo headquarters, Dita had become acquainted with an official from the death camp. Not knowing she was Jewish, he had bragged about how the deported Jews were murdered there. Mary carefully recorded what she learned about the transports and the "actual death house of Treblinka." Dita told them that "after the bathhouse is

entirely filled, strongly concentrated hot steam is let in through the windows. After a few minutes the people begin to choke in horrible pain." She also reported that "various gases" were used.<sup>50</sup>

On January 18, 1943, the internees left Warsaw by train. Until the last minute, the Bergs feared they would be sent to Auschwitz. From the train, Mary wrote: "I cannot believe my eyes, and I still do not know whether I am dreaming or waking. Our train is moving in the direction of Poznan, not of Oswiecim."<sup>51</sup> At the internment camp in Vittel, France, she still received letters from her friends in the Warsaw ghetto. The last one from Romek told her how many of their acquaintances were already gone. He advised Mary: "Do not think of me, my dear. I know my days are numbered."<sup>52</sup>

Without her friends' companionship, she quite writing in her diary. But several months later, when she heard of the Ghetto Uprising, she opened her notebook again with this entry:

I have not written anything here for a long time. What good does it do to write; who is interested in my diary? I have thought of burning it several times, but some inner voice forbade me to do it. The same inner voice is now urging me to write down all the terrible things I have heard during the last few days.

In despair, she asked: "God, why must there be all this cruelty? I am ashamed. Here I am, breathing fresh air, and there my people are suffocating in gas and perishing in flames, burned alive. Why?"<sup>53</sup>

On March 1, 1944, the Bergs miraculously were evacuated from Vittel. In a little known chapter of Holocaust history, a train of internees crossed the Spanish border several days later and on March 4 reached Lisbon where the Swedish exchange ship, the "Gripsholm" was docked.<sup>54</sup> On March 16, the ship arrived at Jersey City, New Jersey with over 600 wartime internees, including thirty-five American

prisoners of war, an American diplomatic party from Vichy France and 160 internees from Vittel, many of whom were not Jewish. The ship had earlier carried about 750 Germans to Europe for the exchange.

As one of the rare testaments of the Warsaw Ghetto, Mary Berg's diary is an important Holocaust document. Although her testimony may have come too late to change America's priorities in World War II, her record is a unique contribution to our knowledge about daily life in the Warsaw ghetto. It is an affirmation of the human will to survive and a tribute to human dignity and initiative. It will enrich any study of women in the Holocaust and of children in extreme situations. Its authenticity and its detail are striking and one can only hope it will be re-issued in the near future in English, so that it can have a wider readership and become integrated into contemporary American courses of study on the Holocaust.

## Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup>"Thousands Mourn Victims of Ghetto," New York Times, 20 April 1944, p. 10. In her diary, Mary refers to her sister as Ann.
- <sup>2</sup>S.L. Shneiderman is an American journalist, born in Poland. As a reporter he first met Mary Berg at the arrival of the ship Gripsholm. He lives in New York today.
- <sup>3</sup>Mary Berg, "Pages from a Warsaw Diary" Contemporary Jewish Record, 7 (October-December, 1944), pp. 497-510; 616-625.
- <sup>4</sup>Mary Berg, Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary, ed. S.L. Shneiderman (New York: L.B. Fisher, 1945); special edition sponsored by the National Organization of Polish Jews.
- <sup>5</sup>Berg, special edition, foreword by Joseph Thon.
- <sup>6</sup>Jan Karski, "My Visit to the Warsaw Ghetto," American Mercury, 59 (November, 1944), pp. 567-575.
- <sup>7</sup>Berg, p. 9.
- <sup>8</sup>Adam Czerniakow, The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom, eds. Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron and Josef Kermisz (New York: Stein and Day, 1968, 1979); Janusz Korczak, Ghetto Diary, and Aaron Zeitlin, The Last Walk of Janusz Korczak (New York: Schocken, 1978); Chaim Kaplan, Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan, ed. Abraham I. Katsh (London, 1966); Emanuel Ringelblum, Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: The Journal of Emanuel Ringelblum, tr. and ed. Jacob Sloan (New York, 1958); Stanislaw Adler, In the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940-1943. An Account of a Witness. The Memoirs of Stanislaw Adler (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1982).
- <sup>9</sup>Review, New Yorker, 21 (February 24, 1945), p. 77.
- <sup>10</sup>Review, Kirkus, 13 (February 15, 1945), p. 24.
- <sup>11</sup>Marguerite Young, "First Hand Report of a Nightmare," New York Times Book Review, 18 February 1945, p. 6.

- <sup>12</sup>F. Weiskopf, review, Saturday Review, 28 (March 3, 1945), p. 34.
- <sup>13</sup>Mary Berg, Geto Varshah, (Tel Aviv, 1945/1947); Il ghetto di Varsavia: diario di Mary Berg, ed. S.L. Shneiderman, tr. Maria (Martone) Napolitano (Rome: De Carlo, 1946); Le ghetto de Varsovie, journal de Mary Berg, ed. S.L. Shneiderman, tr. Baillon de Wailly (Paris: A. Michel, 1947).
- <sup>14</sup>Telephone interview, Ben Shneiderman, 28 February 1989.
- <sup>15</sup> Lucy Dawidowicz, The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945 (New York: Bantam, 1975, 1976); Nora Levin, The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945 (New York: Schocken, 1973); Yisrael Gutman, The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943, tr. Ina Friedman (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1982; Martin Gilbert, A History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985).
- <sup>16</sup>Kaplan, p. 104.
- <sup>17</sup>Alvin H. Rosenfeld, A Double Dying: Reflections on Holocaust Literature (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1980), pp. 50.
- <sup>18</sup>Berg, p. 87.
- <sup>19</sup>Rosenfeld, p. 51.
- <sup>20</sup>Berg, p. 107.
- <sup>21</sup>Berg, p. 35.
- <sup>22</sup>Rosenfeld, 34.
- <sup>23</sup>Berg, p. 29.
- <sup>24</sup>Berg, p. 47.
- <sup>25</sup>Marlene E. Heinemann, Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust (New York: Greenwood, 1986), p. 38.
- <sup>26</sup>Berg, p. 92.

- <sup>27</sup>Berg, p. 11.
- <sup>28</sup>Berg, p. 13.
- <sup>29</sup>Berg, p. 20.
- <sup>30</sup>Berg, p. 21.
- <sup>31</sup>Berg, p. 30.
- <sup>32</sup>Berg, p. 64.
- <sup>33</sup>Review, Library Journal, 70 (February 15, 1945), p. 162.
- <sup>34</sup>Review, Horn Book, 21 (May, 1945), p. 210.
- <sup>35</sup>Berg, pp. 35-36.
- <sup>36</sup>Berg, chapter heading, chp. 3, pp. 52-65.
- <sup>37</sup>Berg p. 61.
- <sup>38</sup>Berg, p. 81.
- <sup>39</sup>Berg, pp. 125-127.
- <sup>40</sup>Berg, p. 162.
- <sup>41</sup>Berg, pp. 154-155; see The American Federation for Polish Jews, The Black Book of Polish Jewry: An Account of the Martyrdom of Polish Jewry Under the Nazi Occupation, eds. Jacob Apenszlak et al (n.p., 1943), p. 52 for a short account by Mrs. R., the wife of an American citizen who died in the ghetto. She had been able to leave the ghetto in early April 1942. She had then been interned with other Americans in Pawiak Prison and allowed to leave Europe by way of Lisbon.
- <sup>42</sup>Czerniakow, p. 362.
- <sup>43</sup>Berg, p. 158.
- <sup>44</sup>Berg, p. 156.
- <sup>45</sup>Berg, pp. 158-159; see Adler, p. 75.

<sup>46</sup>Czerniakow, p. 380.

<sup>47</sup>Czerniakow, p. 384.

<sup>48</sup>Berg, p. 174.

<sup>49</sup>see David Wyman, Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945 (New York: Pantheon, 1984), pp. 276-280.

<sup>50</sup>Berg, pp. 208-209.

<sup>51</sup>Berg, p. 216.

<sup>52</sup>Letter from Romek Kowalski quoted in Berg, p. 224.

<sup>53</sup>Berg, p. 227.

<sup>54</sup>Berg, p. 251.