The
Slaughter of the Jews
In the Ukraine
In 1919

BY

ELIAS HEIFETZ, J.U.D.

NEW YORK
THOMAS SELTZER
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PREFACE

The basis of this book is material gathered by delegates of the All-Ukrainian Relief Committee for the Victims of Pogroms, under the auspices of the Red Cross, of which committee I was the chairman.

Our aim was not only to supply money, food and clothing to the victims, render medical aid to the wounded and mutilated, and take care of the orphaned children; it was also to investigate—to determine the true character of the events and ascertain the circumstances in which they occurred. Besides administering relief, our representatives, in accordance with a plan worked out by the Central Information Department of the committee, made careful investigations, questioning witnesses of all descriptions, the sufferers themselves, onlookers, and men in official or public positions. In large centres like Kiev and Yekaterinoslav, to which refugees from numerous pogrom-stricken localities streamed, special bureaus were established for the purpose of taking down the testimony of the refugees. Sometimes, when the pogrom was large and complicated in its character, our committee delegates called conferences of all public and party organizations of the place, in order to determine the social and political causes of the pogrom and the motives animating the participants, as well as to gather all possible details. The conferees were able, through personal observation and material at their disposal, to clear up obscurities, throw light on all aspects of the

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situation, and make corrections and addenda to reports presented at the meetings. Examples of documents resulting from such conferences are the protocols with their appendices given in the Appendix to this book on the pogroms in Uman (*pp.* 316-336) and Dubovo (*pp.* 341-347).

The material gathered at each place—testimony of witnesses, documents, photographs—was sent to the Central Information Department in Kiev, where it was classified and sifted by experts. What seemed of dubious veracity or did not coincide with other evidence was rejected. Nothing but verified matter was included in our summary.

In some cases of pogroms on a large scale special investigators, persons with a thorough legal training, were sent to the scene of the events, who supplemented evidence already to hand by securing documents and examining new witnesses. Material thus gathered was embodied in volumes sometimes numbering several hundred pages, to which the investigator later, in his summarized report, would refer, citing the page and number of the volume in the case, as, for instance, the reports of the well-known lawyer, Mr. A. I. Hillerson, on the pogroms in Ovruch (see Appendix, *pp.* 185 *ff.*) and in Proskurov (see Appendix, *pp.* 202 *ff.*), who substantiated his statements by exact references (as on *pp.* 208, 209, 210 and elsewhere).

Owing to the various war fronts in the Ukraine and the internal state of civil war, we were prevented from gathering material for all the pogroms. Nevertheless, the facts brought to light through the self-sacrificing efforts of our representatives are quite sufficient for a thoroughly grounded analysis, social and political, of the Jewish tragedy in the Ukraine in

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1919. And as our committee was a Red Cross organization with non-political aims, the work of investigation was carried on in an utterly impartial spirit.

Most of the material at my disposal appears in the Appendix, some of it in the text. The book represents my personal conclusions drawn from the material and from my observations of the stormy events in the Ukraine.

It is more than a year now since the ghastly events described in this book took place. But the year 1919 did not see the end of them. The bloody tide overflowed the boundaries of the Ukraine, and horrors were enacted elsewhere that not only equalled but even surpassed the Ukrainian atrocities. And in the Ukraine itself reaction kept up its gory carnival. The events of 1920 only corroborate the findings in the present book, namely, that reaction uses the massacre of the Jews as a method for political warfare.

In conclusion I wish to express my gratitude to all my fellow-workers on the Relief Committee. My indebtedness to them is twofold—for the moral satisfaction of work done together in aid of the wretched victims of the pogroms and for the stupendous, tireless work of gathering the evidence that has made possible the writing of this summary. I must make special mention of those who stood closest to me in the work: Dr. P. I. Rosenthal (Anman), Dr. F. E. Lander, Mr. L. V. Fraenkel, Mr. S. Y. Heifetz, Dr. L. N. Heller, Mr. A. I. Hillerson, and Mr. Isaac Gütermann.

ELIAS HEIFETZ.

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CHAPTER I

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CAUSES

THE terrible Jewish massacres in the Ukraine in the year 1919, which set the whole land aflame, can not be compared with the pogroms in the eighties and during the first decade of our century. The latter form, in essence and scope, a chapter in themselves. The tsarist regime endeavored to divert the attention of the socially and politically discontented masses in another direction, the direction of least resistance. This they did by inciting the ignorant and intimidated lower classes against the defenseless Jews, who, they alleged, were responsible for the misery of the people. The Jews were represented as the exploiters of the people, as leeches, who sucked the blood of the peasant and robbed him of the fruits of his economic activity. Later, when the elemental forces of the revolution burst forth and whipped the waves of passion into high fury, the Jews were depicted by the agents of tsarism before the lowest classes of the people as the "leaders of unrest and rebellion, who were rising against the Fatherland and the 'Little Father' (the tsar)." The Jewish pogroms coincide with the critical moments of the then regime and follow in scope and intensity a course parallel to that of the revolution.

The pogroms of the eighties correspond to the revo-

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lutionary movement of the intelligentzia organized as "Narodniki" ("Zemlya i Volya," "Narodnaya Volya"). Those in the beginning of our century, to the time of the first revolution (1903-1905), correspond to the great revolutionary strikes in the south of Russia. Finally, the third pogrom wave, which came right after the revolution (end of 1905 and 1906), corresponds to the outbreak of the first revolution itself. The aim of the pogroms in the eighties was mainly the destruction of Jewish possessions. There was robbery and plunder, down and feathers were scattered to the wind, furniture was broken to pieces, valuables and money were taken away. In many cases women were violated, men beaten, but "with moderation," not to death. The pogroms, however, in Kishinev (1903), Gomel (1903) and Zhitomir (April, 1905), already began to assume a bloody course. Jews were murdered, the victims numbered many dozens. After the revolution (1905 and 1906) the pogroms expanded both in space and in time, with about a thousand victims. The organizing activity of the lower and middle administrative officers was clearly visible, as was shown in the judicial investigations. The parliamentary commission of the first imperial Duma, the revelations of the former active minister of internal affairs, Prince Urussov, and of the former director of the police department, Lopuchin, confirmed what was generally known, that the threads of the entire pogrom propaganda were held together in the hands of the highest representatives of the state force, the all powerful minister of internal affairs and the director of the police. They determined the places where pogrom dramas were to be enacted, and gave proper instructions to the local authorities.

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The pogroms of the tsarist period took place almost exclusively in the south, in the Ukraine, and particularly in the Ukrainian cities. The large Ukrainian cities like Kiev, Odessa, and Yekaterinoslav formed favorable grounds for anti-Jewish agitation by reason of the great wealth and economic activity, the accentuated class differences and the numerous tramp class existing in those places. The officials and the professional classes (teachers, clergy, partly also the professors) in the southern cities were almost exclusively on the side of the Black Hundred. The central government took great care to see that all those who were in their service were thoroughly "reliable," i.e., that they were in complete accord with the reactionary politics of the central government and carried out their orders in their several localities.

The pogroms of the tsarist period were almost exclusively confined to the cities. There were none in the Ukrainian villages. Insurrection, robbery and violence were done by the city hoodlums in the larger centers. Not so the massacres in the year 1919. Here the Ukrainian village played the main role, the Ukrainian peasants, the bands of military insurgents as well as the more or less organized bands of insurrectionists. The wave rolled from the village to the city and in concentric circles embraced the whole land. But the village occupied the center. The impulse and the radii proceeded from the village. The urban crowd played a subordinate role, and merely participated, actively to be sure, in the events. Large cities like Odessa and Kiev (before the invasion of Denikin) were overwhelmed by this wave, which spread over about 700 localities and almost annihilated the entire Jewish population in the Ukrainian villages and districts.

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This is not the first time in the history of the Ukrainian Jews that they had to suffer from persecution. Twice before have they been the object of horrible attacks and cruel murder, in the times of the Ukrainian period of storm and stress when the peasants rose against their Polish oppressors.

The Jews settled in Ukrainia at the end of the sixteenth century. The emigrants from Lithuania and Poland found here uncultivated land and sparsely populated villages. Gradually there grew up cities, castles and settlements. The Polish nobility attracted as colonists the petty nobility, the serfs and also the Jews as a class engaged in commerce and industry. Thanks to the Jewish spirit of enterprise there soon developed an extremely energetic commercial activity. The greatest variety of industries, the production of nitric acid and potash, fishing and hunting as well as the liquor business were in the hands of the Jews. Only a very small part of the Jews were rich. According to the investigations of Berschadski (*Die litauschen Juden*), the commercial and credit operations of the great majority of the Jews must be measured in dozens of rubles, and consisted merely in the granting of small loans to the peasants, the poorer middle class and the Tartars. But this is not all. The operations were carried on with the moneys which they themselves borrowed from the Christian clergy, nobility and poorer middle class. Often they borrowed this capital by pledging household articles, even body linen.

Is it true that the Jewish masses were guilty of abusing the Christian population? The Ukrainian historian Ivan Franko, points out that the sources of the Khmelnitzky period say nothing about the accusations that were later brought against the Jews, such as

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putting mortgages on the churches. "The unfair practices of the Jews, so far as there were such," says Franko, "are insignificant as compared with the abuses committed by the Polish government and the Polish military." To be sure, the Cossack population did not investigate with any degree of care as to who was really responsible for their enslavement. When the Ukrainian population rose in rebellion, with Khmelnitzky at their head, and freed themselves from the chains of political and economic enslavement, they swept away not only the lords, but also their agents, the Jews, who were their leaseholders and tenant farmers. The events of the years 1648-1658 with their heroes, Krivonos, Ganai, Morosenko, Timofei (son of Bogdan Khmelnitzky), Koloda and others, cost the Ukrainian Jews, according to the careful computations of Sabbatai Cohen, about 100,000 lives (the "Chronicler" speaks of a half million.) Several hundred Jewish settlements were completely destroyed.

One hundred years later, the Ukraine was again the scene of insurrections. The Gaidamaks (this was the name of the insurrectionary Cossack bands in the 18th century) were no whit inferior in savage cruelty to the Cossack rebels under Bogdan Khmelnitzky. All the hatred that had accumulated up to that time on account of the political and economic enslavement of the people (introduction of serfdom, persecution of their faith, cruel practices of the administration, by state authorities as well as landed proprietors) was let loose in this moment. As formerly under Khmelnitzky, so a hundred years later, when the Jewish tenant farmer, the "inevitable attendant of the Polish lord" and the executor of his will in relation to the village, had again

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settled down, the fury of the peasants once more was directed against him. The rebellion of 1734 under the leadership of Griva adopted the following motto, "It is permitted to plunder the Jews and kill the Polaks."

In the forties of the eighteenth century, the "leader and great Hetman of the Gaidamak troops," Wasski Washchilo, shows clearly in his proclamation that the purpose of the rebellion was to destroy the Jewish people for the protection of Christianity. "Guided by zeal for the holy Christian religion, and anxious that the anger of the Lord for all these crimes may not fall upon innocent persons, I have decided, so far as it lies in my power, together with other good people who love Christianity, to exterminate the accursed Jewish people. I have already with God's help killed the Jews in the communities of Krichev and Propoisk, and although the Jews succeeded in having government troops sent against me, the just God gave me his protection in all cases. Trusting in the grace of God, I shall bring to end this holy war against the traitors."

The year 1767 in which the insurrection under Zhelezniak and Gonta took place was pregnant with fate for the Jews. A terrible massacre of the Jews took place at Uman. There were also excesses against the Jews in Fastov, Granov, Zhivotov, Tulchin and Dashev.

According to the reports of eye witnesses, 50,000 to 60,000 Jews lost their lives at the time of the Gaidamaks.*

A hundred and fifty years had passed since then.

*The data of the pogroms under Khmelnitzky and the Gaidamaks are taken from the 1st volume of "History of the Jews in Russia," Moscow, 1914.

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The Ukrainian village became quiet again and found its equilibrium. It cost the Jews in Ukrainia much toil and labor to re-establish their economic existence. Now as before the village population dealt principally with the Jewish merchant and middleman, coming very rarely in contact with the poor Jewish population, the manual laborers. In the mind of the village people the Jew still occupied an intermediate place, "between the working people on the one hand and the landlords and rich cities on the other," being essentially nearer to the latter than to the former. The historical antipathy to the Jew remained, but there was no hatred. The Jew was merely distrusted as a stranger and the Ukrainian villagers, blessed with the craftiness of the peasant, showed contempt for the Jewish middleman and inhabitant of the city. Nevertheless peaceful and neighborly relations developed between the Jew and the Ukrainian peasants, which suffered no change during the last four decades of Russian rule. Jews who lost their entire possessions and most of their relatives in the fearful storms of 1919, testify unanimously that in a great number of cities and districts, peaceful and neighborly relations had existed between the Ukrainian peasants and the Jews, and in some cases they were very friendly to one another.

These neighborly relations were somewhat disturbed during the German occupation. The well-being of the population both Christian and Jewish had increased considerably. It was the time of unlimited speculation in goods and money, of smuggling in and out of Soviet Russia and the neutral zone. The peasants, however, could not increase their earnings in the same measure as the others. The products of the land were taken from them by force, at low prices, and carried

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to Germany. On the basis of exaggerated reports of "the wealth of the Jews," there developed among the peasants a feeling of envy and a desire for city products (manufactured goods, shoes), of which there was nothing in the Ukrainian village, rumor having it that the Jews in the larger centers enjoyed a superfluity of such things.

The anti-Jewish sentiment came to the fore in the Ukrainian village at the time when the Soviet government took the helm. This government is in the eyes of the peasants a foreign importation from Moscow. The well-to-do peasant of the Ukrainian village is opposed to communistic tendencies. Besides, being a landlord in possession of the soil which he regards as his consecrated and inviolable property, he sees in the Soviet government principally a fiscal power, which requisitions his grain and other agricultural products at maximum prices, paying for them in worthless little papers. A tenacious and obstinate fight arose between the Ukrainian village and the Soviet government. The Soviet government brought for the first time into the village the Jewish official, as a representative of the state power. Under the tsar the law did not allow the Jews to hold any state or public office. At the time of the Provisional Government the whole power was actually in the hands of the central Rada, under which all local posts were held by Ukrainians, usually representatives of the local population. Under the Soviet regime, on the other hand, Jews also were government representatives, holding central as well as local offices. In districts where the Jews formed the majority of the population, a large number of Jews belonged to the executive committee. The mere fact that besides the Jewish middleman there was also a

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Jewish representative of the state force called forth a feeling of hostility on the part of the Ukrainian peasant. The Jew whom he was accustomed to look down upon and to treat with contempt, suddenly stood before him as the possessor of power, demanding respect. In addition, this same Jew appeared as the representative of a government foreign to the village and the object of its hatred. As a result the peasant became suspicious of the entire Jewish population, regarding all the Jews without exception as members of the Soviet regime, which enabled them to exercise power against the Christian population. The idea took firm root in his mind that the Jewish nation was endeavoring to dominate over the Christian peasant. In the later pogroms this attitude found expression in the words, "What! You want to rule over us?" The Ukrainian peasant had a tendency to impute to the Jewish commissars and generally to the whole Jewish population in the neighboring towns and districts all the sins committed against him by the new regime (requisitioning, mobilization, barrage troops, executons by order of the extraordinary commissions).

The traditional feeling of distrust and suspicion of the Jew was excited and fostered by the above mentioned social and political factors.

There is still, however, a great gulf between the vague feelings of envy, contempt, even hatred, and those cruel acts perpetrated upon the Jews in the Ukrainian massacres. To bridge it an external force was necessary, which compelled the peaceful peasants to overcome their moral and other inhibitions, aroused the slumbering instincts of destruction and hate, gave to the whole complex of vague feelings and sentiments a political form and instilled it into the minds of

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the peasants by anti-Jewish agitation. For this purpose it was necessary to accuse the Jews as such of exploitation of labor and speculation, to represent them as "bourgeois" and at the same time to brand them as advocates of the Soviet power and of communism, so as to organize the peasants and push them in a definite direction. Under the influence of this force came the peasant avalanche, continually increasing in scope, moving faster and faster and burying under it tens of thousands of Ukrainian Jews.

This force which played so momentous a role in the history of Ukrainian Jewry, a force which for the first time in our revolutionary epoch made use of Jewish massacres as a political weapon, against the Soviet enemy, is represented by the later leaders and political heads of the Ukrainian People's Republic. They took the same bloody course that was followed later by the Russian reaction of the Denikin regime and the volunteer army. Not all at once but gradually, step by step and at critical moments, did they begin to take up the method of pogroms. First they addressed threats to the Jewish leaders, warning them of the people's wrath in case they did not exert the proper influence on the Jewish masses. Then followed the actual application of the method in question, first in the form of organized excesses and demonstrations, and then at the most critical moment in the form of a systematic and uninterrupted series of organized blood baths and horrible devastations. Forced back by the Soviet government to the frontier of the Ukraine, the leaders of the Ukrainian Republic, as represented by the Directory and its responsible agents, never again let go of this bloody weapon by which they expected to secure victory.

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The history of the Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine is closely connected with the political history of the country, and cannot be separated from it. It seems necessary, therefore, to keep in mind the main factors of the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine, and to determine the dividing line between the popular movement of the Ukrainians and the Jewish socialistic parties. This division, accompanied by military defeats, already carried in itself the germ of the approaching massacres.

The March revolution exposed in sharp outline all the problems of Russian life, including the problem of nationality. The autocratic tsar held all the nationalities inhabiting the several parts of the empire in slavery. Their endeavors to develop their national culture were exposed to persecution. Every attempt to attain even the most modest share of autonomy was regarded as a revolt against the highest authority and was rigorously suppressed.

With the outbreak of the revolution strong nationalistic movements began in certain parts of the former empire. The opposing forces made themselves felt. The nationalistic element came to the fore everywhere, especially in the large border states, Finland and the Ukraine. The Provisional Government tried to evade the problem as well as it could. In its dependence upon the Russian bourgeoisie, especially upon the party of the Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) which represented them in their efforts to create a "united, strong and great Russia," it saw in the nationalistic movement the danger of secession of the border states. The Provisional Government was resolved not to weaken the economic power of the great Russian bourgeoisie by showing a pliable temper, nor

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to weaken Russia while the imperialistic world war was raging. It, therefore, postponed the solution of the problem "until the calling of the Constitutional Assembly," which was again and again postponed to a later date. The nationalistic movement burst forth with the fury of a storm. Its waves rose higher and higher. The Provisional Government was compelled to recognize it and meet it step by step. In the Ukraine a representative body was formed, the Central Rada composed of all socialist parties, which controlled the political life of the country and created out of itself the national secretariat as an executive organ.

To bring about peaceful relations between the Provisional Government and the Central Rada, the two ministers Zeretelli and Tereschenko came from Petrograd to Kiev, and actually succeeded for a time in reconciling the nationalistic aspirations of the Ukraine with the wavering and restraining tendencies of the Provisional Government. They recognized the right of the Ukraine to a considerable degree of autonomy. But they would not accept a federative structure of the Russian State.

The Central Rada based its hopes and claims upon the enormous majority of the Ukrainian village, upon the nationalistically minded intelligentzia of the cities as well as upon parts of the urban lower middle class. The Rada became, therefore, an important political power, maintaining its independence of the Russian Provisional Government, which had not the slightest influence in the Ukraine.

The Ukrainian great-bourgeoisie is composed of representatives of foreign nationalities (Russians, Jews, Poles). They were opposed to the Central Rada because they saw in it a power destructive to the integ-

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rity of the "Russian Empire." Without attacking them seriously in the sphere of social politics, the Central Rada paid very little attention to the great-bourgeoisie, and on the other hand showed itself more definite and determined than the Russian Provisional Government in respect to such cardinal questions of the Revolution as the question of the land and the termination of the war.

The Central Rada did not take its support from the working population of the cities. The urban workmen did not entirely trust the Central Rada because they saw in it mainly representatives of the interests of the middle peasants of the Ukrainian village. Nationally, too, the working classes were not at one with the Rada, consisting as they did for the most part of Russians, Poles and Jews. The Ukrainian Soviet delegates were in their general standpoint nearer to the Russian Central Committee of the Soviet labor delegates than to the Central Rada. Nevertheless the workmen as a class and the Jewish workmen in particular supported the Central Rada in their endeavors after national autonomy, which would make possible an unrestricted cultural and social development of the Ukrainian forces, without, however, breaking with the All-Russian revolution.

The Jewish Labor Bund often played the role of mediator between the Ukrainian national movement and the Russian revolutionary democracy. The Jewish workmen and laborers, the support of the Jewish socialistic parties, were afraid of the extravagances of the Bolshevistic rule and saw in the Central Rada a power greater than the Provisional Government. Besides the Central Rada was in its political structure a democratic force, which at the same time guaranteed

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the cultural needs of the national minorities by the law of autonomy in the sphere of national culture. Representatives of the Jewish socialistic party belonged to the Secretariat (Council of Ministers) of the Central Rada.

The tendency of the Central Rada to favor separation from Russia forced the Jewish parties into opposition. The Jewish Labor Bund abstained from voting on the third manifesto ("Universal"), which opened wide the doors to the separatist tendencies of the Ukrainian movement. This resulted in the recall of the socialistic representatives in the Secretariat. A critical moment in the relations between the Jewish socialistic parties and the Central Rada was on the occasion of carrying out the fourth manifesto, which proclaimed the "independence" of the Ukraine, denoting a complete break with Soviet Russia.

The fourth manifesto was really called forth by the pressure of German imperialism upon Soviet Russia. It meant for the Ukraine a separate peace with Germany at the expense of Russia, and a protection against the danger of the Soviet. The manifesto was regarded with disfavor by the Ukrainian proletariat, because they could not reconcile themselves to an economic, political and moral separation from Russia. Moreover the proletariat sensed in the fourth manifesto a tendency to reaction externally (union with Germany) as well as internally. The lower middle class circles in the cities were opposed to the manifesto for similar reasons. Fear of Bolshevism lamed their activity. Nevertheless their attitude to the new ways upon which the national movement had entered was negative. The fourth manifesto repelled the socialistic parties of the Ukrainian cities from the Central Rada. The latter

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continued to find support in the broad stratum of the great and middle peasants, who were only loosely connected with the Russian revolution and for the time being had no serious economic interests in the war-exhausted cities in general or in the Russian Soviet cities in particular.

In the debate on the fourth manifesto in the Central Rada, the Jewish labor parties spoke against it. The mere appearance on the platform of the well-known leader of the Bund, Liber, who was to speak in the name of the Jewish Labor Bund, called forth a storm of indignation. He was regarded as an advocate of centralization and an opponent of the Ukrainian national movement. The Jewish Labor Bund voted against the manifesto. The united Jewish socialistic party and the labor party of the Poale Zion abstained from voting, but expressed themselves in strong criticism of the manifesto.

After the proclamation of the fourth manifesto by the Central Rada, the question of political strikes was raised in the council of labor delegates. In spite of their negative attitude toward the fourth manifesto, the Jewish socialistic parties stood foursquare on the basis of the independence of the Ukraine, guided by the desire to remain in decided though not revolutionary opposition. On the question of strikes great differences and friction developed among them. A considerable part were against the strike. The left wing was not definitely opposed to it but recommended strikes with a definite time limit.

At this time began the first threats of the Ukrainians against the Jews. The purpose of these threats was to frighten the wavering elements among the Jews by calling attention to the coming retribution from the

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indignant masses, who felt that their most sacred national feeling had been outraged.

Martos (later the president of the council of ministers), a representative, belonging to the left wing of the Ukrainian national movement, addressed the Jewish deputies from the platform to the following effect: "Yesterday one of your men in the council of labor delegates advocated the general strike. Do not play a double game. Say openly what you want. Restrain your people from such steps. We feel that we shall soon be unable to curb the anger and the hate of our people." The nationalistic agitation also was utilized to hold the troops in the Ukraine together by the anti-Jewish feeling which was common to them all.

The general strike began. Small armed bands of workmen opposed the Central Rada, but were not supported by the great masses. The strike failed. In the meantime Kiev was attacked by the troops of the Bolshevist Red Guard, who succeeded in getting possession of the city. The Central Rada removed their sessions from Kiev to Zhitomir. The Jewish deputies remained in Kiev. The Jewish socialistic parties and their representatives opposed the Bolsheviki most bitterly. In the fight of the Jewish socialistic parties against the Bolsheviki, the tendency of the Jewish labor masses finds its expression. They emphasize not only their negative attitude toward the October revolution, but the socialistic parties advocate also the independence of the Ukraine, and declare that the Soviet government can not be regarded as the representative of the attitude of the Ukrainian masses, being on the contrary a foreign power which came from the outside to conquer the Ukraine.

The Central Rada in Zhitomir followed a nation-

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alistic and reactionary course. A new law was made depriving members of foreign elements, Russians and Jews, of the rights of Ukrainian citizenship. At the same time the legend was circulated in Zhitomir that Jews in Kiev had shot the retiring Ukrainian troops in the back. The withdrawal of the Ukrainian troops took place in the greatest haste. One military defeat followed upon another. The armies began to crumble away. To keep them together they made use of agitation against the Moscovites and especially against the Jews. And it was for this purpose that agents of the Rada spread the legend.

The anti-Semitic agitation increased after the Ukraine was reconquered by the Central Rada with the help of German bayonets. It was necessary to find a scapegoat to bear the national disgrace and carry away on his back the anger and hate of the army and the peasants. The Jews were made the scapegoat, on the ground that they had caused the occupation of the Ukraine by German troops and were in the service of the Bolshevist government. And when Petlura on a white horse entered Kiev at the head of a small band of Gaidamaks, followed on foot by well armed and well disciplined German troops, the hate and desire for revenge of the Ukrainian soldier against the Jew flared up in a hot flame. The Ukrainian bands were met by a delegation of members of the Central Rada, which contained also representatives of the Ukrainian social democracy. The military authorities declared to them calmly and definitely, "Tell the Jews that we will get even with them." And to Rafes, a member of the Central Rada, they said, "We know your speeches, we will dispose of you and your associates." Now the excesses began against the Jews, the first result of

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which was the death of a few persons, mainly Jewish workmen.

When the Central Rada returned from Zhitomir, the Jewish representatives resumed their activity in the Rada. They were received with hate, animosity and threats and were accused of Bolshevism without any reason. The only Ukrainian representatives who defended them were those who remained in Kiev during the Bolshevist rule.

The excesses against the Jews continued a long time. Professor Grushevski, the president of the Central Rada, took pains to suppress the attacks. For this purpose he addressed himself again and again to the military and some of their leaders. Repeatedly he invited the Rada to work in common, as he pointed to the difficulty of the situation. Under the pressure of the Central Rada and the whole poltical situation (presence of German military, who had already spoken of order) there were no mass pogroms. Here we see the most characteristic feature of the Jewish pogroms—the moment the instigators cease to find them useful for their purpose, they suddenly come to a standstill. At the time in question a strong anti-Semitic propaganda was developed. The sentiment in favor of pogroms among the Ukrainian troops was genuine and strong. They were firmly convinced that the Jews were responsible for Bolshevism as well as for the disgrace of their country. Nevertheless the number of victims was very small. The military leaders who excited and fanned these sentiments stood under the influence of the causes above mentioned. They prevented an open pogrom and, what is the main thing, they gave no orders for a pogrom.

The German military occupation made itself felt.

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They tried to utilize the "bread peace" to the fullest extent in their own interest. The Ukraine with its bread and its agricultural products must make it possible for Germany to continue the war in the west. The whole grain was often carried off from the villages by armed force. The villages soon realized the real meaning of the Force of Occupation. The Central Rada saw its political mistake. The representatives of the Ukrainian parties listened willingly to the speeches of the Jewish opposition against the Force of Occupation. The desire to liberate themselves from the Germans reconciled the Rada to the Jewish opposition. But the Central Rada had played its rôle, it was scattered by German bayonets.

The Occupation covered its domination over the Ukraine with the mantle of Hetman rule. The German military party introduced a congress of representatives of the peasant land proprietors, the "Corn Peasants." These proclaimed as head of the Ukrainian State, Paul Skoropadsky, a descendant of an old Hetman family, a hitherto little known captain of the tsarist regime, who had later gone over to the service of the Ukrainian government. The Hetman was an obedient figurehead in the hands of the Force of Occupation. He was a devoted executor of their will and their efforts. The white terror prevailed in the cities and even more on the plains of the country. There was a continuous descent of punitive expeditions, requisitions, money penalties. The hate against the Force of Occupation and the external expression of the German rule grew from day to day, and not in the village only but also in the city. At the same time the great defeats of the Germans on the west front and the growing opposition among the German soldiers weak-

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ened the power of the Force of Occupation and announced its approaching end. The disturbances in the Ukrainian villages, which were kept down with the help of the Hetman's government troops and the German punitive expeditions, continued. In the cities secret meetings were held between the representatives of the Ukrainian parties of the Left and the Jewish socialistic parties. A complete rapproachment was not arrived at. The differences between them were of a radical nature. Mistrust was very great. The common enemy, however, brought about an understanding and the conviction of the necessity of making common cause against him. The understanding, however, was not of long duration. The enemy was soon overcome. The political parties of the Ukraine who had created a new national government, the Directory, experienced a violent clash with the Soviet government. In this embittered fight they carried to its full development the old weapon of poison, anti-Semitic agitation and the support of the organized Jewish pogroms.

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CHAPTER II

THE DIRECTORY

On the ninth of November, 1918, the revolution broke out in Germany. The consequence was a political crisis in German-occupied Ukraine and a revolt against German domination.

On the thirteenth of November a political general strike was determined upon at a general meeting of the Central Bureau of the Ukrainian Labor Union. Everywhere in the basin of the Donetz where the Austrian troops retired there was a revolt. On the fifteenth of November the movement began in the Government of Kiev, district of Tarascha. Everywhere insurgent bands were formed under the leadership of Makhno, Grigoriev and others. At the head of the movement was a Directory and later Petlura. Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov and Odessa went over to the Directory. On the eleventh of December Kiev was occupied.

The rebellion of Petlura was not so much under the banner of nationalism as under that of Socialism and partly also of Bolshevism. The radical watchwords of the city gave expression to the general sentiment, particularly the desire of the villagers to obtain complete rights of disposition of the soil. This demand had the support not only of the rich peasants under the leadership of the "independent" socialists, but also of the middle peasants under the leadership of the social-

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ist parties of the left. The city proletariat inclined to the Bolsheviki. Petlura entered Kiev as a national hero, but he was followed by his shadow, the Bolshevist Soviet power. As early as the middle of November there was formed in Kursk the Ukrainian Soviet Government, which began a campaign against the Directory. Advancing from north to south, the Bolsheviki occupied Gomel, Glukhov, Sumy, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, and finally on the second of February, Kiev; Kharkov having been occupied by the Red Army even before Petlura's entrance into Kiev.

The international position of the Directory was also altogether difficult. Their negotiations with the Entente and Rumania through General Grekov in Odessa led to no result. The Entente held fast to the principle of a "united and undivided Russia" and supported Denikin.

Fermentation began among the troops of the Directory. These may be divided into two groups, insurrectionist and regular troops. When Petlura entered Kiev in December, 1918, at the head of the Directory, the peasant rebels formed the majority of his military force. Radically disposed as a result of the long guerilla warfare against the rule of the Germans and the Hetman, they formed at that time a disciplined mass, who had been for a great part through the school of the imperialistic war. In general, however, this mass was politically unstable and always divided, protecting the Ukrainian Republic whenever there was danger on the right, and becoming disloyal when there was a rebellion on the left. The regular troops were mainly enrolled in Odessa through the so-called military Rada, which stood under the military and political leadership of the most reactionary elements in the

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Ukrainian national movement (the independents, Ataman Verbitski and Doctor Luzenko), from the circles of the wealthiest peasants as well as the nationalistically minded mobs of Ukrainia. These formed the bands of Gaidamaks. They were joined by the Galician sharpshooters who had been war prisoners in Germany and had received there a particular Ukrainian nationalistic training. At the head of the army was a group of reactionaries. The political leadership was in the hands of the "independent" Doctor Luzenko, the military leadership was in the hands of Konovaletz. Kavenko was emissary.

The leaders were confronted by an enormously difficult problem, that of welding into a unit a mass of troops in which the majority were radical while the minority were in favor of a national military dictatorship. Such a fusion of the army was an absolute necessity. The anti-Semitic agitation began. The bands of Gaidamaks had long been hostile to the Jews. At a time when the relations were still friendly, a number of Jews were attacked by them with the cry, "Cut down the Jews!" Konovaletz, the military leader of the troops of the Directory, selected for this special purpose from the Gaidamaks two Ukrainian Cossacks and certain well disciplined bands, held together by their common hatred of the Bolsheviki and the Jews. These were the so-called "Kureni Smerti" (Clans of Death). Here also belonged special bands under the leadership of various "Batki." These bands were united by love of fighting in common, by reverence for and obedience to the Batko and by various peculiar privileges which they enjoyed. "They fight well, therefore they are permitted to plunder." This was the judgment of the military chiefs.

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The conduct of these troops in quiet and, if I may say so, pogromless times, and the attitude toward them of the military authorities, are exhibited in a glaring light in a sketch of a memorial prepared by Abrrius, the head of the police of Zhitomir, and handed to the Directory in the name of the administration of the city of Zhitomir. In this cautiously written memorial the authors request the Directory to remove from the city the troops which were quartered there during the first pogrom (the sketch in question was composed in the time between the first and the second pogroms). The soldiers are "very much demoralized, have absolutely no occupation and in connection with the mob strike fear and terror into every inhabitant. . . . This refers especially to the 'Sotnias' of the commandants. The city administration and the investigating commission had full opportunity to convince themselves that persons in military cloaks caught with stolen goods were in the service of the Sotnias of the commandants. When they were arrested and brought before the commandant, he at once set them free, whereupon they had the impudence to visit the administration and the investigating commission again and again and demand the return of the stolen property. This demand the investigating commission sometimes granted in view of the defiant attitude of the offenders and the circumstance that they had been let go without any punishment. Later these same persons, armed, drove in droshkas through the city, where they no doubt kept up their nefarious doings."

After the first pogrom the city administration organized night patrols of the inhabitants to prevent robbery (a kind of self-defense). The commandant gave his consent to the organization. "Immediately thereafter

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the city administration in the first night of the patrol's duty found themselves face to face with serious misunderstandings. In the first place, the commandant had given an order that no Cossack was to be arrested, and there were no exceptions to this rule. By this order all possibility was removed of doing anything to stop the excesses committed by the persons in gray cloaks. On the other hand, despite the requests of the administration, the commandant gave a special order in which he explained to the soldiers the purpose and the task of the night patrols. The night patrols were attacked by persons in soldiers' uniform and by Cossack officers. They began to disarm the city patrols, first in single cases, then more and more frequently, and finally the disarmament assumed a systematic and general character. Besides, the persons in military cloaks evidently were supported by the law, which prohibited any action against them, and became more defiant and shameless every day. A band of eight persons passed through the main streets at one o'clock in the afternoon and robbed the passersby of their purses and valuables under the pretext of looking for arms. Despite the complaints of the administration the excesses remained unpunished. Attacks on dwellings became more and more frequent, while at the same time the city patrols were disarmed and robbed. The bandits took away their caps, watches, shoes, abused and insulted them at every step and indulged in anti-Semitic incitations.

"Later the city administration which had reported the matter to the commandant and commander of the corps was astounded to read in the papers an order by which it was made a duty of the military patrols to shoot down not only the plunderers but also those whom the patrols regarded as enemies of the Republic

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and propagandists of Bolshevism. In this way the peaceful population was handed over to the arbitrary and unlimited whims of a degenerate and unruly mob in gray coats, and the city administration was deprived by this order of every possibility of organizing any resistance against the robbers and authors of violence."

In this way the soldier bands were systematically trained for the pogroms. They were demoralized, the life, honor and property of the peaceful population were given over to them and they disposed of life and death.

They carried out the order of their chiefs, because the orders were for and not against them. They still maintained discipline. Later, in consequence of impunity, they lost all discipline and degenerated simply into robber bands.

As long as discipline still prevailed among them, the pogroms instituted by them clearly bore the character of the execution of a military command. The Jewish persecutions began and ended at a signal, mostly open, sometimes secret.

All the pogroms carried out by the regular troops of the Directory followed a certain common general plan. They were intensified in number and in degree of cruelty in times when the Directory felt itself especially threatened by the Bolsheviki, they were reduced in intensity when the Bolsheviki were driven out of the Ukraine by the troops of Denikin. The resolution of the council of ministers of the Petlura Government to take radical measures against the pogroms dates from the eighteenth of August, the proclamation of Petlura to the army on the same subject dates from the twenty-sixth of August, i.e., from the day when the Soviet power had already been driven

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out of the Ukraine by Denikin and the days of their stay in Kiev were numbered. The pogroms organized by the Directory assumed in the year 1919 a definite form.

The January Pogroms

These were confined principally to the eastern part of the government of Volhynia, because the troops of Petlura were obliged at that time, under the pressure of the Bolsheviki who were advancing toward Kiev from the north and northwest, to retire while fighting. Here belong the pogroms in Ovruch (December 31 to January 16), as well as in the villages of Potapovichi and Geshovo (December 31). As these pogroms are very significant, I shall take them up in more detail.*

Ovruch is a capital city in the government of Volhynia with a population of about 10,000. More than two-thirds of the inhabitants are Jews. The mass of the Jewish population are not interested in politics and have not produced any well-known revolutionists. During the Jewish persecutions under the tsar, Ovruch was spared.

It was not until December, 1917, at the time of the Rada and under the influence of the agitation of the Polish landed proprietors and the old tsarist officials, that the peasants of the surrounding villages began the destruction of Jewish shops. Dwellings were untouched. Under the influence of White-Russian Bolsheviki, Bolshevist sentiments made their appearance

*We publish as an appendix to this chapter the complete report of these pogroms by the well-known attorney, A. I. Hillerson. See *pp.* 185 *ff.*

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among the peasants of Ovruch. The Little-Russian Dmitriuk, who stood at the head of the "Ovruch Republic" after the fall of the Ataman, and the Jew Friedman, made protestations against the Bolshevist tendency. The result was that Dmitriuk was put to death and Friedman made his escape by flight.

Their place was taken by the Clans of Death and later by a special band of freebooters with the Ataman Kozyr-Zyrka at the head. After the reception of a deputation of representatives of public organizations, mainly Poles and former tsarist officials, the Ataman gave an order to arrest the Jewish Rabbi and have him brought before him. On the 26th of December about two o'clock, the order was carried out and the Rabbi was brought to the office of the commandant. He remained there until ten o'clock in the evening, exposed the whole time to the insults and abuses of the Cossacks. Finally at ten o'clock he was brought before the Ataman. The latter received him with extreme rudeness, and after an examination conducted "not without prejudice," he said to him, "I know that you are a Bolshevik, that all your relatives and all Jews are Bolsheviks. Know that I am going to destroy all the Jews in the city. Get them together in the synagogue and inform them of what I have told you." Sporadic attacks with robbery and murder followed. Under the pressure of the Bolshevist peasants of Pokalev, Kozyr-Zyrka found it necessary to retire. On the 31st of December, having received considerable reinforcements, he advanced on Ovruch. On the way thither, in the neighborhood of the village Potapovichi, the road had been made impassable. Being told that this had been done by the Jews, the Cossacks took their revenge by putting a number of Jews to death and

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violating some of their women. From there they proceeded to the village of Geshovo, where they murdered two old men, a teacher and a butcher. On the 31st of December the Cossacks entered Ovruch and began to plunder and murder the Jews. The pogrom was introduced by the violation of ten Jewish girls in the market place and the murder of the Jews who opposed the bandits. Later the Cossacks came out in bands, searched the houses, took money and property, beat old men, dishonored women and put to death young people. If one had money he could purchase his life. Thus the family Rosenmann bought a kind of "protection certificate" for twelve thousand rubles. They were told that their name was registered in the office of the staff, and they were as a matter of fact left undisturbed. The Jews were disgraced, having been compelled to dance before Kozyr-Zyrka, who amused himself by urging one of them on by the stroke of a whip. They were ordered to sing Jewish songs, but it so happened that none of them remembered the words by heart. Accordingly they were placed in chairs with fool's caps on their heads and lights in their hands, the words were read to them and they were made to sing. Kozyr-Zyrka and his friend lay in their beds shaking with laughter, so uproariously that the bed broke under the friend. The Jews were then compelled to fix up the bed and the officer remained in it. One of the Jews was so overcome by the humiliation that he began to weep. Thereupon he was told that his punishment would be one hundred and twenty lashes.

Seventy thousand rubles was the price the Jews paid to be spared the pogrom which had been instituted by the order of the Ataman. The Jews were ordered to assemble in the public square and were told by Kozyr-

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Zyrka that he had the right to destroy all the Jews, and that he would do so if any one of them as much as touched the hair of a single Cossack. He had done this in Potapovichi, shooting down a Jewish spy with his own hand. He advised the Jews to strangle with their own hands any Bolshevist they might find among them. When Kozyr-Zyrka had finished the speech, the Jews saluted, and the rabbi proposed to take an oath of loyalty to Ukrainia from all the Jews and to put a special body of Jewish fighters at his disposition. The Ataman thereupon said that he did not need a Jewish oath nor a Jewish body of fighters. He would let the Jews breathe the air of the Ukraine, but they must not forget his warning. Before his departure a group of thirty-four Jews were trapped by treachery and shot.

From the above description it is clear that the main figure of the pogroms instituted and organized by Petlura's troops was the Ataman, who dictated his will to his bands or gangs, his watchword being, "Cut down the Jews, for they are communists."

The course of the pogrom in Ovruch was comparatively moderate. There were insults, plunder, and to some extent dishonor of women and a few cases of murder. It was still possible to redeem one's life with money, a favor which was later taken away. The position of the Directory was not yet finally undermined by the military defeat. There was already agitation in the army in favor of pogroms, but the military leaders had not yet given the word to destroy everything Jewish.

In January the first pogrom took place in Zhitomir (7th to 10th of January). It was organized by the retreating forces of Petlura.

The Directory withdrew under the pressure of the

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Bolshevist troops. The commands of the Batki bear generally the character of anti-Jewish agitation and unequivocal provocation of the Jews.

On the 16th of January, a declaration of Hetman Volynetz was posted in the houses of Medzhibozh, Government of Podolia, which read as follows: "By order of the high government authorities of the Ukrainian Republic, I enter the district of Medzhibozh at the head of my army to assist the local authorities in their fight against the Jewish and Bolshevist bands who are disturbing the peace and order of this district. Our ignorant peasant population, which forms the greater part of these bands, are deceived by the enemies of the Ukraine, who receive a great deal of money for this purpose. It is said that the little Jew Mushlin, born in Medzhibozh, received seven million karbovantzy from the Russian Bolshevist Comrades for the organization of Bolshevist bands." On the 20th of January a proclamation of Captain Diachenko was circulated in Bielaia Tserkov, reading as follows: "I learned from a reliable source that the Jewish population of the city and district of Bielaia Tserkov is agitating against the power of the Directory. I give them warning hereby that if any demonstration should take place as a result of the Jewish activities, I will hold the Jewish population wholly responsible, as has already been done in Zhitomir and in other places in Ukrainia."

In an advertisement in the official "Information Bureau of the Ukrainian People's Republic," which was circulated in the district of Kremenchug, are found the following inciting lines: "As regards the Jewish bourgeoisie who maintain a hostile attitude to the Ukrainian Republic, it will do them no good. The

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Ukrainian people have friends at present and are not afraid of their enemies—everyone will get what he deserves. It is desirable that the Jewish people should declare themselves as quickly and as unequivocally as possible whether they will go together with the Ukrainian people, as the Jews in Galician Ukrainia have already done."

On the 11th of January the following announcement was found posted in Felshtin:

"The first warning to the Jewish population.

"I have learned that the Jewish population is confusing the minds of the peasants. I warn the Jews that the Information Bureau is well instructed. They will all have to pay dear for this offence, and the peasants themselves will make them pay. You have no one from whom to expect help!

"Head of the Information Bureau.

"....."

(Signature illegible)

The Jewish community of Vinnitza received from the Chief of Staff of the Second Army Corps of Podolia the following reply to their request for a suppression of the pogrom excesses in Proshna: "The corps commandant gives the following reply to your request. 1. It will be best if you yourselves should see to it that the members of the Proshna community should not agitate for the Soviet deputies. 2. No other measures can be taken, otherwise the Cossacks will think that the military force intended for the protection of the place is supporting the Bolsheviki, and will put all the inhabitants to death."

In an order of the Ataman Gavrishko, "To all the presidents of the great villages and village magistrates

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of the district of Priluki," special attention is called to the fact that a portion of the Cossacks, as a result partly of the influence of agitation and of the mean Bolshevist Jews, and partly of the moneys handed over to them, have succumbed to the movement of the agitator Koptuk and are supporting the Soviet power.

The agitation and the military failures excited the army against the Jews. In Annapol, Government of Volhynia, Petlura's men instituted a pogrom under the watchword: "Kill the Jews, also the Jewish children!" Before this, officers of Petlura's armies appeared at the meetings which were held in that place and cried shame on each other because the Jews had driven them out of Berdichev.

The attitude of the higher military authorities of the Directory toward these events appears from the following report of Mr. Gütermann, who was at that time a member of the Central Jewish Relief Committee for the pogrom victims and later authorized agent of the relief committee of the Red Cross for the population who suffered from the pogroms.

From Mr. Guetermann's Report

In the first days of February, 1919, a deputation of the Zhitomir city administration and other public organizations was sent to Vinnitza, where the Directory and All-Ukrainian government were then situated. As a representative of the Relief Committee for the people who suffered from the pogroms, I took part in the deputation. In Berdichev we were joined by a similar delegation of the Berdichev city administration

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and the administration of the province, as well as by a deputation of the Jewish community. The representatives of the latter were Krasny, now minister for Jewish affairs in the Petlura government, and the well-known Fania Nurenberg, active in public affairs. The purpose of my journey, as well as Krasny's and Fania Nurenberg's, was to receive the money appropriated by the Ukrainian Government, at the request of Revutzky, the minister for Jewish affairs, for the relief of the population of Zhitomir and Berdichev who had suffered from the pogroms.

On the second and third days after our arrival in Vinnitza, we, i.e., the representatives of Zhitomir and Berdichev, were asked by Revutzky to call on him at his hotel apartment with Kovenko, the commandant of the city of Vinnitza and the leader of the Clans of Death (who had instituted the pogroms in Zhitomir and Berdichev), in order to establish the responsibility for the pogroms.

The thought of a meeting with Kovenko, the former president of the Investigation Commission and the murderer of Gogol, the president of the Jewish Kriegerbund (union of soldiers)—a fact which Chekhovski, the Minister of the Interior, had also alluded to in a conversation with the delegation of the Socialistic parties received by him—the thought of meeting with this Kovenko appeared to us, to say the least, frightful. On the following day, as we were having dinner at the restaurant of the Hotel Savoy, Revutzky summoned us to come at once to his room, where they were expecting us. In spite of everything we all, for one reason or another, went, Madame Nurenberg, Krasny and myself. We found there Kovenko, three leaders of the Clans of Death and a Hetman, who, as we

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learned later, was the Ataman Pashchenko himself. Paschenko was the Ataman of the Clans of Death who himself instituted the pogroms in Berdichev and Zhitomir, had exacted large sums of money from rich Jews in Zhitomir, and whose staff, living at the railway station, had murdered seventeen Jews and among them old men. His guilt was so firmly established that the Ukrainian government had to arrest him, and Sumkevich, the Commissar of the Government of Volhynia, had to declare that Pashchenko, who was without question responsible for everything, would be severely punished.

The fact that Pashchenko was free in the Savoy Hotel, where the ministers of the Ukrainian Government were staying; that after the meeting he went for dinner to the restaurant where the members of the Directory were taking their meals, made the entire meeting useless. Among other things Novikov, a member of the Zhitomir city administration, recognized in the officer on duty at the building in which the Directory was located, the leader who was responsible for the most horrible episode during the whole Zhitomir pogrom, which took place on Theatre Street, when all the men of the Weinstein house were brought out, and some shot, while the rest were undressed, and while being led to the railway station were beaten to death on the way with sabres and the butt ends of guns.

The meeting was opened by Revutzky with a speech in which he said that the charge that the government had instituted the pogroms reflected on him also as a member of the Government, and that he therefore desired that the question should be settled at this meeting, which was participated in by representatives of the

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Clans of Death as well as of Zhitomir and Berdichev.

One of the leaders from Galich, who was not in Zhitomir at the time of the pogrom, but had been sent there by Kovenko to establish the circumstances of the pogrom and the responsibility therefor, declared that the pogrom was instituted mainly by Jews, that it had begun before the Clans of Death had arrived, and that Pashchenko had not enough forces at his disposal to check the pogrom. We all protested against this shameless declaration. I called attention to the fact that in Kiev there was a letter of a certain Hodman who had been beaten by soldiers of the Clans of Death in Fastov. He wrote in the letter that he had heard from soldiers that Clans of Death had gone to Zhitomir to institute Jewish pogroms. The letter arrived in Kiev on the day before the pogrom broke out in Zhitomir. I also called their attention to the fact that the Investigating Commission in Zhitomir had in their possession a note signed by Pashchenko and addressed to the well-known bandits Bek and Dimitrienko, in which they were ordered to appropriate the money in the Azov bank which belonged to the rich Jew, Rabin. I also asked Pashchenko how, if it was true that the only reason the pogroms continued was that he had not enough forces at his disposal to stop them, he could explain the fact that at the station, where he himself had been with his staff, seventeen Jews had been killed, among them some very old men.

Madame Nurenberg reported on the pogrom in Berdichev, which had been directly instituted by the Clans of Death and Pashchenko. Krasny reported, on the basis of the deposition of Zolodar, the acting

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Mayor of Berdichev, that Pashchenko had declared publicly in the city magistrate's office that he was going to Zhitomir "to get even with the Jews."

Pashchenko made no denial. Kovenko, however, always defended him and the Clans of Death. Kovenko did not justify them nor deny their participation in the pogrom, *but in cynical fashion he abused the whole of Jewry and accused them of lending support to the Bolsheviki.*

Quivering with anger he struck his fists on the table, and his whole speech was nothing but an incoherent hysterical cry, to the effect that the Clans of Death had acted according to instructions, that the Jews hated the Ukrainians and that the Jews themselves had taken part in the pogrom. "The Clans of Death are the glory of the Ukrainian army, Pashchenko is the best son of Ukrainia, and if he had not been arrested, we should not have lost Kiev. Now that he is free again we shall regain Kiev. They are my Clans of Death. When the Clans of Death marched to Kiev, they hurried so that they upset all the vehicles that were in their way, for they knew why they must hurry to Zhitomir. The Jews have plundered the city. We were not shy, we killed and killed and will kill again. Even this night I will have fifty men hanged in Vinnitza. I am a 'gendarme,' and do not feel a bit embarrassed about it."

When Revutzky began to say something about a rehabilitation of the Ukrainian army, Kovenko cried out, "We do not need its rehabilitation."

The most terrible thing at this meeting were the objections which one of the leaders of the Clans of Death, a typical criminal, raised. They made our blood run cold.

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"As we were approaching Zhitomir," he said, "there came out of one of the trenches two Jews with two long beards like this (a gesture to indicate the length of the beard) and shot at us. When I asked them why they were shooting at us, they replied that they hated the Ukrainians, whereupon I pierced them through." He also said that he had himself killed three Jews in Zhitomir because they plundered the shops during the pogroms. "At the station I caught two Jews with proclamations against the Directory and ran them through with my sword."

When I asked Revutzky the next day why he had arranged this depressing meeting, he said he wanted to know what truth there was in the statement that Kovenko had been the real organizer of the pogroms. I am fully convinced he was.

(Signed) P. GUETERMANN.

To this objective document it must be added that Krasny, who took part in the conference just mentioned, later became minister for Jewish affairs in the Petlura government.

In February, 1919, the position of the Directory became worse. The Bolshevists occupied Kiev. Petlura's troops finally evacuated the Governments of Kherson, Poltava and Kiev. The pogroms gained in extent. They are reported in Yelisavetgrad (4th and 5th of February), Novo-Mirgorod (about the same time), Piriatin and a number of other places in the Government of Poltava. At the railway station of Ramodan, Bobrinsky and other towns, Jews were thrown out of the cars and shot down.

In Lubny a pogrom was prevented only because some hundred men among Petlura's troops made ener-

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getic resistance to the pogrom. They even opposed it with arms, designating themselves as the "Local Sotnia." They lost fourteen men, but they saved the city from the pogrom. In Kremenchug the pogrom was prevented at the cost of one and a half million rubles, which the Jews gave to the troops. At the same time pogroms took place in the Government of Kiev, at Vasilkov (7th and 8th of February), Rossovo (14th and 15th of February), Stiepantsy (14th of February), Radomysl (18th to 20th of February), Skvira (beginning and end of February). The most terrible pogrom of this month, which denoted a turning point from the primary "pillage" pogroms of the preceding period to the following "Jew-annihilating" pogroms, took place far behind the Petlura front, in Proskurov on the 15th of February and in Felshtin on the 16th of the same month. (These two pogroms are described in greater detail in A. I. Hillerson's report in the Appendix, *pp.* 185 *ff.*)

Proskurov is the liveliest city in the Government of Podolia. It has about 50,000 inhabitants, half of whom are Jews. The democratic city administration consisted of 50 city commissaries of whom 26 were Christians and 24 were Jews. The mayor and the head of the assembly of city commissaries were Poles. Kiverchuk, formerly in the service of the tsar, was the commandant. The city was guarded by the militia. But the city administration did not trust them and organized a force of their own, the so-called "ward guard." At the head of it were mostly Jews. The chief was a Christian by the name of Rudnitzky, his second was Schenkmann, a Jew. Kiverchuk distrusted the defending force "because they were Jewish," and put all sorts of difficulties in their way.

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At a congress of the Bolsheviki of the Government of Podolia, held in Vinnitza, where Petlura resided, (some say that the congress itself was provocatory in character) it was resolved that on the fifteenth of February a Bolshevist uprising should break out in Proskurov. The third Gaidamak regiment which already had experience in the institution of pogroms appeared on the scene. When the rumor spread in the city that an uprising was being prepared, Joffe, a member of the Jewish Labor Bund and presiding officer of a conference of all the socialistic parties of Proskurov, called the representatives of the parties to a consultation, at which members of all the factions including the Bolshevists were present. At this meeting they put in a protest and pointed out that the uprising would lead to a collapse. The communists pointed out that the question had already been settled, that the uprising had already been prepared, that it would break out simultaneously in the whole Government of Podolia, that in Proskurov a part of the garrison would side with the insurgents and that sixteen villages were ready to send them help. On the evening before the uprising, two represenatives of the Bolshevists asked the ward guard what their attitude would be. The president, Rudnitzky, and his associate, Schenkmann, replied that the ward guard was not a party organization, that its exclusive purpose was the protection of the inhabitants and that they would be completely neutral in this case. At the same time Schenkmann pointed out that their attempt was inopportune and that it would inevitably lead to a Jewish pogrom. The answer was that these demonstrations would extend over the whole Government (province), and that a favorable result was assured. Schenkmann then tried to prove to the

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Bolshevist staff how senseless the uprising would be, but failed. The insurrectionists arrested Kiverchuk, whom they regarded, not without reason, as a dangerous advocate of the Black Hundred. After he was freed, Kiverchuk said that he, a representative of the city, had been imprisoned by the Jewish members of the ward guard.

The Ataman Semosenko took over the duties of Kiverchuk. The Gaidamak soldiers were again concentrated at the station. Arrests followed in the city. At the station, tables were set for the entertainment of the Gaidamaks, they were treated lavishly and given brandy and cognac. When the entertainment was over Semosenko made a speech in which he described the difficult position of Ukrainia; he spoke of the sacrifices which the Ukrainians offered in the war and pointed out emphatically that the most dangerous enemies of the Ukrainian people and the Cossacks were the Jews, who must be cut down with the sword to save themselves and the Ukraine. He asked the Cossacks to swear that they would fulfill their duty and destroy the Jewish population, but must at the same time swear that they would not rob the Jews of their possessions and property. The Cossacks were led to the flags and took an oath to murder but not to rob. Having drawn themselves up—the regiment band in front and the sanitary corps in the rear—the Cossacks marched to the city along Alexandrovskaya street. Then they divided in groups of five to fifteen men and swarmed out into the adjoining streets, which were inhabited exclusively by Jews. With perfect *sang-froid* they entered two houses, drew their swords and began to cut down the Jewish inmates without regard to sex or age. They murdered old men, women and infants

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at their mothers' breasts. They were not content with killing, but thrust their victims through with their bayonets. They made use of their guns only when some persons succeeded in running out into the streets. Then they sent a bullet after them. The Jews were dragged out of the cellars and lofts and murdered. Hand grenades were thrown into the cellars, and entire families were put to death in the most brutal manner. The massacre lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon to five-thirty. It might have lasted till late into the night but the commander Taranovich, who had not been initiated into all the plans of Semosenko and Kiverchuk, was frightened when he saw these bloody orgies. When he had succeeded in obtaining an order from the commander Konovalov to put an end to the blood bath, he brought it to Semosenko, who said, "Good, it is enough for to-day." A trumpet signal was then given to the Gaidamaks to stop "work." Thereupon they assembled at a place determined beforehand and marched singing to their quarters behind the railway station. The pogrom was to be continued the next day (the Gaidamaks related that the massacre was to last three days). Thanks to the interference of the city administration, especially the city commissar Verkhola, the mass slaughter was stopped. In a proclamation, in which Semosenko declares the city and the canton under martial law, he writes, "I warn the population to stop anarchistic revolts, since I have the power to suppress them. I call the attention of the Jews in particular to this. You are a people hated by all nations. And yet you bring such confusion among the baptized. Do you really not want to live? Are you not sorry for your own people? As long as no one bothers you be quiet. Such a miser-

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able nation, and yet they cause so much disturbance among a poor people!"

After the pogrom in Proskurov the bandits made it their purpose to annihilate this "miserable nation," which brings confusion among the baptized.

The pogrom in Felshtin was really an episode of the Proskurov massacre. It lasted several hours and cost the lives of about six hundred persons, that is, almost a third of the Jewish population numbering 1,900 souls. Many more women were violated here than in Proskurov. Most of those killed were first dishonored, and survivors underwent the same horror. Here too the pogrom stopped at a given signal. When the trumpet sounded, the Gaidamaks poured petroleum and benzine upon five of the best houses in the town and set them on fire. Thus these warriors crowned their work for the welfare of the Ukrainian Fatherland.

The month of March is marked by the successes in arms of Petlura's troops. In the beginning of March Petlura succeeded, by Sarin's march to Iskorost, in threatening Kiev. He occupied Iskorost, Malin, the station Irsha and on the 21st of March, Zhitomir. He was only 150 versts from Kiev. At the end of March the fortunes of war turned against him. Owing to quick reinforcements of the Bolsheviki, the breach through their front was made ineffective on April 1st. Zhitomir, Malin, Iskorost and other places were reconquered by the Bolsheviki. The greatest pogroms, as for example the second in Zhitomir, took place at the end of March. In this month Petlura's army instituted the following pogroms: in Belashits (between the 7th and 12th of March), in Samgorodok (13th of March), in Iskorost and Ushomir (31st of March),

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and in Zhitomir (second pogrom, 22nd of March). Especially characteristic and significant for the conception of the entire political situation are the circumstances under which the second pogrom in Zhitomir took place. For this reason we quote a report of this pogrom made by the authorized agent, Lifschütz.

Report of Mr. Lifschuetz of the Second Pogrom in Zhitomir.

On the 21st of March the Soviet troops left Zhitomir. Early on the 22nd the troops of Petlura entered. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the prominent persons in the public life of Zhitomir decided to send a delegation to the troops of the Directory in order to prevent a pogrom. In view of the intense agitation against the Jews, the rumor spread that the Petlura troops would institute a pogrom in the city, and the delegation was to endeavor to keep them from carrying out their intention. In order to make the anti-Jewish agitation more effective in the circles of the ignorant population, especially the peasants, the rumor was circulated that during the presence of the Soviet troops the Bolsheviki, or, as was stated by all sorts of inciting police spies, the Jews, had put to death 1,700 Christians. As a matter of fact the Bolsheviki, according to the complete and exact data of the Extraordinary Commission, had, up to the time of their retirement from Zhitomir, put to death six persons in the city and sixteen in the surrounding district, twenty-two persons in all, of whom several were Jews. The rumor of the 1,700 men shot was circulated among others by officials, who apparently regarded this fable as actually true or at least pretended to think so. On Friday it was already clear that the pogrom was unavoidable.

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The Jewish masses left the city. The entire Jewish youth fled from the city for fear of a pogrom. On their return they were designated as fugitive Bolsheviki. It was only thanks to the energetic efforts of the city administration and a few prominent and influential Christian citizens that they succeeded in saving the young people who returned, and who had nothing to do with Bolshevism, from being shot.

Early on Saturday, the delegation, consisting of three prominent Christians and the president of the Jewish community, went out to meet the troops. The Jew was obliged to go back while still on his way, because he was in danger of losing his life, as he was told by an officer whom the deputation met on the way.

On his way back, the president of the community saw the first bodies of Jews who had been put to death by the arriving soldiers. The first man killed was an old man of seventy on the road leading from Vrangelevka to the city. The old man was on his way to the synagogue carrying the "talis" (prayer shawl) in his hand. According to the testimony of eye witnesses, he was placed against a tree and shot at without being killed immediately. The wounded old man had strength enough left to drag himself several yards farther on the road. As a result of the great loss of blood he began to reel, fell down and died by the wayside.

The delegation led the conversation with the staff to the subject of the 1,700 Christians alleged to have been put to death by the Jews, and when they gave their word of honor that the story was absolutely untrue, they were told by the staff that intelligent people naturally could be convinced, but that the soldiers were very much aroused against the Jews, and the staff could do nothing.

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The pogrom began on the 22nd of March and lasted five days. The first three were the bloodiest.

The number of victims in Zhitomir alone, not counting those buried in the surrounding villages, was 317. The greater part of those murdered were old men, women and children. The losses among the younger men were comparatively slight, for these had either left the city at the same time as the Bolsheviki or had concealed themselves. When dwelling houses were attacked, the inmates succeeded in some cases in redeeming their lives by payment of money, but there were a number of cases in which the bandits took the money and then slaughtered those who expected to save themselves in that way. In general, Petlura's men, unlike the loafers of the first pogrom who confined themselves principally to robbery and plunder, endeavored to kill as many Jews as they could.

That this second pogrom of Zhitomir exacted only 317 victims is due to two reasons, first, that many Christians took Jews into their houses, thus saving a great many from death; but principally that on the evening of the 24th of March the Bolsheviki renewed their advance against Zhitomir, and thus prevented a further extension of the pogrom, since all the soldiers had to go to the front. On the 23rd of March, when the pogrom was in full swing, Petlura came to Zhitomir. He was accurately informed of all that had taken and was taking place. He said that he had done everything necessary to check the pogrom. In reality, however, no measures of any kind were taken until the 25th of March.

In addition to the killed, the number of wounded and injured was also very great. It can not be determined even approximately because the greater part of the in-

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jured remained at home and could not get any medical help. The victims of the pogrom belonged in the great majority to the poor classes and those just above them.

The pogrom of Zhitomir completely discloses the cards of the pogrom politics of the Directory. A delegation of the Jewish socialistic parties once came before Vinnichenko, the former head of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and complained of the terrible Jewish persecutions which the regular Ukrainian troops instituted according to a definite plan and by order of the responsible military leaders. His reply was: "Tell your Jews and your young men that they should not support the Bolshevists. The Jewish workmen organized uprisings in the towns of Ukrainia to hand over the power to the Bolshevists. We shall soon be powerless against the anger of our troops against the Jews." Hereupon a member of the delegation justly remarked that a similar reply was made to a Jewish delegation after the Kishinev pogrom by the all-powerful satrap of the tsar, Plehve.

During the Zhitomir pogrom, just as the deeds of horror had reached their highest point, Petlura, the head of the Directory, came to Zhitomir. The highest Ataman of the Ukrainian troops did not prevent the pogrom which a few days later the chief of the Galicians easily suppressed.

The attitude of Petlura is clear from the frank conversation which Colonel Petrov, chief of the garrison, had with a deputation of the Extraordinary Investigation Commission. Petrov, a former officer of the general staff, said of himself to some persons in public life that he had been a faithful servant of the tsar until the first of March. After the 1st of March

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he found that he had been mistaken and became a socialist. The conversation was so significant that the Extraordinary Investigation Commission resolved to send the Directory an extract from the Protocol which had reference to the conversation with Petrov. The extract is as follows:

April 10, 1919.

Report of the Delegation Chosen at the Session of the 3rd of April.

The delegation consisted of the following members of the Commission: M. A. Kitz, Second Attorney General, Judge G. W. Rublevski, and P. T. Redko, Representative of the Government District.

The delegation reported that they first called on the Government commissar Sumkevich, who was very favorable to the work of the Commission. He said it was necessary to hand over the matter of the second pogrom to the Extraordinary Investigation Commission that was already in existence, and promised personally to appeal to the Directory for this purpose. He requested us to let him present a memoir of his own on this matter, advised us to approach the military authorities, promised to secure the necessary means and allowed the Commission an advance of 15,000 rubles.

The Chief of the Field Police, Bogatzky, was also favorable to the work done by the Commission and promised them his full support in their house searchings and arrests.

Quite different was the attitude of Colonel Petrov, chief of the garrison. When the delegation greeted him on the steps of the Hotel Frankreich, he said, "Ah, this is the Jewish Commission, I have nothing to

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say to you." When it was explained to him that the delegation consisted of members of the Commission confirmed by the Directory, Colonel Petrov invited the members of the delegation to his room. During the conversation Colonel Petrov said among other things, "We march under the banner, 'Cut down the Jews, and cut down the Bolsheviki!' Can you hold two thousand minor children responsible if, meeting the Jews who were advancing against them together with the Bolsheviki, they killed a few of the former?" He said further that the pogrom broke out with such elemental force that even the students in the military schools were unable to resist it, so much so that in the few days of the pogrom he had to send the members of the Yunatsk-School to the front. If some soldier took a shirt away from a Jew, he must not, according to Petrov, be held responsible for it. If the soldiers are to be held responsible, he can justify their acts fourfold. When a member of the Commission again pointed out that the Commission was confirmed by the Directory, Colonel Petrov said that the Directory was a puppet in the hands of the diplomats, most of whom were Jews. If the Directory appointed a commission to investigate the matter of pogroms, it was merely to make a show before public opinion that such things as pogroms do not remain unpunished. The delegation received the impression that Colonel Petrov was favorable to the existence of the Commission but not to their activity. The sense of his reply was that the soldiers should remain undisturbed, but private plunderers should be made responsible, for these would be shot by the Government. At the end of the conversation, when the delegates again pointed out emphatically that they were acting according to instruc-

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tions confirmed by the Directory, the chief of the garrison promised to see to it that the Commandant Vosny and the Hetman Bogatzky should lend their support to the Commission.

On a second visit to Sumkevich, the delegation informed him of their conversation with Colonel Petrov, which displeased the commissar very much. He asked them not to do anything until his return from Rovno, where he wanted to talk the matter over with the members of the Directory. At his request the delegation handed over to him a memoir concerning the delivery of the documents of the second pogrom to the Commission, which memoir he took along with him.

The Commission resolved as follows: "That part of the Protocol of the meeting which concerns the conversations with Colonel Petrov shall be laid before the Directory after the return of the Government commissar from Rovno," and they requested at the same time that the delegation chosen on the 3rd of April be sent to hold a conversation with him.

The original of the protocol is signed by all of the members of the Commission.

The reply of the Directory to the communication sent to them about Petrov's talents as a pogrom maker was his appointment as minister of war of the Directory.

After the month of March the pogroms instituted by the military associations of the Directory cross the path of those organized by the insurrectionary bands of the inner anti-Bolshevist front, of which more is said below in the chapter entitled, "The Batko."

On the 10th of April a group of Petlura's followers, who retired from Olevsk to Novograd-Volynsk, destroyed the town of Emilchino.

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In May Petlura's troops instituted the following pogroms on their front in the governments of Volhynia and Podolia; in Voronovitsy, on the 9th of May; in Rovno, on the 14th and 29th of May; in Kremenetz, on the 22nd of May; in Litin, on the 14th and the 28th; in Kodyma and other places (precise dates not yet established).

In June, as a result of the varying fortunes on the outer front, there were pogroms and murders in Derashna, during the time between the 7th and 17th of June, in Khmelnik, Strishanya, Starye Siniavka, and other places.

In the enormous number of pogroms instituted in July, which broke the record in the annals of terror and death, portions of Petlura's troops were active in the governments of Volhynia and Podolia in addition to the insurrectionary troops of freebooters. At this time it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the former and the insurgent bands. The extreme measures, namely the Jewish pogroms, which the military leaders took for the purpose of welding together the different portions of their troops, brought about their final dissolution and changed them into robber bands.

In August the number of pogroms perpetrated by the freebooters and the armies of the Directory was very small. Instead of this wave there arose a new one, the all-Russian reaction of General Denikin. In August the political situation changed completely. As a result of the happenings on the "internal front," the freebooters, the uprising of Grigoriev and the pressure of the volunteer army, the Soviet power was expelled from the Ukraine. Ukrainian cities passed one after another into the possession of the volunteer army, which in the beginning of August occupied Kharkov,

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Yekaterinoslav, Poltava. In the middle of August the Soviet Government had only Kiev in its possession, and this was occupied by Denikin on the 2nd of September. The Directory saw itself faced by another enemy, who also used the method of the pogrom against the Soviet power. Henceforth this method had no further purpose in the hands of the Directory. Besides, this weapon, which signified the last anchor for the Directory, to which it clung as a drowning man to a straw, appeared infamous in the eyes of West European public opinion.

Simultaneously with the gradual occupation of the Ukraine by Denikin, the Directory, almost entirely driven out of the Ukraine, removed its activity abroad, where it developed a lively diplomatic and agitational propaganda. But rumors and reports of the pogroms had already been circulated in Western Europe. The Directory attempted to deny everything, and the best method of defense was to impute the guilt to others.

The representative of the Petlura government at the Peace Conference, Dr. Margoline, gave to the correspondent of the *"Jewish Chronicle"* the following explanation of the Ukrainian pogroms:

"There is this difference between the pogroms which have unhappily taken place in the Ukraine and those which occurred under the tsarist regime. Whereas the latter were instigated and connived at by the authorities, the Ukraine government has steadily set its face against the pogroms, and it has had no part in, or responsibility for, them. At the time of Petlura's *coup d'état* at the end of November, 1918, I myself read, in numerous towns and villages in the Ukraine, proclamations issued by the government strongly condemning pogroms, explaining to the people that the

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Jews were fellow-citizens and brothers who were helping in the evolution of the Ukrainian state, and to whom the fullest rights were due. The proclamations declared that pogroms must tend to discredit the Ukraine in the eyes of the civilized world, and those who took part in them were no friends of the country. Unfortunately, after the Bolshevists took Kiev, and disintegration set in among the ranks of the Ukrainian forces, the worst elements of the army started pogroms. Once more the government disavowed them, sentenced the perpetrators to death, expressed their deepest sympathy with the Jews, and promised the fullest compensation to the sufferers. I must unhappily admit that the last pogroms as to which I have information—those of February and March last—were very bad, thousands of Jews being killed. They were instigated by criminals, Black Hundreds, and Bolshevists, who wished to discredit the Ukrainian government." (*Jewish Chronicle*, May 16, 1919.)

The explanations of Dr. Margoline do not tally with the facts. At the time of his interview (May, 1919), the pogromists raged through the land with elemental fury. A bitter fight ensued between the Directory and the Soviet power, and thousands of Jews were done to death at the hands of the insurrectionary bands and the armies of Petlura. The Directory had no thought of expressing its sympathy with the Jews. It did not fight against the excesses and issued no proclamations against pogroms. We have quoted above the declarations of different heads of the army. They all bear unequivocally the character of incitements to pogroms. That the excesses were organized, we have already shown. During the second terrible pogrom in Zhitomir, which began and ended by order of the high-

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est military authorities, Petlura, the head of the Directory, came to Zhitomir, and the unfortunate Jewish population turned to him. Nevertheless the pogroms kept on. It is true that the pogrom tactics had so demoralized the army that it contained many criminal elements and followers of the Black Hundred. But the responsible parties were the leaders of the Directory.

"The Directory fights against the pogroms . . ." Read the little book published in Berlin by the Ukrainian mission under the title, *"Die Lage der Juden in der Ukraina"* (The position of the Jews in the Ukraine), and you will come across a resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic, in which special attention is called to the fact that "the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic has made it its task to remove the possibilities of incitements, pogroms and other excesses."

This resolution was passed on the 18th of August, i.e., at the time, as explained before, when the pogroms had lost their value as methods of political warfare. The entire statement of the question in this resolution is also characteristic: "The Council of Ministers having heard the report of P. Krasny, Minister for Jewish affairs, concerning the situation that has *developed* in connection with the Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine, and *especially in Kiev,* and *also abroad,* makes the following order. . . . Advices full of lies, falsehoods and incitements deliberately confuse the places where the pogroms were perpetrated by the Bolshevists with those instituted by a reactionary clique in the Ukraine, who are in union with the underhanded reaction of Denikin and the Poles. . . . In lying publications and in *open letters addressed to the most important repre-*

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sentatives in Europe all of this is imputed to the Ukrainian People's Republic, which has made it its aim energetically to suppress all pogrom excesses. . . ."

The passages italicized by me show clearly the motives which led to the publication of this document. . . . They follow from the situation created in Kiev (i.e., the public central place where there were no pogroms, but where public opinion at this terrible time cursed the Directory), as well as the situation abroad, which pressed so hard upon the Directory in its fight against Denikin's principle of a "united and undivided Russia."

This resolution is not concerned with the colossal evils, political and economic; it is not concerned with the destruction and extirpation of a nation, which was "helping in the evolution of the Ukrainian state"; it is not concerned with the horrors, which put in the shade those of the middle ages; it is not concerned with national relief to those who were injured through the guilt of the Directory and their agents (the offer to contribute 11,460,000 griven, i.e., 5,730,000 rubles, seems ridiculous enough, besides the offer was not made until the 15th of August, 1919)—it is concerned only with the political uselessness of the Jewish pogroms, which brought the Ukrainian Government into an unfavorable position. The resolution is only a confirmation of what I have already said.

To sum up, the Directory used pogrom politics as long as they promised, in a given instant under the military and political circumstances, success in their struggle against the Soviet power. This method was a double-edged sword for the Directory. On the one hand the anti-Jewish parts of the army were welded

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together, but on the other hand military discipline was undermined. The anti-Bolshevist agitation under the motto, "Cut down the Jews, for they are bourgeois," produced in the masses a Bolshevistic radicalism; while the motto, "Cut down the Jews, for they are communists," strengthened the reaction, which did not bow to the political course of the Directory, but inclined to the All-Russian reaction of General Denikin, whom the Directory so much feared. The bitter fight against the Soviet power transformed this method into a continuous system. It was only after the Denikin reaction had triumphed, when the Directory rehabilitated itself in the eyes of West European public opinion and had to seek support from the Jewish socialistic parties of the right—it was only then that the Rada of the People's Ministers spoke a decisive word, and the chief Ataman, Petlura, issued his order of the day to the troops, on the 26th of August, 1919.

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CHAPTER III

THE BATKO

WITH the occupation of Kiev by the Soviet power, the so-called internal front was first formed, the rising of the Ukrainian peasants against the Soviet government. The latter extended its power over the large cities (Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Odessa, Chernigov and others) and the territory covered by the railroads. The localities a few versts away from the railroads were already in revolt. The suppression of these uprisings, which always assumed more intense forms, was the essential characteristic of the Soviet period in the Ukraine, while the history of the peasant uprisings represented at the same time the history of the Jewish massacres in the Ukraine.

The peasants in the Ukraine were armed to the teeth. Even during the German occupation the villages were always provided with arms, not only revolvers and guns, but also machine guns and small cannon. The Soviet power, which always fought against the troops of the Directory, was not able to penetrate into the villages and disarm them. Besides, the army of the Soviet power was unable to exercise sufficient influ- and not sufficiently disciplined. Politically, too, the Soviet power was unable to exercise sufficient influence upon the middle peasants. The difference between city and country in the Ukraine was too great. The

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Ukrainian village is very rich; and the peasants refused to give up their products and their grain to the indigent city for "Kerensky money" or the Ukrainian "karbovantzy," which they possessed in plenty (there was scarcely a house which did not own bales of worthless paper money); for the peasant could not obtain what he needed for this money; he could get neither agricultural machines nor manufactured goods nor salt. The blockade made it impossible for the city to play the role of the middleman or to obtain its necessities. The Soviet power was therefore compelled to take the grain from the peasants by force of arms. To be sure, the Soviet government had made a decree regulating the exchange of agricultural products for salt and manufactured goods, a standard of exchange had in fact been established, one pound of salt to equal one pound of flour. This was changed later, and one pound of salt was made equal to 2 poods (1 pood equals 40 lbs.) of flour. In reality, however, there was no possibility of transporting manufactures or salt and bringing them to their destinations, after the internal front made railroad communication in the Ukraine almost impossible by reason of the continual blowing up and damaging of rolling stock and tracks. But the peasants were not willing to give anything away for products "prospective in principle." For they mistrusted the "commune." Not only the rich peasants but the middle peasants, too, regarded the "commune" as a hydra which strove to take everything out of the village without giving them anything in return. The rich Ukrainian village was anarchistic in temper. It recognized every government so long as it left the village undisturbed, and demanded no taxes, agricultural products, recruits, and so on. But the moment any government

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attempted to make demands for the flat land or to press claims, the village revolted, took out the buried weapons and used them, and finally brought about the fall of the government in question. The Ukrainian village was the sphinx whose riddle could not be solved and which destroyed every power that rose before it. This is the explanation of the cinematographic rapidity with which the various governments followed each other in the Ukraine.

A special peasant phraseology was formed: "We are Bolshevists," said the peasants in the Ukraine, "but no communists. The Bolsheviki gave us land, while the communists take away our grain without giving us anything for it. We will not allow the Red Army to hang the commune about our necks. Down with the commune! Long live the Bolsheviki!"

The attitude of the Ukrainian peasants toward the commune is shown in the following incident, which would be humorous if it were not that it really took place under the tragic circumstances of the pogrom temper. The authorized agent of the Relief Committee of the Red Cross had been commissioned to establish a kitchen in Iskorost for those who had suffered from the pogrom. Rumors of the creation of a common kettle, that terrible common kettle with which the agitators frightened the peasants, were circulated also in the neighboring district of Ushomir. The inhabitants of Ushomir said then that "the Jews had already established the commune," and affirmed that they had seen the Kettle with their own eyes. The peasants of Ushomir threatened the Jewish population with the words, "Why don't you go to Iskorost? There the Kettle is already made." Fearing an accusation of having established the "commune," the Jews

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of Ushomir asked the agent of the Red Cross not to establish a kitchen after the model of the one in Iskorost, so that they might not be exposed to the danger of being regarded as communists.

The attitude of opposition toward the "city power" led to a rejection of "State power" in general. The anarchistic village needs no government. Of what good is it? The village has its leaders, *viz.* its "Elders" (Batki). The government is never constant, it always changes. Since the March Revolution the Ukraine has had too many governments to be able to believe in the durability of any kind of State order (the Provisional Government, the Central Rada and its Secretariat, the first period of the Soviet power, the German Occupation, the rule of the Germans, the Directory, the Soviet power again and the armies pressing it from two sides, the army of Petlura and that of the volunteers). Their Ataman (leader), however, their Batko, they always have. He is one of them and they believe in the firmness and unshakenness of the armed regime of the peasants with the Batko at their head. The village rejects every thought of the possibility of an attack on the peasants and their "eternal rights to the land and its products" by the landed proprietors of the White Guard. But in so far as the village sees a danger on the right, in so far as danger threatens the interests of the village and the right of the peasants to the land, they will support the left including the Soviet power, which favors them in this matter.

A characteristic episode will make clear the attitude of the village to the Soviet power when there is a danger threatening from the right. In the last months of the Soviet government in the Ukraine (July, 1919),

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there were frequent uprisings among those Soviet troops which consisted of peasant freebooters. Such a regiment stationed near Kiev resolved to march to Kiev, "to slit the bellies of the Jewish commissars, to set aside the commune and re-establish the 'true Bolshevist order!'" They allowed a representative of the Soviet power to have his say, and after hearing him they deliberated and persisted in their former resolution. In full fighting form the regiment marched to Kiev. The political commissar, who was in this case the principal agitator, resolved to hold another meeting in order to heighten the temper of the regiment, for there were a few who hesitated under the impression of the speech of the Soviet representative. The political commissar made a long speech, pointed to the harm that would come from the "commune" and said that the war must be ended altogether. "Let us remove the commune, make peace with Denikin and go home." These words acted like an electric spark, "He invites us to make peace with the landed proprietors, he is a traitor!" The unfortunate speaker was put in chains, handed over to the representatives of the Soviet government, and the regiment was ordered to the Denikin front.

The Batko—flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the village—stands close to the village in his temper, thought, life and character. The Batko is not always an ordinary peasant. As we shall see later, the most important Batki are highly developed persons with European education. But they can put themselves in the position of the village, think its thoughts and ideals, make its desires and moods their own and embody the will of the Ukrainian peasant. They are able to lead the peasant masses, who yield them respect

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and obedience so long as they give expression to the will of the village. The Batko understands how to take the peasant, and knows how to win him over by social or national motives. The Batko is perfectly familiar with the revolutionary phraseology and adapts it successfully to the level of the peasant. He is primarily a demagogue. In his speeches and proclamations, the Batko expresses himself in favor of the Soviet power without the communists. He demands besides that the Rada be controlled by the village. He is against the bourgeoisie and against the communists, but for the Bolsheviki. Often he expresses himself to the effect that the communists treat the bourgeoisie too gently. The Batko is opposed to a centralized government and its apparatus. He demands a free association of anarchistic peasant communities with the Batki at the head. Socially the program of the Batki is primitively anarchistic: "Rob, requisition, take possession of the cities, take Yekaterinoslav, take Kiev, take Kharkov,—the cities belong to you, take away the property of the wealthy classes."

Hand in hand with the anarchistic phrase and the attacks against the Kiev Soviet government, the anti-Semitic pogrom agitation moved through the land. The Soviet power was, according to their idea, a foreign government of Moscovitish-Jewish origin, which the village did not understand. The peasant knew only that they wanted to take everything out of the village and give him in return colored little papers, which were found in the village in plenty. He knew it was a government which proceeded against the village with armed force. In very many cases Jews were the agents of the Soviet government in the villages and districts. They often neglected the interests of the

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local population and had no regard for them. The mistakes, abuses and offences of the local agents of the Soviet power were noted and utilized in a definite way by the anti-Soviet powers, who represented them as characteristic qualities of the "Jewish nation," which ruled over the "orthodox" peasant. The poison of the anti-Semitic agitation flowed in a wide stream over the whole of the Ukraine. The Batki understood clearly the value of the Jewish pogrom as a political weapon, established by the Directory. They saw the real results of Jew baiting in the unruliness of the mob which was so necessary for them. Giving up the Jewish population to the village as booty seemed to the Batki advantageous in many respects.

In the first place those Jews in the cities and districts who had become rich during the German rule possessed objects which the Ukrainian peasant needed urgently, as for example household articles and, what was most important, clothing, linen and shoes, of which nothing could any longer be found in the village. Even a pair of old shoes of a poor Jew excited the attention of the village population, rich in grain and Kerensky money and poor in everything else. During the pogroms the Jewish population, those who were murdered as well as those who survived, were stripped of everything to the last shirt. The Batki in the neighboring villages successfully vied with each other in popularity by declaring the Jewish possessions as the property of the peasants and by distributing the plundered Jewish goods free of cost to the "most needy" or by instituting "cheap sales." This method of satisfying the needs of the village received wide imitation. In the second place national baiting was a means of uniting to a certain extent the heterogeneous peasantry.

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This was especially important at those moments when the middle peasants vacillated between the right and the left under the pressure of the danger threatening from the right. When the political program of the Batki at this or that moment did not correspond to the temper of the peasants, national baiting had to fill the lacuna in its reciprocal relations.

In the third place the identification of Jews and communists (which, however, did not hinder them from at the same time declaring the Jews to be bourgeois and thus summoning the population to murder and pillage) made it possible for them to carry on the fight against their dangerous enemies, the Soviet power. "Down with the communists, down with the Jewish commissars!" This was the motto of Shtogrin, a member of the left wing of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionists, who carried on simultaneously an anti-Soviet and a pogromophile agitation in Uman. At the hearing before the Extraordinary Commission he was charged with anti-Semitic propaganda. Asked if he did not know that he might have caused a Jewish pogrom, he replied that he had in fact incited the peasants to make pogroms, "for otherwise it was impossible to get the peasants to rise." Order No. 1 for the city of Uman which was issued after the pogrom and signed by Klimenko, the chief commander of the rebellious troops, says among other things, "The rule of the Jews has fallen, and the insurgents are instructed to pay no heed to Jewish agents and police spies."

Kümmelman reports from the district of Matusovo (Government of Kiev) as follows: The peasants distrusted the Soviet power, they did not take them seriously and regarded them as a foreign power, almost as much as the rule of the Germans. This distrust of

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the new government was artificially kept awake by the local intelligentzia. From the first day they took an attitude of opposition to the new government. The local Ukrainian intelligentzia, like the postmaster, the seminary students and the teachers, openly agitated against the Soviet power. They played the national question as the main trump. "The government of Petlura," the postmaster Kulik impresses upon the peasants, "is our real native Ukrainian government, but the government of the Bolsheviki is a Jew government." "I was in Cherkassy," the teacher Palega assures the peasants, "in the Commissariat for the Enlightenment of the People, and what have I seen there? Nothing but Jews, the whole Commissariat filled with Jews."

The social position of the Batko is various. There are various grades, from the Batko who controls a village, a district and sometimes several districts up to the Batko who rules over entire Governments (provinces) and plays a great political rôle, like Grigoriev and Makhno. The last named are leaders of the Ukrainian peasants, able men with clear political purpose. Batki like Zeleny, Struk, Angel, Yatzenko, Tiutiunik, Klimenko, Popov are peasants who have no independent policy, but are instruments of the leaders who know how to comprehend and formulate the dissatisfaction of the middle peasants. Every Batko has his sphere of activity. Struk worked north of Kiev, in the district of Chernobyl. Sokolovsky carried on his activity west of Kiev, in the district of Radomysl and in the neighboring part of the circuit of Zhitomir. South of Kiev, in the district of Tripolie on the Dnieper, Zeleny had his field of activity. In the precincts of Tarascha were Yatzenko, Golub and

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others. In the district of Brussilov we find the group of Mordylev; in Lipovetz the association of Sokolovsky; in the district of Uman the bands of Klimenko, Tiutiunik and Popov; in the district of Gaisin, Volynetz, and in the region of Bakhmach, Angel. Almost all these "small" Batki are former followers of Petlura (whom the Directory gave object lessons in political fighting, which they have put to good use) and work always within the limits of their homes.

Struk is a twenty-three year old peasant from the village of Grini near Gornostaipol; Sokolovsky comes from the village Gorbulevo, nineteen versts from Radomysl, and is the son of a deacon of the village. Zeleny lives in Tripolie, is a son of a local cabinet maker and attained the rank of corporal in the war. Mordylev comes from the village Zabylachy, not far from Brussilov. Sokolovsky was formerly a lower official of the agrarian administration of Lipovetz. Volynetz was born in the village Karlovka near Gaisin. He is a peasant of 23, former clerk of the Forestry administration. Yatzenko was born in the village Kershan, three versts from Tarascha. He is about 24 years old, attended a school of two classes in Tarascha, became a follower of Petlura in March and initiated his activity with Jew baiting. "The Jews are all communists, they defile our churches and change them into stables."

The leading Batki often go over from one government to the other. This is true of Grigoriev, for example, who watered a great part of the Ukraine with Jewish blood. Under the Hetman he held a responsible position in the economic department of the administration and came in close contact with the village (he is a native Ukrainian from the city of Alexan-

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dria in the Government of Kherson). Going from village to village, he organized groups of insurrectionists, at the head of which he raised the banner of Petlura. The ambition to make a career, the desire to be more conspicuous, the comprehension of the tendencies of the peasants at that time who were attempting a reaction against German rule and wishing for a radical power of the extreme left, induced him to put himself on the side of the Soviet government. Grigoriev placed himself at the head of strong associations of freebooters and in a whirlwind campaign conquered the whole south, including Odessa. But he was not satisfied with being a leader of a Soviet army. He was casting eyes on the position of an independent ruler of South Russia and dreamed of a dictatorship of his own. He systematically encouraged unbridled conduct among his troops, did everything to please their instincts and desires and gave them to understand that they could do anything they liked as long as they were masters of Odessa. It is significant that as long as he had not broken with the Soviet government and had not refused to obey the military commands given to him to go to the Rumanian front, Grigoriev abstained from all national baiting. In Odessa his bands robbed the population under the pretext of fighting the bourgeoisie, but there were no serious excesses or pogroms. After the Soviet government declared Grigoriev an outlaw, he adopted a means that had been long proved in Ukraine to weld together his united bands. He identified the Soviet government with Judaism and preached its destruction.

Grigoriev issued his manifesto of sad memory, "Universal" (addressed to all the people), which has had a very unfortunate significance for the Ukrainian

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Jews. This manifesto written in revolutionary phraseology demands at the end the removal of the Soviet government, formed of "foreign elements from the ever hungry land of Moscow and the land where Christ was nailed to the cross," and the murder of the Jews. The watchword of Grigoriev found an echo in the Ukrainian village. It was taken up in the several localities by the local Batki as well as by the bands of the Black Hundred in the Ukrainian cities and villages, and especially by the ultra-reactionary anti-Semitic intellectuals who are found in plenty in the cities and small towns, and was carried farther. This is extremely characteristic of the period of Grigoriev, which may be regarded in this respect as the forerunner of Denikin. Thus in the country town of Gorodische, in the Government of Kiev, a former officer Gritsai stood at the head of Grigoriev's men. The pogrom was led by a small group of residents, teachers and students of the local gymnasium and agricultural school. They were not only the instigators and leaders of the pogrom, but also soon took active part in pillage and murder. In the town of Zlatopol (Government of Kiev), the participants in the Jewish massacres were not only the poorer classes, but also a part of the intelligentzia, as far as they belonged to the Black Hundred or sympathized with them. In the town of Stavische, in the same Government, a town of more than one thousand peasant families, there were among the participants in the pogrom many landed proprietors, students, clergy, who openly designated themselves as members of the "White Guard." The terrible massacre in Yelisavetgrad took place under the watchword, "Cut down the Jews, cut down the communists!" The Rabbi of Mirgorod testified at his

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examination that the soldiers seized him, pointed at him and cried, "You are a communist, you Jewish snout!" In Boguslav it was the peasants who robbed and murdered the Jews on the ground that they were all Bolsheviki and communists. The same thing happened in Tarascha and in dozens and hundreds of places in which Grigoriev's bands instituted pogroms. In Cherkassy the pogromists literally cut down all Jews, saying to them, "You want to rule over us, to use violence against us!" Especially characteristic of the movement instigated by Grigoriev is the fact that the intellectuals in their agitation in the villages used a new motive in addition to the old, namely that the Jews had done violence to the Christian religion (a motive suggested by the phrase in the manifesto, "from the land where Christ was nailed to the cross"). This grouping about Grigoriev not only of the civic elements, but also of the Black Hundred, who dream of the return of the tsarist order, lent to their deeds of horror the particularly gruesome character of an attempt to annihilate and exterminate the Jewish people. The pogroms everywhere followed a prearranged plan. The triumphal procession of the victorious Grigoriev took place under the sign of pogroms instituted by the Ataman himself and his assistants, Uvarov, Tiutiunik and Nechayev.

The Jewish persecutions in May must be attributed to the activity of Grigoriev. Three-fourths of them took place in the southeastern projection of the Government of Kiev (the district between Cherkassy and Chigirin). The rest were enacted in the neighboring parts of the Governments of Kherson and Poltava. In a small number of cases the pogroms were instituted not by the bands of Grigoriev but by locally resident

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elements and under the influence of the above mentioned "Universal" manifesto.

The Jewish massacres followed each other in the following order: Zlatopol, May 2-5; Znamenka, May 3; Lebedin, May 5; Gorodische, May 11-12; Orlovetz, May 12; Zolotonosha, May 12; Rotmistrovka, May 13-14; Matusovo, May 13-14; Belozeria, May 14-15; Smela, May 14-15; Yelisavetgrad, 15-17; Novo-Mirgorod, 17; Cherkassy, 16-21; Raigorod, 20; in the Sablino-Znamenk sugar factory, 20; Alexandria, 22; Chigirin, 25; Alexandrovka, 15-18; Stepanovka, 18; Semyonovka, 18-19; Grossulov, 20.

There were pogroms at the same time in Fundukeievka, Medvedovka, Kamenka, Teleschino, Station Bobrinsky, Tzvetkovo, Moshny, Glovbin, Kassel, Tomashov, Ivanovka, Vessyolaya Kuta, Vessyolaya Podol, and others.

The following Jewish persecutions during the same month are also closely connected with Grigoriev's manifesto. They all belong to the district of Uman, situated at a greater distance from the places in which Grigoriev's bands resided. Of these massacres the most bloody were in Uman, May 13; Dubovo, 13 and 14; Talnoie, 13; Kristinovka, Ladyzhenka, and the villages, Vyasovok, Mankovka, Ivanka, Buki and others.

The remainder of Grigoriev's bands developed their activity also in the month of June. They destroyed in the Government of Kiev, Stavische, June 15; Tarascha, 16; Volodarka, 20; Ryshanovka, 20; Skvira, 23; on the 27th they instituted a second pogrom in Alexandria (Government of Kherson).

The followers of Grigoriev destroyed a whole line of cities and towns root and branch, put to death or

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mutilated tens of thousands of Jews and violated thousands of Jewish women and girls, but the political aim of Grigoriev to become the ruler of the Ukraine was not realized. Grigoriev was able to gather the masses about him by the negative side of his program only, the hate against the "Jewish Soviet power," but he had nothing positive to offer. He could undermine the power of the Soviet government and open the gates to Denikin, with whom, as is reliably stated, he tried to get in touch, proposing to proceed in common with him against the Soviet government as well as the Directory. But he was beaten. His bands divided, one part going over to the side of the Soviet government and the other devoting itself to "positive pillage" under the leadership of several insignificant Batki.

Grigoriev himself fell by the hand of another Batko, superior to him, by the name of Makhno. Extremely interesting is the "resolution" passed by the followers of the "ideal Batko" in reference to the murder of Grigoriev.

COPY OF A COPY OF THE RESOLUTION FROM THE PROTOCOL NUMBER 4 OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FREEBOOTERS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF KHERSON, TAURIDA AND YEKATERINOSLAV IN THE REPORT OF THE MILITARY CORPS ON THE 28TH OF JULY, 1919.

"The assassination of the Ataman Grigoriev on the 27th of July in the village of Septovo, circuit of Alexandria, Government of Kherson, by the ideal leader of the insurrectionists, the Batko Makhno, must be regarded as a necessary and required historical fact,

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for Grigoriev's policy, acts and aims were counter-revolutionary and had the main purpose of supporting Denikin and other counter-revolutionists, as is proved by the Jewish pogroms and the arming of the thugs. The union of his army with that of Batko Makhno is explained as being necessary in order to take away from him all the honest freebooters, who are fighting for revolutionary ideas and follow him only because of their ignorance.

"We cherish the hope that now no one will be found who will sanction Jewish pogroms, and that the working people will in their honesty rise against the counter-revolutionists like Denikin and others, as well as against the Bolsheviki and communists who are establishing a dictatorship by force with the help of mercenary Magyars, Chinese and Letts. The followers of Makhno regard it as their revolutionary duty to take upon themselves the historical consequences of this assassination. Down with Jewish pogroms! Long live the revolutionary uprising of the Ukraine! Long live the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic! Long live socialism!"

The original is signed by the
President, VITKO MAKHNO,
Secretary, SHEVCHENKO,
Attested by Acting Chief of Staff, MIKHAILOV,
Attested by (signature illegible).

Reading this resolution one might think that the Batko Makhno himself, who had assassinated Grigoriev because he had instituted Jewish pogroms, had not a drop of Jewish blood clinging to his fingers. Far from it! The bands of Makhno were guilty of the maddest excesses, they devastated Jewish cities and

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towns. Makhno has thousands of murdered and tortured Jews on his conscience, and the complete destruction of almost all the Jewish colonies in the south of the Ukraine is his work. The "ideal Batko" himself was now for, now against pogroms, depending upon the political situation of the moment.

Makhno is an intellectual, a former village schoolmaster once imprisoned for a political offence, a clever and energetic man. During the first phase of the Russian Revolution he was a member of the Yelisavetgrad Executive Committee of the labor deputies. At the time of the German occupation he became a popular personality in the Government of Yekaterinoslav, where he prepared the uprising against the German rule. Makhno was regarded by the village population as one of those "holy fighters" for the cause of the village who put an end to a regime which atempted to carry everything away from the Ukraine and to establish a terroristic rule upon the flat country. Like the bands of Grigoriev, the insurrectionist bands of Makhno also occupied a whole line of points in the south (on the 18th of March they occupied Berdiansk; on the 31st, Melitopol, Ochakov, Sivash) which went over to the side of the Soviet government. Makhno had not definitely inscribed himself with the Soviet power, therefore they were not so painfully affected by his treason as by that of Grigoriev.

Makhno, covered with glory as he was, constantly tried to utilize his popularity among the peasants of the Yekaterinoslav and neighboring governments for an independent policy. He called himself an anarchist, but denied all connection with the party—he wanted to be more anarchistic than the anarchists. In general his

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politics in relation to his own followers as well as the peasants in the neighborhood was characterized by the attempt to distribute among them, especially among the poorest, the property, mainly Jewish, which had been plundered and collected in the small towns. Thus he took possession of salt in the south (a very rare and therefore a very expensive product) and had it distributed free to the peasants. As regards the Soviet power he was the typical representative of the temper prevailing among the middle peasants. He never stood on the side of the Soviet government. During the first period, after the fall of the German rule, he supported the Soviet power because he regarded it as stronger and more consistent than the Directory, but he opposed it as being a city power. At the same time he was an opponent of the volunteer army of Denikin, an oppressor of the peasants and fighter for the reestablishment of the pre-revolutionary order. He defended the Soviet power and at the same time opposed the "Bolsheviki and the communists, who established a dictatorship by force with the help of hired Magyars, Chinese and Letts." When danger threatened from the right, he was ready to fight against Denikin. He fought against Grigoriev and assassinated him. He justified this act by Grigoriev's anti-revolutionary attitude, which expressed itself in Jewish pogroms, and was even ready to negotiate with the Kiev government. But when Makhno fought against the Soviet government, he summoned his people to murder and exterminate the Jews, using the watchwords which are already familiar to us. As a personality, Makhno is not a typical Batko. He is too individualistic in his make-up. As a politician, however, he is the most typical of them all, for he embodies completely at

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every moment the interests and desires of the middle peasants of the Ukrainian village.

Interesting but not typical is the third prominent personality on the dark horizon of the Batko institution, Mazurenko, who calls himself in his pronunciamentos and proclamations the chief of the insurrectionists, the oldest among the numerous and small village and circuit Batki. Mazurenko comes from a well-known Ukrainian family, whose members have been active in public and political life. He is an intellectual in the European sense of the word. At the beginning he held responsible positions in the service of the Soviet government. He was the head of the Art Department of the whole Ukraine and member of the Ukrainian Council of Labor Deputies. He belongs to the left wing of the Ukrainian Social Democracy (the Independent Social Democracy), who are trying to democratize the Soviet system in the Ukraine by giving the controlling influence in the Soviet organs to the representatives of the peasants. One can scarcely imagine that the humane Mazurenko later became the author of a whole series of terrible Jew baiting pamphlets, in which he incited the people to pogroms.

We designated above in detail the names and spheres of activity of the most important among the lower Batki. They overran the whole Ukraine and caused terrible devastation in "their" districts. The Jewish population depends entirely upon the temper of the Batki and their bands. There is no escape. The whole Ukraine is divided into a number of such districts, in which cities and railway junctions are, like desert islands, to be met with only rarely, and which the Soviet power is able to hold for a while. But the moment a city gets into the hands of such a band, the Jewish popula-

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tion is plundered and murdered, until the Soviet government succeeds in getting possession of the place again.

From the end of March the bands began a systematic activity. In the precinct of Radomysl the Sokolovsky bands did their work. In April it was mainly Struk who developed a feverish activity covering the precinct of Chernobyl. In the days from the seventh to the twelfth of April, the bands raged in Chernobyl (sic) itself. At the beginning of the following month (May 3) Gornostaipol was destroyed, and the next day (May 4) Ivankov met a similar fate. In the time intervening they did murder and death in a whole line of neighboring villages and settlements, especially on the banks of the Dnieper, where they stopped ships and drowned the Jewish passengers. By the end of August there were thirty-two such places. During the whole month of April Sokolovsky raged in his district. Zeleny's bands too made their appearance hard by Kiev. In the days from the 7th to the 15th of April they devastated Vasilkov, the village Olshanka, and others. In the circuit Tarascha freebooters also appeard on the scene, who did their criminal work in Boguslav between the 4th and 25th of April.

In the following months the bands continued their horrible activity. Radomysl had to suffer again on the 13th of July. On the 15th of June the bands were in Brussilov; on the 20th in Khodorkov; on the 24th in Cherniakhov, then in Kornip. On the 17th of June a pogrom was again made in Dubovo; Obykhov was plundered at the same time, and on the 25th of June, Kagarlyk.

The pogrom activity of the bands assumed a specially dangerous scope in the month of July in the governments of Podolia, Kiev and Volhynia, Kiev suf-

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fering most as in the preceding month. It has been exactly established that the number of pogroms in the government of Kiev during the month in question was 26, in Volhynia 8, in Podolia 13. In the Government of Kiev the accursed work was done by the bands, in the two other governments the regular troops of Petlura also participated.

Of new districts which had hitherto been spared, the first to be affected was the circuit Pogrebische, in which pogroms were instituted in Borshchagovka on the 3rd of July; in Dzunkov on the 5th; in Novo-Fastov on the 11th; in Volodarka and a number of neighboring villages on the 2nd, 9th, and 11th. To the west of these places near the boundary of Volhynia, the pogromists were in Priluki on the 4th of July; in Vakhnovka on the 8th; in Turbov on the 9th and in Kalinovka on the 14th. In the district of Sokolov-Roshevo a Jewish massacre took place on the 3rd of July; in Makarov on the 6th; in Brussilov on the 5th; in Kornip on the 9th; in Yassnogorodka on the 15th. In the sphere of activity of the Batko Zeleny, pogroms took place in Rzhischev on the 1st and 13th of July, in Kosin on the 17th; in Pereyaslev (Government of Poltava) on the 15th to the 19th of July. In the circuit Tarascha the pogrom heroes distinguished themselves on the 2nd of July in Boyarki, on the 11th to the 24th in Koshevatoie. Finally at the end of the month, on the 29th of July, a new blood bath took place in Uman.

In the government of Volhynia the pogroms in July are distributed as follows: Kodry (6 and 15), Khamovka (9 and 11), Kamenny-Brod, Kotelnya and Sarubintzy (10), Dombrovitzy (10), Slovechno (10), Ksavrov (10).

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In the government of Podolia, pogroms took place in the following localities: Zhmerinka (July 3); Brailov, Pikov, Shenderov, Voronovitzy, Obodin (10); Yanov (10-15); Tulchin (14); Litin (18); Novo-Konstantinov, Teplik, Gaisin, Pecheri (20-25).

Many of the places mentioned were visited by the pogromists more than once (Radomysl, Cherniakhov, Kornip, Volodarka, Yelisavetgrad, and others). In some places there were as many as four, five and even ten pogroms until the Jewish population disappeared entirely and no trace of Jewish possessions was left.

In August the number and extent of pogroms was comparatively small. Pereyaslev, in the government of Poltava, was again visited by the bands of Lopatkin. On the 3rd of August Jewish persecutions took place in Vinnitza; on the 4th in Golovanevsk; on the 25th in Bielaia Tserkov.

The watchwords of the bands of the Batki are the same as those of Petlura's men, with variations now and then. In Matusovo the Jews were attacked by the bandits under the motto, "Will you, Jewish rabble, still keep ruling over us?" In Slovechno the massacre was accompanied by the words, "Here is your commune for you, here is your Jewish Empire!" In Chernobyl, Struk's bands rushed into the Jewish houses, shouting and shrieking, "Open, you communist Jews, or we will beat you to death, we will slit your bellies and drown you!" Struk's chieftains explained to their bandits the purpose of their coming as being to plunder and drown the low communists who rob the workmen and peasants. "Low communists" means the Jews. In his proclamations Struk always spoke of the communists and the capitalistic defenders of the Jews. Now and then the motto was

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enlarged by adding the motive of the independence of the Ukraine. In a popular assembly in Chernobyl. Struk called out to the crowd, "Kill the Jews and save the Ukraine!" In Radomysl Sokolovsky's band forced the Jews, before they were shot, to sing, "The Ukraine is not yet lost."

As stated before, the activity of the bands and of their Batki had terrible consequences for the Jewish population of the Ukraine. The question arises what were the relations between the Batko institution and the Directory. As said before, a whole line of Batki were followers of Petlura. In the school of Petlura and of the Directory they learned the custom and the practice, the inclination and the political wisdom of carrying on the fight against Bolshevism by means of Jewish persecutions. The institution of the Batko supplements the pogrom activity of the Directory. As long as the Batki carried on it was not neccessary, except occasionally, to have recourse to military pogroms. The latter demoralize the army, undermine discipline and change the troops into a band of robbers and murderers, which naturally is highly undesirable for the state force. The institution of the Batko is a local phenomenon, which affects mainly the local peasant population and appears irresponsible in respect to public opinion in western Europe. The Batki need not put any restraint upon their activities in persecuting the Jews, in the interest of high politics. Before the Entente the Batki could be designated as "local robbers." At the same time they carry out in splendid fashion the dirty work of intimidating the Jewish population, disorganizing the cities and towns and in this way fighting the Soviet power. The Directory enjoyed the fruit of the Batko institution. The former tried there-

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fore to organize the uprisings, to centralize the efforts of the insurrectionists and to guide their activity in a definite direction. In the army reports are found not only communications concerning the movements on Petlura's front, but also data concerning the aims on the front of the insurrectionists. In August, 1919, Petlura and Denikin approached Kiev simultaneously under cover of the bands of Zeleny and other Batki who had forced their way into the city.

The Batko of all Batki, Mazurenko, stood very near to the Directory, and it is very probable that he was the connecting link between it and the insurrectionists. There is evidence that the Directory sent special emissaries to the points of insurrection for the purpose of maintaining proper connection between itself and the Batki. But even apart from this, the Directory showed the bloody example and by the political utilization of the terrible weapon, created the conviction throughout the Ukraine that Jewish pogroms were not punished, that the possessions of the Jews might be plundered, that Jewish women might be violated and that there was no prohibition against the annihilation of the Jews.

This conviction created the atmosphere in which the elemental force of the masses, aroused and excited in the process of the revolutionary ferment, could be guided in the direction of annihilating this defenseless nation for the sole purpose of thereby injuring the political enemies of the Directory. The Directory fanned the national hate, drew forth from the depths of the Ukrainian national soul the slumbering distrust and antipathy, planted in the course of historical development, against the Jews as strangers, the Jews as commercial middlemen, the Jews as the former

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farmers of the lord's estates, who were hanged by the ancestors of the peasant of to-day together with the priest and the Polish "pan" (proprietor of great landed estates). The Directory knew how to awaken this hate and to give it a definite form and direction and a definite political content. No wonder, therefore, that this Machiavellian method bore such fruit. The agitation of the Directory was not merely an incitement of the masses in an indefinite way, it was in actual content an unequivocal instigation to murder the Jews. The lamentations and pharisaic attempts at justification, to the effect that the Directory could not control the bands or the crowds, that the latter had gone further than the Directory had intended, can not exculpate it in any way, not even legally, not to say morally and politically. It is not merely that it *could* have foreseen the consequences of its doings, it did foresee them, it desired them, counted on them and took advantage of them. What is known in criminal law as "excess of the executor" does not apply here. Here the executors played the *motif* whispered to them, with the precision of a virtuoso, and did it to the greatest satisfaction and joy of the instigators.

In August the pogrom crowds became smaller. The political situation changed. The Bolsheviki were driven from the Ukraine. Petlura and his people attained what they wanted—the enemy was beaten. The beneficiary of the success, however, was another. Denikin occupied Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, and was approaching Kiev. The changed situation demanded other methods of fighting. The method of Jewish massacres was no longer needed, and so was given up. As already mentioned, the Directory

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even passed a resolution to fight against pogroms. To be sure there was another element here that must be mentioned. According to communications sent to us from many sides and according to the existing reports of the Ukrainian papers, the standpoint of international politics was also taken into consideration in the pogrom agitation. Not only the heads of the political bodies, but the village intellectuals and to a certain extent even the masses were aware of the significance of the international position of the Ukraine. The Ukrainian flat country had had a thorough object lesson in this matter, such as the German occupation with its stringent regime, the occupation of Odessa and the southern coast by the Allies, the negotiations of the Directory with the Allies through General Grekov, and so on. Suffering from want of the most absolute necessities, manufactured ware, shoes, salt, machines, etc., the Ukrainian village was eager for commercial relations with western Europe. The village intellectuals represented by the priests and teachers (we have seen that they took an active part in the excesses of the bands) carried on their agitation by saying that the Entente desired the destruction of the Bolsheviki. As Jews and communists were the same, Jewish pogroms would represent the gift which the Ukrainian people must present to the Entente, and the latter would not be long in signifying their recognition of the Ukrainian people in return. Now in August the Jewish pogroms as a method of fighting proved themselves not only useless, but, as was said before, harmful for the reason that the vague rumors of the massacres which had penetrated to the West had produced great public indignation. The withdrawal which was now whispered to the regular troops by the Directory was understood

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by their devoted Batki. . . . The pogroms diminished in violence, they were no longer all-destructive, but like the distant thunder of a past storm, they assumed the innocent form, according to Ukrainian concepts, of pillage of Jewish possessions and occasional acts of violence and murder.

We learned later from a reliable source that Batko Makhno had issued a proclamation to his insurrectionists, in which he ordered them to discontinue Jewish pogroms, for "according to a communication of Batko Petlura, the Entente is very much dissatisfied on that account"—a step which seems very likely on the part of the wise and far sighted Makhno.

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CHAPTER IV

THE SOVIET POWER

THE political fight against the Soviet power was carried on not only in the Ukraine, but also in Great Russia, in many cases under the cover of anti-Semitism. The press of the Black Hundred of all shades is never weary of enumerating the Jewish commissars, Jewish Popular commissars, Jewish members of the Central Executive Committee, etc. The Soviet power, they say, is a Jewish power. The Russians who belong to the Soviet Government do so as a result of a misunderstanding, and there are very few Russians in it. As for the Russian masses, the good natured Ivan allows himself to be taken in by the shrewd Jew, who is aiming for world rule. The dull, obtuse and ignorant masses for the moment follow the Jewish leaders, who turn their heads, unchain their passions and show themselves complacent to their lower instincts.

Mamontov in Great Russia, Petlura and Denikin in the Ukraine, together with their followers, drew from this theoretical postulate the practical conclusion that the armed fight against the Soviet power must be supported and strengthened by Jewish pogroms. The Soviet Government was obliged to strike at the root of all anti-Semitic agitation, for such agitation was the unmistakable sign of opposition to the Soviet. The agitations of the anti-Semites were in the great major-

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ity of cases the precursors of hostilities against the Soviet power. Anti-Semitic agitation was therefore regarded in Great Russia as a counter-revolutionary act. The guilty were brought to account before the revolutionary tribunal and condemned to severe penalties in the form of hard labor.

To the nightmare of Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine belong also the anti-Jewish excesses and pogroms by bands calling themselves "Reds" and belonging at the moment in question to the Ukrainian Red Soviet army.

In proportion to the entire number of Jewish persecutions the excesses of these people play an insignificant role. They concern themselves mainly with robbery and theft, although, as for example in Theophipol, some deaths must also be laid at their door. Of all the violence done the Jews the following instances only are attributable to them.

1. Pogrom in Rossovo (March 3). After the shameful deeds committed by Petlura's men, the city was occupied by a Bolshevist "mounted advance guard" who freed the city from the bands of Petlura's men. Later Makhno's bands entered the city and robbed and killed the Jews. Makhno's men were followed by the first Ducat cavalry regiment of Zolotonosha. After the cruelties perpetrated by Makhno's men, the Jews did not receive the regiment in a friendly way. The soldiers, however, quieted the population, condemned the conduct of their comrades who had come before, promised a strict investigation of the affair, instituted a search in the houses of suspected persons, took away from them what they had plundered of the Jews and gave it back to their owners. This regiment soon left. Peasants from the neighborhood of Rossovo killed the commander of a certain Red troop. A divis-

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ion sent from Mironovka (it is not certain what division it was) instituted a pogrom among the Jews. They were accused of being enemies of the Soviet power—"We must avenge on you the murder of our commander." Then came the demands, "Give money, gold, silver, etc." The Jewish population was plundered, beaten and killed.

2. Pogrom in Korosten (March 12). Excesses were committed by members of the Red Army, who even demanded the delivery of their own officer who had defended a Jewish woman from a soldier who had taken away from her twenty pounds of sugar.

3. Pogrom in Cherniakhov, Government of Volhynia. On the 18th of April the 9th Soviet regiment passed the unfortunate spot which had suffered any number of pogroms. There was much pillage, in which peasants also took part. The soldiers justified their conduct by alleging that the Jews supported Petlura. There were none killed.

4. Annopol, Government of Volhynia. In the complaint addressed to the Section for Social Relief, the Jews of the place speak of plunder and excesses by the Taraschan regiment. There were no death victims.

5. Volochisk, Government of Volhynia. In the complaint to the Revolutionary Committee the Jewish population report excesses by members of the Red Army. No cases of death are reported.

6. Pillage by a Soviet regiment in Vasilkov, in April.

7. Pillage by the Sumsky regiment in the town of Gorodische (May 31st), in which Jewish members of the Red Army also took part. There was robbery but no murder.

8. Uman. Here the eighth Soviet regiment of free-

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booters carried on its activities twice. On the 22nd of March the freebooters instituted a great predatory expedition. On the 22nd of May after a terrible pogrom made by bands, the same regiment came again to Uman, and began to plunder the population, especially the Jews, *en masse*. There was murder and rape of women and girls. Many Jewish freebooters belonged to the regiment, who were known in the city as professional thieves.

From the detailed minutes of a meeting of party functionaries and public men of the city of Uman it can be seen that the local authorities were trying to fight these excesses. Orders were issued making participation in the pogrom punishable with death, and about ten of the less important bandits were shot. But the military authorities did not succeed in checking the anti-Semitic sentiment that prevailed in the regiment. Up to the first days of July this regiment was not replaced by another despite the urgent request and categorical demands of the authorities of Uman, who repeatedly made appeals orally and in writing to the authorities at Kiev. The regiment could not be relieved because of the critical situation on the outer and inner front, and also for the reason that authorities held the eighth regiment, which was reputed to be an important body of fighters, in readiness to keep down the insurrectionary movement in the precinct of Uman. It is clear from the same minutes that the eighth regiment did in fact prove itself a dangerous opponent in defending the cities against the insurrectionary forces who made the district unsafe the whole time and attempted again and again to take possession of Uman. The troops of Tiutiunik, Popov and Klimenko were defeated, and their arms, equipment

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and munitions were taken away from them. As long as the eight regiment remained in Uman there was no fear of its being occupied again by the insurrectionists with a possible repetition of the first terrible pogrom.

It was relieved later by the first Ukrainian Soviet Cavalry Regiment. With the departure of the eighth regiment the plundering also ceased. To be sure, this regiment too was not very friendly to the Jewish population, but plundering happened only occasionally. A company of this regiment which committed acts of violence in the villages demanded among other things that the people give up the "communists and the Jews." In a certain village the soldiers of this company were on the point of killing a Jewish girl because according to their opinion she turned the heads of the men by her beauty.

On the fifth of July the regiment proceeded from Uman to Poltava. In its place came the Fourth International Soviet Regiment. This regiment was the first disciplined body of Soviet soldiers that the people of Uman saw. No more robbery, no more murder took place on account of national or class divisions. The population of the town was able to breathe freely again.

9. Jewish pogrom in Zolotonosha.

10. Pogrom in Obuchovo (May 7; 6th Soviet regiment).

11. Pogrom in Pogrebische (May 18; 8th Soviet regiment).

12. A violent pogrom in Theophipol, Government of Volhynia.

According to a brief report of A. Wertheim, authorized agent of the Red Cross for the support of the

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victims of the pogroms, the Fourth Taraschan Soviet Regiment and the second cavalry brigade, having defeated a Petlura company of 120 peasants and 27 Jews, entered the town without the slightest offer of resistance by the population. Directly after the occupation of the place, the soldiers began to rob, plunder and set houses on fire. About 300 persons were killed, about 150 houses were burned, and a number of women and girls were violated. Further details are wanting.

All the pogroms and excesses were expressly military in character. Before we go on to show how the Soviet power fought politically and by means of agitation against the anti-Semitic spirit of the troops, how they fought against it from the first day of their appearance in the Ukraine—we will describe the constitution and character of the military bodies belonging to the Red Army.

The overwhelming majority of the Soviet troops consisted at the time in question of insurrectionist bands of freebooters. Some of these were formed independently, others went over during the fight from Petlura to the freebooters after the second occupation of Kiev by the Soviet troops. Finally there belonged to them also in part the bands of Makhno and Grigoriev who remained loyal to the Soviet government. These troops consisted of Ukrainian peasants. Like all Ukrainian freebooters they were radical in sentiment. One charteristic of theirs is antipathy to strangers, especially Jews. They are therefore easily accessible to anti-Semitic agitation, especially in moments of doubt when they are not clear what attitude they should assume toward the Soviet power. They are always vacillating in their loyalty to the Bolshevist

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government. Again and again they go from the Soviet power to the side of Petlura or the Batki. After a defeat or an unsuccessful uprising they go back to the Soviet troops. Often it happens that certain portions of the troops declare themselves "independent," retaining the entire revolutionary phraseology and watchwords. They still call themselves Soviet troops but are in reality in the service of the enemies of the Kiev Soviet government. Such troops are in many cases under the influence of the so-called "Independent Ukrainian Social Democracy." This party has played a momentous role in the history of the Soviet power in the Ukraine. After they broke with the official social democratic party (Vinnichenko and Petlura), they took into their program the principle of the Soviet power, instead of that of the social democracy, and joined the Soviet organ in the Ukraine. In consequence of their close relations to the freebooters, they began, after they had broken with the Soviet power also, to incite these people against the communistic-Jewish government. They are opponents of Denikin, but they are also opponents of a false commune. They are also against the power of the Jews, but are for a "Ukrainian Independent Socialistic Republic." This party was led by Mazurenko, the Batko of all Batki, mentioned in the last chapter. The proclamations of these people are so significant that it seems useful to quote one of them in full.

"Comrades, Red Cossacks! ask yourselves. Were you not the first to rise against the force of the Germans, have you not shed your blood for a better lot and life of the Ukrainian working people? Where are these rights that we fought for? We see, comrades, how we must fight our way through, while those who

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do not work hang on our necks and lead and enslave us.

"Comrades! can we not arrange our own life in our own house better, in the interest of the working people?

"What are we waiting for? Why don't we get these Jews out of the way? Why don't we take into our own hands this matter, which is so important for the working people?

"Comrades, we have fought against the Hetman, we have learned the injustice of the Directory, we fought and are still fighting against Denikin and the reactionary officers. But if we see injustice on the side of the communists, Jews and similar people, are we not in duty bound to say, Out of our house! You have done us harm! Liberate therefore, Comrades, our land from the Jews and other communists.

"Long live the Soviets of the working peasantry, and the laboring population!

"Long live the local and central power of the Batki!

"Long live the Ukrainian independent socialistic Soviet republic!

"Death to General Denikin!

"Down with the false commune!

(Signed) The Council of the Insurrectionary Troops of Ukrainia on the Left Side.
The Hetman of the Troops, LOPATKIN.
The Chief of Staff, ZAVGORODNY."

These troops, who call themselves Soviet troops, were guilty of excesses. The pogrom in Rossovo was also according to all probability the work of such a band. The sentiment of the troops who enacted these pogroms can be seen from their watchwords.

The acts of violence in Zolotonosha (see above No.

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9) were perpetrated under the cry, "Ah! you are a communist, we will teach you!" In Vasilkov (No. 6), the soldiers of the "Red Hundred" cried, "Down with the Jewish commissars!"

It is clear that when such troops as these proceed against Jews, they are under the influence of another party hostile to the Soviet power, with which they are sometimes even united in the same organization.

The bands of freebooters consisting of deserters were the cause of the instability and insecurity of the Soviet power at Kiev. They prepared its fall while ostensibly acting in its name and under its flag.

The great majority of the freebooting troops finally fell away from the Soviet power and went over to the side of their enemies amid the enactment of horrible blood baths (Grigoriev and his people). It must be openly and honestly admitted that the effect of the Soviet government upon the troops must have been extraordinarily great, for as long as they were actually subject to the Soviet government at Kiev, they were scarcely guilty of any excesses. We see here at any rate that two opposite political systems (the Kiev Soviet government fighting against pogroms, and the opposite party making use of them) working on the same basis, namely the anti-Jewish feeling throughout the Ukraine, and on the same human material, led to entirely opposite results.

The freebooters were not the only troops on which the Soviet government supported itself. In their fight against the unreliable troops and the excesses committed by them, the Soviet government supported itself on not large but loyally devoted associations of communists, the so-called "International Division." To the communistic troops belonged members of the

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mobilized Ukrainian communistic party as well as workmen of other socialist parties, who were called to the service of the army, as a result of a resolution of the Soviets, by the union and trade councils. To prevent a dissolution of the insurrectionist troops and to maintain their firmness, communists were assigned to the several military associations. In this way a disciplined Red Army was formed.

The international divisions (whose appearance, as mentioned before, was greeted so gladly by the Jewish representatives in Uman) were small and very reliable units made up of groups of Hungarian, Austrian and German prisoners, who were under the leadership of their Soviets. They were sent by the government to relieve politically unreliable troops and to fight against the excesses committed by the latter. At the time of the fight against the volunteer army of Denikin, troops appeared also from Great Russia in consequence of a resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukraine that the military leadership of the two republics should be uniform.

In connection with the excesses mentioned above it should be stated that the constantly vacillating and unreliable freebooters were under the influence of certain agents whom they trusted and thus betrayed the Soviet government. We have already referred to Grigoriev and Mazurenko. Beside these prominent men there are a number of less important ones, whom we shall name.

In Cherniakov, Davidenko, the president of the revolutionary committee, who was at the same time commissar for military affairs, was in connection with the bands of Sokolovsky. The result was a Jewish pogrom. In Matusovo, Government of Kiev, the following

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thing happened. A few days before the beginning of the excesses, the Executive committee (the highest Soviet organ in the place) received from Shpola a provocatory letter, purposely signed with a Jewish name (Goldstein if we are not mistaken), reading as follows: "The churches should be sealed and the church furniture and fixtures brought to Shpola." On the tenth of May some riders brought to Matusovo a manifesto of Grigoriev, which was read on the same day to an assembly of the inhabitants called for the purpose, by Kesser, the Secretary of the Executive Committee. Whether that which Kesser read was actually contained in the copy of the manifesto handed to him, or whether he read something of his own making (which is more likely), we shall have to leave undecided. At any rate Kesser told the assembled peasants that an order had come to destroy the Jews. A terrible blood bath followed, due to a treacherous government official, who stood under the protection of the government and inspired confidence by his official position and the assurance that he was acting in the name and interest of the Soviet power.

From the beginning the Soviet government in the Ukraine carried on a decisive battle against the lust for pogroms, by preventive measures and the development of agitation, propaganda and organizing activity to that end, as well as by threats and strict penalties.

In the first order issued by Rakovsky in Kharkov, which was repeatedly confirmed by the Soviet government of Kiev, the penalty of death is threatened for pogrom excesses of any kind, and heavy punishments are laid down for all anti-Jewish agitation.

"The Jewish proletariat and the poor population are our confederates. The Jewish bourgeoisie is as good

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as any other. The order to fight against the Jews is a provocation by the enemy who wants to introduce into the Red Army the spirit of demoralization and betray the interests of the workers and peasants to their enemies." So reads a government pamphlet. At the same time the fight against anti-Semitism took an important place in the pages of the People's Commissariat for military affairs and in their political activity. The anti-Semitic propaganda of the enemies of the government became a dangerous factor in the formation of disciplined military associations. The idea of the government and the people's commissariat for military affairs was to supplement the peasant bands of insurrectionists with workmen. For this purpose they intensified the above mentioned mobilization through the unions and trade councils, and prepared the military education of the workmen. In addition to this the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs, in the months of March and April, turned to the Jewish socialist parties of the Labor Bund, to the United Socialists and to the Poale Zionists with the request that they make serious efforts to mobilize the Jewish socialist workmen, pointing to the fact that all of the experiences of the Red Army during the last months showed that even the most backward and anti-Semitically prejudiced peasants became more sensible after living with the Jewish workmen for any length of time, and were accessible to appropriate influence and enlightenment.*

*This step of the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs had no significance as a numerical strengthening of the troops, for the summons to the Red Army took place on the basis of the general regulations. The aim here was to utilize most efficiently the forces necessary for carrying out the task indicated.

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The political administration of the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs formed besides a special Jewish section for propaganda, the purpose of which was to distribute the Jewish workmen, called to the service by general decree, among the several military units and thus to influence the troops so as to make the Jew-baiting propaganda ineffective.

This section, which had branches in all parts of Ukrainia, received reports from various sides concerning the relation between the Jewish workmen and the other members of the army. According to existing information backward troops received the Jews with the greatest distrust and even animosity. Here and there there were also excesses. The Jewish "intruders" sometimes had to overcome the greatest difficulties. It happened sometimes that the sections were urgently entreated to transfer the Jews to a part of the army that was more tolerant.

The second phase of the mutual relations ended *almost always,* even in the case of the most prejudiced parts of the army, with the admission, "They are no Jews, they belong to us." This was usually connected with discussions about Jews and anti-Semitism. This part of the work was hard, but it produced political results. Living together gradually led to a removal of the anti-Semitic feelings which had been implanted in the character of the Ukrainian peasant in the course of centuries of historical development.

In addition to the political and cultural work, the government employed force and inflicted penalties. The perpetrators of anti-Jewish excesses and the authors of propaganda were tried and condemned as being counter-revolutionists. On the other hand those

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troops that were incurably anti-Jewish were isolated, relieved and their constituency changed.

Thus at the end of May in Kiev a whole regiment refused to obey an order to fight, given by the chief military officers, and gave out the watchword, "Down with the Jewish commissars!" The rebels were surrounded by the loyal portion of the regiment and forced to execute the order. The instigators were arrested.

In June an open rebellion broke out in another regiment that was quartered in Kiev. They were burning to plunder the Jews, and announced a similar watchword. In both cases the agitation came from obscure elements, which were supported by some officers of the old tsarist army.

In this last case the regiment was disarmed by the Kiev communistic reserve regiment and dissolved.

An objective study of the investigations of the authorized agent of the relief committee of the Red Cross and of the annals of the Jews in the Ukraine leads to the conclusion that the Soviet troops preserved the Jews from complete annihilation. Retirement of the Soviet troops signified for the territory left behind the beginning of a period of pogroms with all their horrors. On the other hand the advance of the Soviet troops meant the liberation from a nightmare (Zhitomir, Yelisavetgrad, Novo-Mirgorod, Proskurov, Gorodische, etc.).

The watchword of the Jew-haters, identifying Judaism and communism, had terrible consequences for the Jews. On the retirement of the Soviet power the Jews abandoned their homes and possessions and followed the Soviet army, being exposed to an uncertain existence and the prospect of dying of hunger or meeting death in some other way in the civil war

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that was raging. At the time of the second pogrom in Zhitomir the Jewish youth followed the retiring Bolshevist army. In Tarascha (Government of Kiev) the retiring Soviet regiment was followed by almost the entire Jewish population (4,000 persons). The tragedy of the situation can only be fully realized when we consider that a very great part of the Jewish middle class are skeptical in their attitude to the Soviet power, and the Jewish bourgeoisie is decidedly hostile to it. Certain death forced the Jewish bourgeoisie to flee under the cover and protection of Bolshevist divisions.

In Lebedin (Government of Kiev) a Bolshevist armored car came in while a pogrom was being instituted by bandits, fetched the surviving Jews, who had concealed themselves in the cellars and lofts, and took them along, thus saving them from certain death.

It is no wonder therefore that the Jewish youth, especially in the pogrom districts, tried to enter the Red Army without regard to their sympathies otherwise in regard to the Soviet power. They entered their ranks, seeing therein the only possibility of saving the lives of their nearest and the honor of their wives and daughters.

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CHAPTER V

THE DENIKIN REGIME

THE Grigoriev uprising opened the gates wide to the Ukrainian volunteer army. The Ukrainian Red Army could not recover from the blow it received and was compelled to retire before the supreme power of the well equipped troops of the volunteer army. The internal front was becoming stronger, which meant that the Ukrainian cities were evacuated by the Soviet power, one after the other. Denikin occupied gradually Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava and finally on the twentieth of September, Kiev. The Ukraine was "freed" from the Bolsheviki. The troops of Petlura remained inactive. Where they opposed the volunteer bands, they were disarmed. The number of Petlura's troops was small. Their position was somewhere on the Galician frontier. There was quiet for a while on the internal front. It seemed as if the peasants wanted to find out first what the new ruler, the representative of a "united and undivided Russia," would bring them. The peasants had no particular illusions in the matter. At any rate the transfer of power into other hands meant a slight breathing spell. Besides the men of the village hoped that they would be able to get wares, especially manufactured goods, from the Entente. It was otherwise in the city. The

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upper and middle classes who more than others were made to feel the Soviet rule; the intellectual classes, who for the most part stood aloof from the Soviet order and while securing positions in the Soviet organizations yearned for the coming of another power, closer and more akin to their ideas; the poorer citizens who dreamed of cheap bread and believed that the bayonet of the volunteer army would bring back the five-kopek loaf of white bread (instead of black bread at the price of 50 or 60 rubles a pound); the nationalistic part of the tramp-proletariat of the Ukrainian cities, recruited from the Black Hundred—all these set great hopes on the coming of the new government. The Jews, all except the workers, baited to death as the great majority of them were, awaited the new masters not without a feeling of unrest, but still in the quiet hope that instead of the unstable Soviet government there would finally come a government of permanent stability which would bring quiet to the village and conclude peace with the loyal portion of Jewry.

The memorial handed to General Denikin by the representatives of the Jewish communities of Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Rostov and Taurida (*Bulletin du Comité des Délégations Juives auprès de la Conférence de la Paix, No.* 9), reads:

"Ukrainian Jewry, which belongs economically to the poorer class of citizens (90 per cent. artisans and traders, 5 per cent. capitalists and only 5 per cent. laborers), awaited with suppressed impatience the coming of the volunteer army, from whom it expected liberation from the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Jewish population therefore prepared an enthusiastic reception for the volunteers and was ready to support them with money and men."

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To be sure the expressions of humility were partly exaggerated. But speaking generally, the middle class of Jewry, not to speak for the moment of the higher classes at all, and perhaps also a part of the smaller artisans, secretly cherished the hope that the new government would make it possible to come to a tolerable understanding with it. These classes had not believed that the Soviet regime could be lasting. Now they had to feel in their own persons the "benevolent" policy of the Directory toward the Jews. They had dreamed of a tolerable and quiet life; for two years of boiling in the Ukrainian witches' caldron, the various political changes and upheavals, the pogroms, the Batko institution—all this created in them a desire to be able to maintain their life in some manner or other. They were willing to renounce the national and cultural autonomy legally assured to them by the Directory, as long as they were given their bare lives and the possibility of economic existence. From the economic standpoint the return to an order which made speculation legal seemed to them desirable. On the other hand there was a rumor that Denikin was well disposed to the loyal portion of Jewry. They even spoke of his benevolent attitude towards the labor unions and the socialistic organizations of the right (menshevist). They were skeptical also of the (as was assumed) party-colored reports which were communicated in the "Soviet News of the City of Kiev" concerning the cruelties of the Denikin government. A proclamation published by the followers of Denikin in Kiev speaks of his "benevolence towards the moderate classes and parties." About Jews specifically it said (I quote from memory): "Jewish citizens, I know that not only the Christians but also the Jewish

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population is suffering under the Bolsheviki. The volunteer army brings peace to all citizens of Russia without regard to creed. Wait quietly for the coming of the volunteer army and support it, for it will protect you from the Bolshevist terror. I am convinced that you will yourselves deliver up from your midst all scoundrels and loafers."

Finally the volunteer army occupied Kiev and thus became master of the situation in the Ukraine. After gaining his victory Denikin thought it was time to unmask and show himself before the world in his true ugliness. The village was again made happy with the landed proprietors of blessed memory. The land was returned to the former owners. Then came the famous order about the third sheaf which the peasant had to give up to the landed proprietor "for using the lord's estate." The volunteer army was not able to deliver any Entente goods at all, which the peasant needed so much. On the other hand, grain was again requisitioned and confiscated. The peasant in the Ukraine began to use the same methods of fighting the new government as he used against the previous one. Suddenly and with quick precision there grew up before Denikin's army the internal front already described. The Batki and new heroes who joined them carried on a stubborn, intensive and very successful fight against the volunteer army. The Ataman Angel started the uprising in the government of Poltava and for a short time even occupied the outer precincts of the city of Poltava. The Ataman Zeleny developed an extraordinary activity south of Kiev in the precinct of the city of Vasilkov. It is said that it was the "division" Zeleny which occupied the western suburbs of Kiev. The Ataman Shepel developed great activity on the

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Kiev-Poltava railway line and on the highway between the cities of Pereyaslev and Zolotonosha on the left bank of the Dnieper, calling upon the peasants to rise against Denikin. The Batki Sokolovsky and Arbel succeeded in organizing quite considerable bodies of troops along the Kiev-Poltava railroad line, and the Ataman Malinov did the same in the neighborhood of Kherson. Makhno, however, was the man who played the chief role in the rise of the Ukrainian peasants against Denikin. His troops of freebooters continued their activity along the whole lower course of the Dnieper between Melitopol and Yekaterinoslav. A whole line of reports state that all the activities of the several units were subordinated to the united leadership of Makhno's staff and that they were even partly united with his main forces. That Makhno, who had recognized as early as the time of Grigoriev the danger that a Denikin invasion would have for the Ukrainian middle class peasant and had fought against it, should have been able to step into the centre of the freebooter movement against Denikin is easily understood.

The internal front, the uprising of the village against the now "white" city, from which nothing came except the order "concerning the third sheaf," requisitions and confiscations, with the appearance of penal companies, had disappointed the hopes of the urban middle classes about cheap bread. The price of bread (which determines all other prices) remained after some relatively slight variation very high (to be sure it was lower than under the Soviet government). The "karbovantzy" as well as the money of the Soviet government, the very medium which was current among the middle classes, were declared of no value.

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The Ukrainian culture was proscribed, the schools were closed and as a result the nationalistic tendencies bore the most luxuriant flowers.

The white terror prevailed in the occupied city. In the mind of the Restoration Government, for in the last resort this is what the Denikin Government was, the principal crimes were the March revolution and the destruction of absolutism, for they had destroyed the "great, united and undivided Russia" and introduced great confusion and ruin. "All social forces, all parties who participated in them are equally 'seditious,' dangerous and illicit, equally deserving of persecution and partial annihilation. Bolsheviki, Mensheviki, Trudoviki (group of laborers) or people's socialists—they are all rebels and responsible for the reduced state of the land."

Anti-Semitism was one of the fundamental elements of the Restoration rule, exactly as under the tsar, and the rule of Denikin approached this ideal with gigantic steps. All traces of the "liberties" promised in the Kerensky period were definitely wiped out, among them the liberties granted to the Jews.

The volunteer army, which was composed principally of officers, admitted Jews also, who from the time of Kornilov were loyally devoted fighters for a democratic order and opposed to a dictatorship of the Bolsheviki. Denikin and his followers regarded themselves as conquerors and resolved to free the army from Jews. In the volunteer bodies anti-Semitism was in full flower. The politically experienced officers saw in the Jews the persons responsible for all the misfortunes of Russia. They imputed to them the responsibility for the Bolshevistic terror under which so many persons near to them had had to suffer. They carried

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on an anti-Jewish agitation which had but one meaning. The names and pseudonyms of all Jewish Bolshevist commissars were cited to show that the Bolshevist government was a "Jewish government." The responsible positions in the volunteer army were held by members of the Black Hundred and anti-Semites. At the head of the department of propaganda of the volunteer army of Kiev stood the well known leader of the Black Hundred in the time of the tsar, Savenko. The rage against the Jews among the troops was enormous and the high command considered it its duty to exclude Jews from the army. In the above mentioned memorial, handed to Denikin by representatives of the Jewish communities, the following facts are cited: "The commander of the first infantry division sent back thirteen officers who had been assigned to him to the staff of the first army corps with an official note in which he requests that no Jewish officers be sent to him to make up his division. The commandant of the second railroad battalion sent back Corporal Spunt to the head of the army transport with the statement that he 'belonged to the Jewish religion, whose followers, as is well known, are not fit for military railroad service.' The chief commander of Kharkov announced in the newspapers that officers of the Jewish faith would be assigned to a special category and that until further notice they would be free from service." In a memorandum of the Central Relief Committee for Jews injured by pogroms in Russia, which was handed to the Zionist Actions Committee in London and to Dr. Margoline, the representative of the Ukrainian republic in London (the memorandum, by the way, is written with a certain bias), the following credible communication is found:

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By an order to the volunteer army of the 6th of October, 1919, sub No. 21,322, General Denikin removed all Jewish officers from the army solely because of their race. A deputation of representatives of four communities (Kiev, Kharkov, Poltava, and Yekaterinoslav) respectfully called to the attention of General Denikin that this order would indirectly incite the ignorant masses against the Jews, which might lead to new pogroms (the volunteer army had at that time already perpetrated several pogroms). The General explained to the delegation that the order had been given in the interest of the state, and that he placed the welfare of the fatherland above everything.

The official information bureau of the chief commander of the volunteer army developed an enormous anti-Semitic agitation. Theoretically this agitation found expression in the sanguinary anti-Semitic articles of the well-known follower of the Black Hundred, the able and talented Shulgin, a convinced monarchist and Jew-hater. He was the editor of the official organ of the Denikin government, "Velikaya Rossia" (Great Russia), was a member of the "Dictatorship Conference," a minister without portfolio, and carried on unbridled agitation against the Jews as well as against all democratic elements. We quote below a quite lengthy extract from the "Kievlianin," from which can be seen his attitude to the proclamation of the labor unions, directed against anti-Semitism, as well as his attitude to the events that happened during the period of the pogroms instituted by the volunteer army. In his opinion the original sin of progressive Russia is the first Revolution of February and March.

Following is an abstract of the article:

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KIEV, October 13, 1919.

There came accidently into our hands a printed copy of a circular addressed by the Kiev labor union to its members. This circular deserves greater attention than it claims for itself. Even those workmen who recently diagnosed with apparent correctness the class struggle into which their ringleaders and "intensifiers of the Revolution" drew them, must ponder very carefully the contents of the circular. The same holds true of the whole Russian intelligentzia with whom the class-conscious laborers now desire to work in common, and also of the government which has reconquered our homes from their destroyers and robbers and is making efforts to build a common house for the whole Russian people and all its classes.

The circular begins with the words: We are living in a terrible time. The days through which we live are terrible not because of the new efforts of the Bolsheviki, if only for a short time, to take to themselves a few important points, our Kiev among them, from which they were driven out by the volunteer army, but because "a wave of bloody. cruel and bestial Jewish pogroms is approaching Kiev."

After a lyric and dramatic description "of the bloody extermination of a whole people, of the loss again and again of thousands of new victims, of defenseless women and children, of old men and vigorous youths who were shot or cut down with the sword, torn in pieces and left to perish beneath the ruins of burned-down villages and towns"—a description of such definiteness as if it dealt with a principle or a well-known fact of undoubted certainty—the circular says, "Now this disgrace is passing through Kiev."

"In the name of the provocatory calumnies, pub-

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lished even in the press, charging the Jews with supporting the Bolshevist advance, low elements of the city population, sharpers demoralized by soldiers (as has been established from special orders) enter the houses in bright daylight, impose contributions on the Jewish population (sic!) in amounts of hundreds of thousands of rubles, take away their last shirt and commit murder and excesses of all sorts."

So this is what happened in Kiev, and this is what we learn from the organ of the Kiev council of labor unions. This literary and political masterpiece would completely suffice to establish the author of the, doubtless, inspired circular, as well as the purpose of the composition. The quoted fragments are, however, only the beginning, the necessary introduction merely to a lengthy explanation of the question laid down in the circular. What is the ground of this blind hate, i.e. the hate against the Jews?

In their attempt to throw light historically upon the Jewish question in Poland and the Ukraine, the authors of the circular solve this complicated question simply, easily and without the slightest doubts. The responsible parties in all things are the Polish landlords, who left the peasants too little land, drove them into the net of the usurers and then took away the gains from the usurers themselves. The Russian peasant and the Jew, so it says, had to suffer equally from the landlords and their rule. But the peasant did not know who was his real enemy and hated the Jew. When the Ukraine came under the rule of the tsar, there was no change. The tsar's government taught the people that all evil came from the Jews, furthered pogroms, supported them directly, and in this way prolonged the time before its downfall. Finally, however, the work-

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men and then the whole people recognized that it was not this or that people who were their enemy, but the government, under which the peasant lived in want and under which the workman was compelled to be satisfied with miserable conditions of work. The people rose against the real enemy and overthrew the tsarist regime. The enemies of the people, however, knew that if they could again make the latter see in the Jews the responsible authors of their want, they would place no difficulties in the way of the attempt to restore the tsaristic regime, which was the real cause of the suffering of the people. And so they began again to spread calumnies against the Jews, and "the people, wearied by harrassing agitation and exhausted by long years of intolerable sufferings, vents its fury and hate on the innocent, unhappy and tormented Jewish people."

And "in this terrible moment" the Kiev council of the labor unions directed a passionate appeal to all confederates to unite in fighting for the preservation of that which the great revolution of 1917 had brought.

Much can be said about this circular, as the reader sees. Having given extracts, we do not consider it necessary at this moment to say anything further about it. For is it really worth while to say anything about the "passionate appeal" to fight for the preservation of that which the treasonable revolution of 1917 brought to Russia and the Russian people, when everybody knows that it caused a disgraceful desertion of the front in the World War, a shameful betrayal of our common cause with the Allies, defense of the freedom and independence of the several states, the dissolution of Russia, destruction of the entire economic life, general impoverishment and the triumph of

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Bolshevism, against which the newly rising Russia and the volunteer army are fighting? How much courage is necessary to appear publicly with such a circular proclamation in Kiev, which is after all still in the possession of the volunteer army! How degenerate the Kiev labor union must be if after the many acts of destruction which the Bolsheviki have caused in Kiev, they dare to come out openly with such announcements!

We repeat, the "Kievlianin" was the official government organ and the ideal herald of the current policy of the government.

This agitation led to very definite results. The volunteer army was already in a state of decomposition. The great majority of obtuse ordinary officers dreamed of plunder, and in their lust and wanton unrestraint they saw an object of their sadistic and rapacious inclinations in the lives, honor and possessions of the Jews who were left to their mercy, particularly since the official press declared these heroic deeds to be deeds of patriotism.

The pogroms perpetrated by the volunteer army took the following course. As soon as the volunteer army entered a city, one could find everywhere on the walls next to the official communications, proclamations against the Jews, which were almost all alike in form and content—"Underlings of the Red Guard!" "To All"—and called the people to make pogroms (evidently the authorities of the Denikin government simply adopted the method of the tsar's police department, namely to send proclamations for pogroms from their main printing office to the places where they planned to enact them). The careful memorial men-

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tioned above states that in all places without exception to which the volunteer troops came there invariably took place more or less important, but always systematically carried out excesses, which in the great majority of cases developed into pogroms. "So in Kharkov there were robberies and acts of violence every day. In Yekaterinoslav all Jewish houses in the four most important Jewish streets were destroyed. Many Jews were killed, hundreds of Jewish women and girls were dishonored."

The volunteer army instituted pogroms in the following places: Sinelnikov, Bespalovka, Losovaya, Mikhailovka, Valki, Kremenchug (350 women violated), Motovilovka, Borispol, Grebyonka, Smela, Korsun, Germanovka, Cherkassy, Makarov, Gorodische, Stepany, Ignatovka, Tripolie, Rossovo, Bielaia Tserkov, Fastov and Kiev.

In Fastov the volunteers searched all the Jewish houses (they overlooked two houses by accident). The furniture was dragged out of the houses or destroyed; women were violated. All imaginable kinds of tortures and cruelties were perpetrated on the Jews. Even children of six weeks were slaughtered. The number of dead amounts to from 1,500 to 1,800. More than 100 houses were burned down. The pogrom in Kiev was also terrible. On the 14th of October the city was again occupied by the Bolsheviki. Two days later they were driven out by the volunteers. Hardly had the city been cleared of the Bolshevist troops when an organized pogrom set in which lasted five days, from the 16th to the 20th of October. The plundering bands consisted for the most part of soldiers, who went from house to house and robbed, tortured, violated and murdered. The heart-rending cries of the victims were of

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no avail. No one came to their assistance. All the money and valuables that the bandits were given as ransom they put in their pockets, and kept on all the same, murdering men, dishonoring women and then killing them in a brutal manner or throwing them from the fifth and sixth stories into the street. Many were thrown into the Dnieper and found their death there. The number of killed is given at 500 to 600, the material loss is estimated in hundreds of millions of dollars.

When the pogrom had reached its highest point, the organs of the Black Hundred, "Vecherniye Ogni" (Evening Fires) and "Kievlianin," published provocatory and, as was shown later, knowingly untrue statements to the effect that the Jews had shot at the troops as they were retiring before the Bolsheviki. In "Vecherniye Ogni" data were given indicating the time of the shooting, the house from which it was done and sometimes the person who did it. An investigation undertaken by the "League to Combat Anti-Semitism," with the active cooperation of the Mayor, Ryabtsov, the magistrates, Butenko and Zagorsky, the high priest of the Greek Catholic Church, K. M. Agayev, the woman physician, Potkanov, the city commissioner Zanubin and the representatives of various public, trade and socialist organizations, showed that *not one* of the alleged facts stated in the papers was true. In many cases there were no such numbers as those mentioned in "Vecherniye Ogni."

The military censor canceled the articles which were brought to the above named paper for the purpose of fanning the pogrom sentiment, and struck out the reports of other papers about the participation of the troops in the pogrom and the horrors that had been

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committed. It is needless to say that no legal steps were taken against the instigators when the falsity of their reports became clear.

The terrors of the Kiev pogrom and the cynically clear and definite explanation of the causes of this as well as the other pogroms that were perpetrated by the volunteer troops are shown in their most terrible precision and clearness in the article of Shulgin, "The Torture of Fear."

The Torture of Fear

At night there moves in the streets of Kiev an awful medieval spirit. In the general stillness and emptiness of the streets there suddenly breaks out a heart-rending cry. It is the cry of the Jews, a cry of fear. In the darkness of the street there appears a group of "men with bayonets." At their sight gigantic five and six-story houses begin to shriek from top to bottom. Whole streets seized with mortal anguish scream with inhuman voice and tremble for their life. These awful cries remind one of the night of the revolution. Naturally this fear is exaggerated and assumes, from our point of view, senseless and degrading forms. Nevertheless it is a real anguish, a real "torture of fear" which has come upon the Jewish population. The government fights, as far as is in its power, to prevent robbery and murder. But the Russian population who hears this horrible groaning which bursts from the breasts of the Jews under the "torture of fear" thinks its own thoughts. It is thinking, Will the Jews in these nights of terror learn something, will they learn what it means to incite the classes against each other according to the recipe of the "great

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master, Karl Marx"? Will they understand what is socialism, from whose bosom have come the Bolsheviki? Will they understand what it means to realize in Russia the principle of the rule of the people? Will they understand what they must now do? Will they go to their synagogues and before all the world pronounce a curse upon all those Jews who had a hand in all the confusion? Will the mass of the Jewish people withdraw from the "Fathers" of the "new" regime with the same passionateness with which they attacked the old regime? Will the Jews beat their breasts, cover their heads with ashes and repent before all the world that the sons of Israel took such active part in the Bolshevist madness? Will the Jews found a league to combat socialism? Or will everything remain as before after these dreadful nights full of anguish, and as before will they form a "League to Combat anti-Semitism," senselessly denying well-known facts, and thus still more inflaming anti-Jewish feelings? The Jews have two ways before them. One is to confess and repent. The other is to accuse every one else but themselves. Their fate will depend upon the way they follow. Is it really possible that the torture of fear will not show them the right way?

SHULGIN.

This article places Jewry before the following dilemma: They must either repent, i.e., take upon themselves all the sins of the Soviet government before the volunteer army and their leaders, or they must perish. The Denikin government had really devoted the Jews to destruction. And in this they found moral support in the Cadet party (Constitutional Democrats). This party of the humblest opposition to His

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Majesty (the tsar) forms, in the excellent characterization of Maxim Gorky, a sore, consuming the Russian intelligentzia, for they adapt themselves to the absolutist regime of Rasputin and Shekheglovitov, who brought the country to the brink of ruin. The party which called itself in Siberia the "party of the *coup d'état*" proved to be an ultra-reactionary party in the Ukraine. In the Ukraine the Cadets supported from the very beginning the Ataman Skoropadsky as soon as this stage-dictatorship came into being with the help of Baron von Mumm and German bayonets. The main leader of the party, Pavel Nikolaievich Miliukov, approved of this act and at once went over from a pro-English to a pro-German policy.

In the south of Russia the central committee of the party, as well as the party as a whole, were the only "moral" support of Denikin, whose predecessor Alexeiev had also been supported by them. The Cadet party demanded a "military dictatorship." Miliukov declared that the Russian democracy was not able to organize the state and a military dictatorship alone was able to do this. The party yielded to the will of its leader, and demanded that all power be taken over by the volunteer army and that all democratic organizations, the provincial and city administrations, etc., should renounce all independent policies and all independent activity as organs of force, for "the time demands a military dictatorship." This party, which was so proud of its liberalism and had Jews also among its leaders, took the standpoint of Shulgin in respect to the pogroms. Their attitude to the Jews is the same as that of the author of the terribly candid article except that they are not so frank and cover their thoughts with a pharisaic cloak. At the party conference of

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the 19th of November in Kharkov, where all the organizations of South Russia and the Ukraine were assembled, the following resolution was adopted on the Jewish question (taken from the Warsaw Jewish paper, "Moment," of the 14th of December, 1919):

"The Kharkov conference of the party for popular freedom (Cadets) expresses the conviction that Jewish pogroms are undesirable not merely from humanitarian considerations, but also from the point of view of the great purpose which the volunteer army is fighting to realize. At the same time the conference repudiates every suspicion that the deeds of violence are not counteracted by the competent authorities. The conference considers it its paramount duty to approve a whole line of means and measures undertaken by the government for the prevention of pogroms and the protection of the innocent population. The Jewish pogroms," the resolution continues, "are a consequence of the general demoralization due to Bolshevism as well as the result of direct incitement by Bolshevist agents in their attempt to create confusion behind the front. The reasonable and the leading circles in Jewry must carry on a bitter and unrelenting fight against all elements in Jewry who take active part in the Bolshevist movement and thus are guilty of a wicked and criminal deed. Russian Jewry must understand that if *absolute and unconditional support is not given to the national dictatorship and the volunteer army,* who are restoring Russian political life, there is no source of safety left. Nothing but a strong order based on law, such as the national government administration is endeavoring to establish, can guarantee the security of all citizens of Russia without distinction of nationality or religion."

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If we add to this that in the Cadet organ "Svobodnaya Rossia" (Free Russia) anti-Semitic articles of the not unknown Mr. Nashivin were published, in which the proposal is made to declare all Jews foreigners, the picture becomes clear. The first paragraph of the resolution does not change the matter in any way. To be sure, the party (just like Shulgin) is opposed to pogroms if the Jews will *unconditionally* support the volunteer army and the national dictatorship which aim to exterminate these very Jews.

The civil war pulled down the last remains of the liberal veil which covered the lean forms of the "Party for the Freedom of the People." The People's Socialist, N. Tchaikovsky, member of the Russian delegation in Paris (of the foreign representatives of General Denikin and Admiral Kolchak), said in an interview with the correspondent of the "Moment," the Jewish paper of Warsaw (No. 15, Jan. 18, 1920), that the Cossacks "merely" committed robbery, and had no part in murders; that the horrors committed by Makhno and Grigoriev as well as by the insurrectionary freebooters were unjustly charged against the volunteer army and General Denikin, while it was the former whose aim it was to exterminate all Jews. Tchaikovsky declares categorically that Denikin and Kolchak were against pogroms and that they had even issued an order prohibiting all anti-Semitic agitation. The Bolsheviki, he says, utilize all excesses and give exaggerated accounts of the pogroms. (In this respect his statements completely agree in method with those made by the foreign representatives of the Petlura government, who denied that the pogroms were made by them and pointed to the deeds of horror committed by the volunteer army, remarking at the same

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time that the Bolsheviki grossly exaggerated the pogrom excesses.)

Under the influence of "foreign opinion" Admiral Kolchak gave the following "liberal" interview to an American journalist: "You may be assured that in Siberia there is no anti-Semitism and no so-called Jewish question. Those Jews who have lived long in Siberia are regarded as having the same rights as other members of society. In so far as anti-Semitism is to be met with there, it comes from the outside, from Russian fugitives. In any case the influence of anti-Semitism is very insignificant in that part of the world. When we have conquered Bolshevism, the senseless charges that all Jews are Bolsheviki will disappear. The average Jew is more loyal and more conservative than the Russian middle class. And if the Jewish people are to be made responsible for the deeds of Trotsky, Sverdlov, Joffe, etc., then the whole Russian people must answer for the activity of Lenin, Krylenko and Lunacharsky." ("Dalnevostotchnoye Obozrenye"—"View of the Far East," of Sept. 21, 1919; taken from "Le Temps" of Dec. 14, 1919).

Kolchak could easily express himself on the "Jewish Question" for there are no Jewish masses in Siberia and there could be no pogroms there. Deeds of violence were committed there also, and some of them were perpetrated against the pure Russian peasants. The matter of pogroms was not so simple as the explanation of General Denikin and other responsible leaders of the volunteer army would make us believe. News about pogroms reached the foreign press which could not be passed over in silence. The chief of the Kiev precinct, General Dragomirov, had a conversation with representatives of the military and administrative

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authorities in which, among other things, he said: "Excesses have taken place in a whole series of localities in which the Jews had to suffer. The chief commander has taken decisive measures to prevent a repetition. All those whose guilt has been discovered were handed over for court martial, and the same will be done in the future. But repressive measures alone are not enough. Preventive measures are no less important. The ignorant masses must be made to understand that the Jewish nation cannot be held responsible for crimes of the Jewish Bolsheviki, that innocent persons must not be punished for the sins of other guilty persons. Care must be taken that the Jews should separate themselves from the Bolsheviki and their sympathizers and that the ideas propagated by the volunteer army should be circulated among them."

This conversation was published in "Svobodnaya Rech" (Free Speech), a paper appearing in Rostov, and had apparently taken place a short time before. Directly after the conversation, when the Bolsheviki had held Kiev in their hands for two days, this was laid to the charge of the entire Jewish population, which had to expiate this offence under an organized slaughter of the "men with the bayonets." And this massacre was not prevented by the telegram sent by Denikin in Odessa to the chief commander of the Kiev military district. The telegram read as follows: "I have received new reports of violence perpetrated by the troops against the Jews. I order that proper measures be taken to suppress the excesses. Most severe penalties must be imposed upon the guilty. Signed: Denikin." ("Svobodnaya Rech," Rostov, October 16, 1919). This telegram did not, however, prevent the

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educational experiment, which was intended to teach the unhappy Jewish population that they must not destroy "a state that they did not create" and must not "realize the principle of the rule of the people." The pogrom lasted till the 20th. Systematically, methodically, step by step, house by house, street by street, the Jewish population was killed, violated and exterminated. Of counter measures there was not a trace. Reports by opposition papers of the participation of the troops in the pogroms were not allowed by the censor. The instigators of the "Kievlianin" and the "Vecherniye Ogni," who incited the troops to violence not merely against the Jewish population in general, but also against the inhabitants of definite streets and houses and against definite persons, were not taken to account in any manner, although their acts were in violation of definite articles of the criminal law. Savenko continued his dirty work and remained in his position as "Chief of Propaganda."

The telegram of Denikin is a typical example of political hypocrisy, a document to mislead foreign opinion.

To summarize, the pogroms instituted by the volunteer army of Denikin took people's breath away by their inevitable necessity, the exactness with which they were carried out and, as is correctly said in the "memorial," by their systematic execution. In this way they are differentiated from the pogroms which were charged to the Directory of Petlura.

The pogroms instituted directly or indirectly by the Directory and their responsible agents did not arise on the ground of hatred for the Jewish masses as such, and are not connected by the representatives of the national Ukrainian movement with the prejudice that

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grew on the ground of feudalism. The unconscious antipathy against the Jews as such and the instinctive anti-Semitism were, on occasion of need and in consequence of political and in part military circumstances, transformed into an "actual method." The occupation of the Ukraine by the Bolsheviki made of this means an almost uninterruptedly working system. The expulsion of the Bolsheviki from the Ukraine caused the Directory to give up this two-edged weapon and to look for support in the Jewish socialistic party of the right. At the end of August the Rada of the people's ministers as well as the chief Ataman expressed themselves decidedly against pogroms and even took practical measures to combat them, all of which naturally did not exclude the possibility of a renewed use of this terrible fighting instrument in case of political necessity. The victorious national-Ukrainian movement did not take refuge in pogroms.

Quite different must be the political estimate of the pogroms of the volunteer army. They were not merely a political means but also an act of retribution, "for the dishonored and violated Russia." Not only the political leaders, but almost all ordinary officers of the volunteer army were filled with hate and thirst for revenge. The old spirit of caste in the officer corps of the tsarist period was strengthened by the feeling of revenge called forth by the destruction of thousands of persons close and related to them in consequence of the Red Terror, which they ascribed to the "Jewish Extraordinary Commission." The same thing applies to the agitation of the Black Hundred in the official "Osvaga" as well as to journalists like Shulgin and Savenko.

With the increasing power of the volunteer army

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the pogroms gained in extent. Reaction increased as the power of the government grew firmer. The victorious regime of Denikin advanced over the dead bodies of the Jews.

The most terrible thing about the Denikin pogroms was the apparent durability of the government. The institution of the Batko was felt to be the work of robber bands, the attitude of the Directory was regarded as that of a weak and temporary government whose residence was in some out-of-the-way city like Vinnitza or Kamenetz-Podolsk. But a great part of Ukrainian Jewry believed in the permanence of the restoration government, which was based upon international recognition and actual military support by the Entente. This created a completely hopeless and desperate situation. And the more so because the upper as well as the middle classes of Jewry had cherished certain illusions with regard to this government as the means of restoring legal order, which would put an end to civil war and make it possible for tortured Ukrainian Jewry to lead a tolerable life.

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CHAPTER VI

SELF-DEFENSE

The Attitude of the Several Groups of the Christian Population to the Pogroms.

THE watchword "Self-defense" played a great role in its day; in the tsarist period it was regarded as revolutionary.

The pogroms of the eighties took place without meeting resistance by the Jews, who as in the middle ages looked upon it as an unavoidable punishment of Heaven. Young and old hid in cellars and lofts and did not venture in the daylight until the danger was over. So also in the Kishinev pogrom in 1903, which was enacted by the dictator Plehve as a method for intimidating the Jewish socialist youth. It was after this pogrom that the Bund for the first time gave out the watchword "Self-defense." Under the conditions of the time it proved to be pretty effective and even led to definite positive results.

Up to the year 1905 the pogroms were organized according to a definite plan. At the instance of the police department, the governors with the help of the heads of the police staged the "popular indignation and revolt against the Jews" by means of a crowd consisting of disguised policemen, domestic servants, police spies and well-paid city hoodlums. By reason

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of the comparative weakness of the opposition and revolutionary movement at that time, the tsarist government took pains to preserve a measure of decorum before western Europe, and the police as well as the military remained neutral. It was therefore not difficult to offer resistance to the cowardly and more or less drunken crowd, who thought themselves quite secure. At the first shots the crowd dispersed. On the purely technical side the pogroms were so organized that the actors were divided into small groups, every group taking a different street. By organized reconnaissance the defenders could block their way. A few shots in the air sometimes and the pogromists would scatter. So it was during the pogrom in Gomel, where the Self-defense organized by the Bund played a very important role.

Quite different is the character of the pogroms in the years 1905 and 1906, in which the participation of the authorities is clearly evident. In South Russia as well as in other places the pogromists were surrounded by armed policemen and sometimes soldiers, who defended them against all attacks of the "Self-defense divisions." The latter were prevented from getting to the places where the pogroms were going on, or they were shot at when they came near. The former type of self-defense (primitive groups armed with revolvers, knives, etc.) were no longer adequate to offer resistance. It was now necessary to organize properly armed divisions. So it was in Riga in the year 1905. The pogrom, in which the police and the army participated, was stifled in its very beginning by armed Lettish divisions, who were essentially disciplined, revolutionary war divisions. Where such divisions did not exist, the pogroms, which had the character of military

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punitive expeditions (Siedlce, Bielostok), passed off safely for the actors. To be able to offer resistance it was no longer sufficient to have Self-defense in the technical sense of the word, but it was necessary to have an organization of military divisions, a thing which was impossible except in localities where certain conditions obtained, in which such things as open armed insurrection occurred (in the Baltic provinces).

A summons to Self-defense necessarily meant under such conditions a call to an armed uprising.

From the foregoing chapters can be seen the character of the pogroms in the Ukraine in the year 1919. Since their purpose was the destruction of the Jewish nation according to a concretely worked out plan and by means of armed regular troops or insurrectionist bands which were likewise armed to the teeth, it was necessary in order to fight against them to create an army similar to that of the aggressors. From the sad chronicle of events during the pogroms in the Ukraine it can be seen that in the great majority of cases it was only after a temporary defeat of the aggressors that the pogrom in each case came to an end. Sometimes, as we shall see later, the cessation was due to the assistance of the Christian elements of the population.

At the beginning of the pogrom wave the Jews had recourse to the old method of protection, namely bribing the commanders of the various divisions. By paying a considerable sum to the authorities it was sometimes possible to buy one's safety (as was the case in Kremenchug). Often, however, this was not successful. The money was taken and the massacres went on nevertheless. Nay it was worse in such cases, for the Jews believed they were safe and did not hide.

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So it was in Felshtin (Government of Podolia). When the Jewish community heard of the frightful massacres in Proskurov, they began to negotiate with the commander of the militia about taking measures for protection, gave him 15,000 rubles and promised a valuable set of furniture besides. He promised that he would invite the security police of the village Porichie to support his soldier militia. And in fact the security police actually appeared the next day. But their activity consisted in not allowing any Jews to leave the place, so that the latter fell into a trap and were cut down in considerable numbers.

In a number of cities Self-help was organized. The fate of this organization is very instructive.

In Kremenchug the union of Jewish soldiers organized a volunteer security police numbering about 1,000 men. During the first pogrom in Yelisavetgrad a portion of these, about 200 men, proceeded thither and brought the pogrom to an end. This security police consisted mainly of Jews, but there were Christians in it also. It was under the command of Grag.

During the second pogrom in Yelisavetgrad the security police no longer played any role. This time the resistance came from the Committee of Public Safety which controlled a sufficient number of defenders. They had 22 men killed (8 Jews and 14 Christians) and about 30 men wounded. During the third, genuinely military and most frightful pogrom, which was carried out by the bands of Grigoriev, no security police could do anything.

On the day after the pogrom the union of metal workers and the members of the peasant congress organized the class-conscious workmen into a division for the protection of the city. A number of automo-

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biles with armed workmen passed through the city. The soldiers and sailors thought that this division was organized by order of the staff. But when they found out the next day that no such order had been given, they began to kill the Jews. The Jews, who had come out of their hiding places, thinking that the pogroms were over, could not hide themselves so well on the third day, and the number of victims on this day was therefore particularly large. The infuriated bandits murdered whole families and spared neither old men nor infants.

On representations being made by the unions of metal workers and the president of the peasant congress to the staff of the troops of Grigoriev, the pogroms were checked.

We see from this case that the volunteer organization of the security police was not able to offer resistance to the troops. The same thing is shown in the pogroms of Golovanevsk and Alexandria.

Golovanevsk is situated in the government of Podolsk on the boundary of the circuit Uman, in the government of Kiev. This place had gained legendary fame among the Jews by reason of its well organized Self-defense, composed of several hundred young Jews who had guns, machine guns and even bombs. The surrounding peasants had respect for the Self-defense of Golovanevsk and did not dare to attack the place. The Self-defense succeeded even in driving away a band of 1,000 to 2,000 men. But even this "safe rampart," in which by reason of its safety more than 2,000 fugitives had gathered from the neighboring pogrom-visited places, was powerless when the strong band of Sokolovsky appeared. The Self-defense could not offer adequate resistance, and in the course of a

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half hour about 200 Jews lay dead in the streets. The band killed all who came in their way.

The same fate befell the "Workmen's Fighting Defense" in Alexandria, at the time of the second attack of Grigoriev on the 27th of June. The Defense consisted of 600 men, of whom 300 were trained in arms, while the other 300 were just learning to shoot. They stationed watches every day. The suddenly appearing band of Grigoriev met a division of only 40 men. These resisted them in a four-hour fight and lost 11 men killed. The remaining members of the Defense did not appear at this moment when action was imperative. But they would not really have made any change in the general picture of the pogroms. After the pogrom the members of the Defense fled, fearing the vengeance of Grigoriev's bands.

Very instructive in this regard is the history of the pogrom which was instituted by the troops of Petlura in the city of Rovno on the 21st of May, 1919 (Communication of A. Cherkassky). Petlura's armored train "Streletz" came into the city. About 12 o'clock midnight pillage began in some streets, especially in the "Volya," the Jewish part of the town. The soldiers who came in the armored train went from house to house and took money, valuables, clothing and other things. . . . Everywhere one heard heartrending cries. . . . A group of young Jews who were in a house waited for daylight, armed themselves and resolved to offer resistance to the pillagers. Being ten in number they ventured to enter into an armed fight with the bandits in the "Volya," where the pillaging was going on. In one hour they had cleared a few streets (Dubenskaya, Alexandrovskaya, Novakovskaya and a part of the Minskaya) of the bandits. At the same

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time they caught two soldiers and shot them. The success of this group encouraged the male inhabitants of the adjacent part of the town, who gradually grew into a Self-defense. They divided themselves into groups of 6 to 8 men and covered the whole suburb Volya. The Self-defense so created in the Volya forced the bandits to go back to their train. In a half hour stronger divisions of plunderers were sent from there to the Volya, who took up the fight against the Self-defense. To help the bandits drive away the Self-defense, *they shot into the Volya with cannon from the armored train.* It is clear that the Self-defense could not withstand such force and had to withdraw, which they did in good order. . . . When the bandits had driven away the Self-defense, the pillaging of dwellings and shops began again. A few persons who had nothing that could be plundered were put to death.

We have treated the Self-defense in Rovno at such length because we find there both the stages of which we spoke above, namely the stage of resistance to groups of bandits who do not feel quite secure and are therefore cowardly, and the other stage of the military pogrom, which it requires an organized military power to oppose. It is true that the Self-defense succeeded in a number of small places, situated away from the pogrom wave, in driving away the small local bands (Bogopolie, Golta, Golovskov, Krivoie Ozero), but this does not change the general position of Jewry, given up to destruction.

The need felt for protecting themselves was very great. The masses of Ukrainian Jewry were filled with the desire to defend their lives with arms, or at least to sell them dear, and to avoid disgraceful death in

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some cellar or loft. In Zlatopol for example (Government of Kiev), the survivors of the pogroms were gathered at the station, as they feared another pogrom. They were defenseless and could not even save themselves by flight. They ran hither and thither but there was no help anywhere. Their leader, Mr. Romsen, sent telegrams in all directions, Kiev, Odessa, Yelisavetgrad. He asked for a division of defenders or at least for arms for self-defense, but there was no answer from anywhere. According to his communication, old men, women and children cried with one voice, "We want nothing. We are hungry and barefoot, but instead of bread give us protection, give us arms!" They asked for arms in the name of those 250 volunteers who entered the Red Army; they said, "Give their fathers and mothers the possibility of arming themselves, so as to die honorably at least." This was their only wish. If they must die, let it be at least with arms in their hands and not in a cellar. Yet arms, too, would scarcely help the unfortunates. But they were not to be had; there was not enough even for the army which protected the population against the attacks of the bands.

Equally unsuccessful were the attempts to organize purely Jewish military divisions. In Skvira, after the first pogrom, when the same band appeared again, the "Ispolkom" (executive committee of the Soviet) quickly organized a Jewish military division of 900 men. There were also a number of workmen among them and members of the Red Army. Thirty men fell in battle, and they had to withdraw together with the Soviet division. Thereupon the insurrectionists took possession of the town.

This came out very clearly in the pogrom in Cher-

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kassy. This case being extraordinarily important, we shall deal a little more at length with the statements of a member of the left flank (the Jewish). On the 15th of May at daybreak the Soviet troops left the city. In consequence of the unsafe situation at the front, the staff ordered the organization not only of the communists but also of the trade unions. The Christian workmen withdrew from the meeting. The labor division going to the front consisted mainly of Jews. *The sending of such a division excited new talk among the population incited by the reactionary officers and pogromists.* This division occupied the extreme left flank. Their equipment was for technical reasons insufficient. The arms brought to the city could not, by reason of certain conditions, be kept at the front. During the clash the soldiers of Grigoriev purposely allowed themselves to be captured and then developed an anti-Semitic agitation. They had a very definite theme: "Brothers are fighting against one another. There is no difference in our aims. It is the 'Jews and the Communists' who circulate reports that Makhno is coming with a great army. . . ." "This agitation," the witness says, "was successful even among the members of the Red Army, despite the protests of the intelligent persons and of the whole party and labor division."

The two partisan armies, the army of the Soviet and of Grigoriev, find a common speech and common feelings and sentiments (anti-Semitic). Between these two the purely Jewish division forms a wedge, as it were, which by its protest apparently represents the third party, which prevents the "brothers" from uniting. The union came to pass. During its retirement to the bridge, the Jewish division was pressed back to the premises of a sugar factory inhabited by a poor class

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of laborers engaged in the factory. They already knew that the Soviet troops had suffered a defeat, for Grigoriev's troops were already in the city (in consequence of poor information service, the Jewish division knew nothing of it as yet and withdrew too late). The majority of the local workmen armed themselves and opposed the retiring division. They shot at the men who were retiring to the bridge over the Dnieper. "Great numbers of men attacked them as they retired from their positions and killed them on the spot with stones, pulling them down from their horses. Young people and women, also, took part. They fired on them from the gates and from behind house corners as they withdrew to the Dnieper. They killed every one who looked like a Jew even if he did not belong to the Red Army. The Jews who were captured in their positions were at once torn to pieces. One division under the leadership of an officer met a body of prisoners. He had the Jews separated from the Christians and shot the former on the spot. . . . Their bodies were mutilated as were those of the men killed at the sugar factory."

The statements of this participant are fully confirmed by the account of the former president of the city Duma, V. Petrov. The latter said, "I know that the executive committee of the Soviet proposed to the trade unions to organize city guards, that a committee was appointed, but received no arms or cartridges from the executive committee, since there were not enough even for the troops. Some of the members of the unions, mainly mechanics (needle makers, shoemakers and others), went with the troops to the front, where they fought on the left flank near the sugar factory. When they retired on this flank the workmen

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were killed almost to a man by the local population."

From the tragedy of Cherkassy we may draw the conclusion that the idea of a Jewish legion advocated by some nationalistic groups of Ukrainian and other Jews is a political idea thoughtless and naive; practically, however, and in its realization it represents an enormous provocation which might lead to the complete annihilation of the whole of Jewry, for the Ukrainian peasants saw in this legion a union of Jews to destroy Christianity. The anti-Semitic front would have been very much strengthened by such a legion.

The reader must not suppose that the whole Ukraine was divided into two camps, a Jewish and a Christian, and that Ukrainian Jewry was opposed by a closed anti-Semitic front. If this had been the situation there would be no trace of Jews left in the Ukraine. In reality the feeling of the peasants toward the Jews was subject to variation. The transition from an anti-Semitic attitude to active participation in anti-Semitic pogroms was for a considerable portion of the peasantry neither simple nor easy. Many years of living together in peace had struck deep roots, which could not so easily be pulled out even by the hurricane of civil war. The vacillating attitude of the peasantry is also shown in the fact above mentioned that Makhno's division once themselves made pogroms and then approved of the murder of Grigoriev by their Batko because "Grigoriev was a counter-revolutionist and organized Jewish pogroms." They discuss the question, and sometimes at length, whether they should begin a pogrom or whether they should continue a pogrom that had already begun. . . . When the bands of Makhno took Yekaterinoslav the first time (in November, 1918), they called a meeting at the

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staff headquarters, of the responsible leaders of the several partisan divisions, where the question was discussed almost a whole day, whether they should make a Jewish pogrom or not. There was much weighing of arguments *pro* and *con*.

It is clear therefore that every circumstance which makes Jews appear in the specific role of an active, closed and organized body aggravates their position and makes the masses of the Jews who are not scattered among the Ukrainian peasantry, even more defenseless than before. The peasants often distinguish between "their" Jews, whom they have known a long time as honest people, artisans and traders, and the "strange" Jews who, in the inciting words of the provocators, introduce the terrible commune.

This can be clearly seen in the country town of Ushomir, in the district of Korosten. The peasants of the surrounding villages came there all armed. There was such a crowd of peasants that they filled town and village. They came from all sides. . . . The peasants went from street to street. The Jews in their anxiety concealed themselves, but the peasants quieted them, saying that they had nothing against them, that they had in mind the town of Iskorost where the "commune" had made its nest, and that they had made up their minds to get even with those (the Jews of Iskorost). But they called upon the Jews of Ushomir to join them, registered them and gave them certain "certificates" with seals at ten rubles apiece. They had in this way, so to speak, attached the Jews of Ushomir to their movement. The old peasants said to the Jews that they were forced to do this. The peasants not merely did not lay their hands on any one, they took nothing away from the Jews and paid for

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everything they took. The peasants also actively defended "their" Jews against the bandits.

There appeared in the town the vanguard of Sokolovsky's band, five armed riders, who went to the market place and began to beat the Jews whom they met. These riders attracted attention at once by their brutal appearance. . . . Hearing of the disorder on the market place, the local peasants appeared, protected the Jews and asked the Sokolovsky band why they had come. The riders replied that they wanted to get even with the Jews. The peasants then said to the riders that they should not dare lay their hands on a single Jew, for the Jews of Ushomir stood together with the peasants and that if a single Jew was harmed the riders would be called to account. The latter withdrew with the excuse that they "did not come to kill the Jews, but to take out the bombs which Petlura's men had thrown into the river." Soon the riders disappeared. This case is not the only one of its kind.

In other places the local population took part in the pogroms, especially in the cities, where the reactionary element of the poorer classes and the officials in the south always were distinguished by their anti-Semitism. In Cherkassy, Uman, Zlatopol and other places, the local population played the chief role, especially in Cherkassy, where, as we have seen, the Jewish fighters on the left flank were torn to pieces by the local population of the factory precincts. In Uman we have the same phenomenon. On the third day of the massacres a procession took place with church banners, at the head of which marched the orthodox clergy, and the devotees passed the fresh bodies of the Jews shot or stabbed to death. But even in Uman there was a part

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of the Christian population that was opposed to the pogroms. During the pogrom an assembly of the peasants was called by the insurrectionists. Here many Ukrainians spoke against the pogrom and in favor of the Jews. A Jewish delegation was received by the assembly who heard what they had to say. Under the impression of these speeches the assembly repudiated the pogrom and condemned the poorer classes, the clergy and the officials—the elements which, as the speakers showed, were alone responsible for the pogroms. The peasants as a class, the speakers thought, took no part in the pogroms and massacres, and only in isolated cases did they allow themselves to be misled by the provocatory agitation of the Black Hundred. Even if the speakers exaggerated the role of the insurrectionists, it is clear in any case that the peasants as a class were opposed to the pogrom in Uman.

In the country town of Dubovo (Government of Kiev) at a meeting held at the residence of the captain of the insurrectionists, many peasants said in the presence of the Jewish delegation that they had nothing against the Jews.

In Cherkassy, a group of local public men, mainly members of the city Duma, tried at the beginning of the pogrom (May 17) to send a delegation to the staff of the Grigoriev troops at the station with the purpose of asking the staff to withdraw the soldiers from the city and prevent murder and robbery, but they could not do it on account of the bombardments which had begun. On the 8th (18th?) of May they came to the staff in a first-aid wagon but accomplished nothing (one of the officers of Grigoriev said to the delegation that the Christian population need not be disturbed, for only the Jews were robbed and murdered). On the

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same day a meeting of the inhabitants took place in the city Duma and a committee was appointed to see that the staff issued an order forbidding arbitrary searching of houses, plundering and shooting, and ordering a control of the soldiers loafing about in the city. The committee which was elected at the following general assemblies succeeded in two very serious cases, in which many Jews were threatened with death, in saving the situation and proving to the staff the innocence of the Jews. Besides the delegation of the population a delegation of railway officials also came to Grigoriev's staff, protesting against the murders and the shootings.

In Kremenchug, during the pogrom of May 12-14, which was instituted by the bands of Grigoriev, a committee of public safety was quickly called together. They organized a defense consisting of Russian workmen, who succeeded in checking the excesses.

In Yelisavetgrad it was shown, as we have seen, that the Christian defending force organized by the peasant congress and the unions of metal workers was not able adequately to check the pogrom. Soldiers, sailors and the city mob intensified their pogrom activity when they saw that the defense was a volunteer force and was not established by order of the government. The union of metal workers and the peasant congress then urgently implored Pavlov, the commander of the front, to put an end to the horrors, and this time they succeeded.* In the evening an announcement was posted, dated the 7th of May, which began with the following words: "I have heard the voice of the representatives of the workmen and the peasants, and have decided to

* Twice they appealed to the government in vain. It would not listen to them.

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put an end at once to the destruction of the economic life." The frightful pogrom then ceased. During the pogroms a few representatives of the Christian intellectuals attempted to give protection.

In Novo-Mirgorod the local clergy had a procession which marched to the pogromists while they were making their gruesome preparations for the pogrom (they were digging graves for the future victims, who hid themselves and awaited in despair their inevitable death) and tried to intercede with them, but in vain. The bandits would not listen to their admonition. To diminish the number of Jewish victims the executive committee of the "Volost" had a great number of the Jews arrested together with their families (about 1,300 persons) and kept them in custody 89 days. This saved them from death. In Matusovo (Government of Kiev) the pogrom due to the reactionary agitation of the local intellectuals began with the watchword, "How long will you Jews continue to rule us?" In the communal assembly the question of continuing the pogrom was discussed. Two teachers spoke energetically in favor of protecting the Jews, pointing out that the power of the Jews had already been removed for the time being and that the survivors were poor unfortunate creatures. At first they were not allowed to speak. Even their colleagues turned against them and threatened to get even with them. But the peasants who had become sobered heard them and the pogroms were stopped. The active interference for defense by the Christian population caused the cessation of the pogroms even in those cases in which the massacres were organized by disciplined military forces who could be depended upon by the military authorities. This was the situation in Proskurov. The request of a group of

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city deputies that the commandant put a stop to the pogrom had no effect. A session was called of the city Duma (a Jewish deputy was the only one who succeeded in having this done). The chief culprits, Semosenko and Kiverchuk, participated in the meeting. Semosenko maintained that the Jews alone were responsible for what was going on; that being mostly Bolsheviki, their purpose was to kill off the Gaidamaks and the other Cossacks. He said that he would continue to act in the future as he had done in the past, as he considered it his sacred duty. Kiverchuk spoke to the same effect. The city deputy Verkhola replied to them. He addressed the Duma in a long speech in which he brought out that the things that happened in Proskurov were a disgrace to the Ukraine. He spoke of the meritorious deeds of the Cossacks in the past and pointed out that in the present case Semosenko had put robbers in Cossack clothes and made himself their captain. Turning to Semosenko, he said, "You are fighting against the Bolshevists, but were the old men and children whom your Gaidamaks massacred, Bolshevists? You insist that only Jews are Bolshevists. Do you not know that there are Bolshevists among the other peoples too, even among the Ukrainians?" After the session of the city Duma there were no repetitions of massacres on a large scale. Semosenko gave an order to that effect, although according to the original plan the massacres were to last three more days. Thanks to the efforts of Verkhola, who actually saved the Jews of Proskurov from complete destruction, Semosenko was recalled from Proskurov.*

* Concerning the personality of Verkhola, who played so important a role in defending the Jews of Proskurov, see Appendix, p. 214.

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The Jews therefore were not alone in their fight for life in the midst of a raging sea. Many of the Christian population were on their side. Not only in the first period of the pogroms, during the military pogroms of Petlura and the so-called "Batkovschina," but also in the pogroms of Denikin, the best Christian elements among the intellectuals as well as among the workmen took the part of the Jews, often risking their own lives in doing so. Hence that fearful hate in the above mentioned articles of Shulgin against the League to Combat Anti-Semitism, which was active in the Ukraine and gathered to itself the best Russian-Ukrainian intellectuals. There we saw clergy, professors, teachers and representatives of the liberal professions and of the working people.

The assistance of the Christian population often led, as we have seen, to a pogrom being checked; in many cases, too, it had no effect at all; still it had an enormous moral significance for the Jews, who felt that they were not altogether alone and abandoned in their mortal terror before the approaching pogrom wave.

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CHAPTER VII

POGROM PICTURES—A FEW EPISODES

THE insane tragedy which we are considering from the historical and political standpoint in order to lay bare its roots and place the guilt, is so horrible that human speech is too poor in words to describe the infinite despair and hopelessness and the various phases of human misery which the Jews in the Ukraine have suffered. One single episode, the massacre in Novo-Mirgorod, is a symbol of the entire tragedy, a living expression of the frightful events.

The bandits entered the town, armed and equipped for robbery, murder and rape. The Jews of the place in mortal anxiety had concealed themselves with their wives and children in the lofts and the cellars of the houses, in dumb despair and helplessness, and very likely also doubting the goodness of the All-high who allows such frightfulness to happen. The bandits made their preparations. A grave was dug in the Jewish cemetery. Lime was secured for those who, dreaming of life and love, expected a miracle. But no miracle happened. The murderers went from house to house, raping, beating and killing. They were followed by vehicles, on which were placed those who had not yet succumbed to their wounds. When loaded full, the vehicles were taken to the cemetery, where the living and the dead were thrown in without delay. The

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graves were covered with lime so that when they were opened many bodies were no longer recognizable.

The episode in Novo-Mirgorod contains the tragedy of all Ukrainian Jewry, who live scattered thinly in many towns and villages of beautiful Ukraine. Novo-Mirgorod is a symbol. Everywhere the Jews felt the sword of Damocles of armed bands, freebooters, regular troops, Batki, and so on, and they saw the inevitableness of their fate and the certainty of their destruction. In despair the Jews looked for a way out. But there was none. Wherever they went they were overtaken by their fate and met a horrible death. In Cherkassy the city was fired on from without, while inside a band of murderers and plunderers went from house to house and killed all Jews. "The city was under fire continually. The shells exploded over the houses and only during the night the cannonading stopped for a few hours. The Jews, seeking safety from the shells and the bandits, fled from loft to cellar and from cellar to loft. Even now when I close my eyes I see these people, men, women, children, insane with terror, like a frightened herd of sheep, running now here, now there, not knowing where they should go or where it would be better for them. Just now they have gone up to the loft and think they are safe there. The cannonading begins. It is so horrible there: they can hear the whizzing of the shells distinctly. So they flee to the sticky, dark and damp cellars. There it is really gruesome. The crying and weeping of the children confuses their understanding. The shooting stops. All stream out of the cellars into the yard and from there again to the loft. And so it goes during the five long, long days and nights. . . . and then . . . then you see dead bodies lying every-

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where in the streets, horribly disfigured bodies, lakes of blood. . . . And then you see again the mass graves opened, and the people trying to identify their friends and relatives by their buttons, by their monograms, for the bodies are unrecognizable. . . . . You see the burial of the dead. . . . You hear sobbing, the long uninterrupted sobbing of an entire city." *

In Rotmistrovka the entire Jewish population was driven into the synagogue, where 1,200 persons, men, women and children, huddled together in a heap, spent, without food and drink, endless hours of anxiety in fear of their lives. The bandits had a bomb ready to blow up the house of prayer. Only by a miracle did they at the last moment succeed in averting the disaster and buying their freedom.†

The pogrom held full sway in Uman. Whole families were put to death, horribly tortured and slaughtered. Women were violated. All this was going on often in one half of the house, while in the other half inhabited by Christians, the inmates remained quiet and undisturbed, having pasted crosses on the walls and placed crucifixes in the windows.

The pogrom finally came to an end, and by order of the Ataman Klimenko, the leader of the insurrectionists, the freebooters drove the Jews together and told them to gather the bodies of the murdered in the houses and streets and load them on the wagons. They were taken to the Jewish cemetery and buried in three gigantic graves. The Jews were not allowed to dig individual graves, all had to be quickly thrown into the mass graves. While the Jews, thus collected,

* See Appendix, *pp.* 248 *ff.*

† See testimony of the authorized investigator, I. G. Tzifrinovich, in Appendix, *pp.* 300 *ff.*

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fathers, mothers, wives, brothers, sisters and children, were making the graves and weeping, they were insulted, scoffed at and mocked in every way by the insurrectionists. Under threat of violence the women were forbidden to weep. A company of insurrectionists passing the cemetery began to sing jovial songs as they saw the Jews burying their dead.*

At every step one met the greatest moral corruption, the most refined torture, the evidence of sadistic inclinations. The murderers were lost to all human feeling. Bloodthirsty animals were at work. This atmosphere of corruption took hold of the young people and children also. The district agent of the relief committee makes the following report:

On the 9th of June a peasant brought to the Jewish hospital the *two last* Jews of Ladyzhenka (before the pogrom there were 1,600 Jews in that town). They were two young girls, frightfully mutilated, one with her nose broken off, the other with broken hands. They are now in Kiev, suffering not only from external injuries but also from venereal diseases contracted from their violaters.

In Rotmistrovka a father and a son were shot in a house. The father was hanged later, and all this took place before the eyes of the mother and wife. The mother begged to be killed also. But the bandits refused, and as she kept on screaming aloud they drove her out of the house. In the same place when the bandits had taken everything out of a certain house, they put the whole family of four persons against the wall (the father, 65 years old, the mother of the same age, the son, 30, and the daughter 28). They began

* See Appendix, *pp.* 310 *ff.*

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with the daughter so as to take revenge on the parents. All were killed except the son, who as if by a miracle remained alive.

In Slovechno the fiends stuck a four year old child on a bayonet and killed it. In Rotmistrovka a woman (the wife of the local Rabbi) fled with her children from the city. On the way she injured her foot. Her fourteen year old son, seeing his mother bleeding, asked some peasants to help her. One of them consented to take them to the neighboring village. He then took a pick and killed the mother. The two children of fourteen and five years respectively he wounded with the same pick. In the same town there was an old woman, a grandmother, her daughter and five grandchildren (the oldest child was seven years, the youngest six months old), who were looking for a place to hide. On the way they were all put to death. The children of three and one-and-a-half years had their heads split. The youngest of six months was left to itself and died of hunger the next day.*

In Uman five Jews were killed in the fields. One of these, an old man with a white beard, was not killed at once, but met his death in a long agony and great torture. This attracted the attention of Christian children, who gathered around him and threw stones at him, thus hastening his death. Not far from there the bandits murdered a Jew, who fell down dead. He was then lifted up, tied to a tree and made a target at which the fiends kept shooting a long time.

At the same time a mother, crazed with despair, killed her own child. In Rotmistrovka a mother fled with her children to the woods, thinking that there she

* See Appendix, *pp.* 300 *ff.*

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had found a hiding place. When she heard shooting she was seized by the fear that the cries of her eleven-months child might betray her and choked it with her own hands.

There were at the same time also examples of most noble humanity, cases of self-sacrifice, of covering one's neigbhor with one's own breast. Cases are known in which persons were glad to accompany others out of this tearful valley of life and sorrow. It happened several times in Cherkassy that Christian servant girls put themselves in front of their masters to protect them. One of these was actually killed together with her mistress.

In Uman a woman tried to protect her husband and her father with her own body, and received a bullet in the breast. The woman was in an advanced stage of pregnancy and on the following day gave birth to a boy, so that there were three dead bodies lying on the floor of the house, among them that of the husband and the father. In the same place a young pregnant woman tried to protect her husband and was killed by a bullet. The heroic death of the beautiful young woman affected even the murderer. In many houses which he visited later he said regretfully, "Ah, we killed a Jewess in the Kahan house; how she looked at me before she died—I shall never, never forget the eyes of that Jewess." *

In Trostianetz two young girls (the daughters of Beerman) hung on their father's neck and begged to be killed together with him. Father and daughters were tortured and killed in the most brutal manner. The same fate befell the two daughters of Mogilev,

* See Appendix, *pp.* 314-315.

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who did not want to survive their father (testimony of Sandler).* All descriptions of cruelty in the world's literature pale into insignificance before the horrors of the Jewish tragedy. This tragedy knows no shades, no high lights. All is equally horrible and frightful. . . . Terrible is the birth of a son from a wounded mother in a room where the father and the grandfather lie lifeless on the floor. Terrible is the plight of the son, who, seeing the torture and death of all his relatives, loses his reason. Horrible is the case of the mother who chokes her own child in order to save the others. Out of the enormous material collected by investigators of the Ukrainian tragedy, in which every line reports Jewish grief, where Jewish blood trickles from every paragraph, we will present only a few sketches and incidents, the testimony of eye witnesses who by a miracle escaped from hell where, however, they had to leave their friends and relatives. Whoever has seen these tragic witnesses, who knew how to tell of the horrors they endured, with epic dignity, without coloring and exaggeration; whoever has seen their sunken, earth-colored faces, their eyes filled with insane sorrow and despair, having no desire for revenge or life—must, like Lazarus in the gospel, lose the power to laugh; he must wander with a poisoned soul through the world, without finding a resting place.

Involuntarily one thinks of the words of the poet:

"Ye Clouds, if behind you in the depths of the blue
the ancient God still lives on his throne though invisible to me—I ask you, pray for me and my bloody fate!
I have no more prayer in my breast nor strength in

*See Appendix, *pp.* 396 *ff.*

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my hands, nor hope—— How long, how long, how long!"

(H. BIALIK, on the massacres.)

Following are a few episodes selected almost at random. For in this tragedy everything is typical. There are no exceptions. Every incident is an example of what hundreds of unfortunate towns and villages in the Ukraine had to undergo. They are all illustrations, essentially similar to each other and monotonous like the groaning and the weeping and the corpses and the graves. All is one great cry of the lie of life, and the shameless cruelty of man, who desires to gain power at such a price.

I. DROWNINGS IN THE DNIEPER.

a. Steamer "Baron Günsburg."

Testimony of Shifra Shklovskaya, 40 years old, Widow, Shopkeeper. Only Survivor.

On the 7th of April I boarded the steamer "Baron Günsburg" in Kiev. The steamer was going to the village Sukhovchi with a cargo of sugar. It was chartered by three Jews of Sukhovchi, who took passengers on board on their own account. To be exact, I was sleepy when I boarded the steamer and did not observe the passengers on board or how many there were. I found a seat in a corner and sat there dozing. I was awakened by a noise. The Jews were terribly excited and frightened. "Nothing can be done, they are shooting," I heard, and at the same time came the crackling of arms and bullets penetrating the ship's

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side. I lost my head completely. The whole unhappy occurrence that took place after this has remained in my memory only partly. I saw, heard and did everything as in sleep. I still recall vaguely that the steamer reached the shore and five or six brutalized bandits, armed with weapons, rushed on board, stamped their feet and gave the order, "Jews here, Christians there!" The Russian passengers stepped aside. Then came a new order, "Women aside." The men were apparently taken on deck. If I am not mistaken three women remained behind under the care of several bandits. Shortly after, the bandits who had gone on deck returned. We were then dragged on deck. We began to cry and lost our senses. The bandits first seized an old woman and threw her into the river just as she was. Then came I. I lost consciousness. I do not know how I succeeded in swimming down the river. I imagine I must have been carried down by the current. I felt swampy ground under my feet and clambered upon a small island covered with shrubs. How long I lay there I do not know. When I came to myself somewhat and looked around, I noticed that something extraordinary was going on on the opposite bank. There was shooting, cries and alarms. I crept deeper into the sedge and lay there. My clothing stuck to my body, my limbs were numb and I felt an intolerable dryness in my mouth. So I spent two days and two nights. In the early dawn of the third day I saw a boat with two peasants in it. It was clear to me that lying there I should die anyway, so I resolved to ask the peasants to take me to the opposite bank. The peasants agreed and brought me as far as the village Meshigorye. I entered the hallway of a convent and hid myself under

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the steps. How long I remained there I do not know. When I opened my eyes, I saw a nun tending me. She was very kind, led me to her cell, gave me warm milk, took off my clothing to dry, placed me near the stove, stroked my hair and tried to comfort me in the kindest way. She kept me several hours. Then she told me to go, for the whole convent might suffer on my account. I went, but was afraid to look for the village. So I hid myself in the court-yard of the convent in the pig-trough, which was empty. I lay on the wet dirty ground, but here too my rest was not long. A peasant came with pigs. He did me no harm, but told me to go, for he was afraid. Such were the tortures I was exposed to for five or six days. I crept from one trough into another and from one hole into another. What I ate I do not know, and if I know I cannot say it. In this way I was saved. In the village the bandits raged the whole time uninterruptedly. They shot, screamed, played accordions and sang merry songs until far into the night.

Signed for the witness, who cannot write,

KHASSYA KARPIROVSKAYA.

b. Steamer Kazak.

Testimony of Bär Borukhov Mogulevich, 39 Years Old, Butcher.

On the 7th of April I travelled on the steamer "Kazak" from Kiev to Chernobyl. Twenty-five Jews whom I knew were on board and about twenty Russians. There was a rumor that armed bandits were also on board. But we felt comparatively safe, as among the passengers there were fifteen members of the Red Army with machine guns and a whole chest

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full of firearms. As we drew near Meshigorye our steamer was fired on. The military leader of Chernobyl, who was on the "Kazak," came out on deck and saw signaling from the shore with a flag. He thought it was a military signal for an inspection of the steamer, and ordered the captain to stop at the shore. When we reached shore about six or eight young men came on board armed with rifles and sticks, armed peasants wrapped in half-fur coats. Holding their weapons ready to shoot, they ordered, "The Russians step aside; the Jews hands up!" The Russian passengers and soldiers separated from us, and we were instantly surrounded by the bandits. We were searched, our bodies were pinched and our clothes torn from our bodies. They took away all our valuables, such as money, watches, etc., and earrings from the women. A few more men came in village dress and armed like peasants, who divided us in pairs and drove us to the bank. There we found almost the entire Jewish population of the village Petrovichi, young and old, girls and women with children in their arms. We were all huddled together. We learned from the Jews of Petrovichi that all of the Jews who were on the steamer "Baron Günsburg" had been drowned. The Jews of Petrovichi had been seized in the night and had just been brought to the bank, also to be drowned. They said that the peasants had had a meeting in the evening to determine what they should do with the Jews. The old peasants, who had often been in the Jewish houses and had grown up with the Jews, said that the village should not take such a sin upon itself, recommending that the Jews should merely be expelled from the village, that their fate should overtake them at a distance, out of the

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peasants' sight. But the young peasants insisted that now was a favorable opportunity, that they must not hesitate nor allow the Jews to escape them; that the Jews in the whole of the Ukraine were now being drowned and killed, and Petrovichi must not stand back.

We were kept some time on the bank and then we were driven into the village. We tried to find out from the bandits where they were taking us. The answers were blows, an order to keep quiet and with a gnashing of teeth they said, "for examination." We were brought to the inn of the convent. It was still early, between six and seven in the morning. We were all shut up in a room and the shutters were locked. Soon there came armed bandits and many older peasants of Petrovichi. We were searched again. Anything that pleased them they took away. A little later a new band came and did the same thing. After a time there came a third. This lasted two hours, until we were stripped of all our clothing except our underwear; and those of us who were unfortunate enough to have good underwear remained entirely naked. Among the peasants who came in there were many good acquaintances of the Jews of Petrovichi. The latter turned to those of the peasants whom they knew and asked them to save them. Instead of answering they searched with greedy eyes to see if there was not something else that they could appropriate. Among our visitors there were also some who explained indignantly, "You Jewish communists, you changed our holy houses of God into stables. In Kiev you killed our brothers. We will torture you as you tortured them." There were also some who told with special gusto how the Jews were being massacred everywhere, how their eyes were

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being gouged out and the women's breasts cut off, etc. It was clear to us that we were lost. We lay on the floor motionless and without a sound. The women did not even shed tears. Only here and there one heard a child cry or ask for something to eat. During the day twelve more Jews were brought in, who were caught in a boat on the river, and also the Jewish communist agitator Shapoval, who boarded the steamer with us at Kiev in the company of the members of the Red Army. Shapoval was brought in by a powerful fellow of middle age, wearing a red military uniform. As I learned later, this was Klimenko, the chieftain of the band. Shapoval told us confidentially that it was possible to come to terms with this man and buy our freedom. We fell at his feet, embraced and kissed him, begged for our lives and promised "mountains of gold." He said coolly, "Give me 30,000 rubles." The Jews of Petrovichi entreated, "Let two of us go to the village and we will bring you the money." "60,000 rubles," was the answer. "We will give you 100,000. Keep our women and children as hostages, let us go to the village and we will bring you the money." Klimenko went away with the statement that he would come back later. In the meantime peasants came in and out, and when they saw the naked persons before them from whom there was nothing further to take they insulted us in the coarsest fashion. Klimenko came back. We began to hope again. We kissed his boots and begged him, "Let two of us go to the village and bring you the money." Klimenko heard the sobbing and crying, accepted our kisses graciously and demanded 900,000 rubles. We promised. But he thought differently, asked us for the addresses that he might get the money himself and departed. The day

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lasted an eternity. Then came night. Klimenko did not return. We were sure then that we were lost. We prayed to God, said our last prayer, the "viduy" (confession), took leave of one another and sought each one of us a corner to collect our last thoughts. I found a block-book and a lead pencil and we began to write our wills. The paper was not enough for all, and many scratched their names on the walls of the convent inn. Our wills we gave to a very old Jewish woman. We felt sure that they would have pity on her. About one o'clock after midnight six bandits appeared, seized seventeen persons and bade them go with them. Even now I find it hard to tell what happened. The seventeen persons took leave of us and went. Through the cracks in the shutters we could see that they were going toward the river. About an hour passed. The bandits came back and took a second batch of fifteen persons. Again some time passed and the bandits came to take the rest. Everyone clung to his nearest and to his relatives. When we were taken out it was already very dark. I went along with two friends of mine. We resolved to die together. We were taken on the steamer again. We felt that the steamer was pushing off from shore. The bandits seized one of my friends and led him out. I wanted to follow him, but was pushed back. I listened for a few minutes. Everything was still. Suddenly I heard a noise as of a tree trunk falling into the water. Then my second friend was taken out. Two or three minutes later I heard the same noise. Now came my turn. I had nothing on but torn drawers and a "talis koten" (a prayer mantle worn over the shirt). I was led by two soldiers. One of them pulled off my "talis koten." I kissed the soldiers and begged them to give it back to

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me. I thought it might be useful in having me buried in the Jewish cemetery. But it was of no avail. I was taken out on deck. The soldiers had already taken hold of me. But I closed my eyes, called out, "Shma Isroel" (Hear, O Israel!) and jumped into the water. A wave threw me under the steamer. The steamer went on and I swam with the current. I was still conscious and made for the left bank of the river, where Chernigov is situated. I have no idea how long I struggled in the water and what forces carried me. It seems to me that I had seized a tree stump in the river and made for somewhere, I know not where. My strength gave away entirely, when I noticed that the bank was near. I crept to the bank, rolled myself in the sand to get rid of the water which I had swallowed and to warm myself a little. Naked as I was I walked on in the cold damp night. I saw a fire gleaming and proceeded in that direction. Two peasants with boat rudders in their hands ran up to me and told me to stop. I begged them not to hold me back and told them that I was a butcher in a neighboring village and that bandits had attacked me on the road and robbed me. The peasants called some one. A man appeared, who asked me in Jewish who I was. My joy knew no bounds. I told him my name. The man threw himself around my neck. He was a good friend of mine. He talked the matter over with the peasants, with whom he was carrying fish for sale. They gave me room in their boat and covered me with a half-fur coat. In the early morning we came to the little village of Strakholessye. We came to a peasant hut. The peasant showed himself very kind, looked at me and shook his head in sympathy. He gave me old torn clothes and allowed me to warm my-

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self near the stove. I thought that my life was no longer in danger, when two young peasants came in. "What, you have Jews here? There is an order to take them to the Staff. In these days all Jews should be killed and drowned." The owner of the hut asked them to let us alone, seeing that God himself had saved us, and it would be a sin to mix in his affairs. The young peasants were unconvinced and sat down. The peasant allowed us to escape through a window in the adjoining room and told us to run. We ran into the bushes, then into swampy land where human beings do not usually go. Wading in mud and water up to our waists, we looked for a place where there would not be a trace of a human being. Again and again we had to hide ourselves in the bushes when we saw armed men pass. There was a great deal in store for us yet. Finally we came to a factory, where Russian workmen gave us some clothing, warmed us up, gave us something to eat and provided us with a vehicle, which brought us to Kiev. There I became ill and was confined to bed for a considerable time. I remember that I found in the inn a note addressed to the alderman of the village of Petrovichi, in which it said, "Now all the Jews must be produced without delay." The note was signed by Lazarenko.

BAER BORUKHOV MOGULEVICH,
Butcher in Chernobyl.

June 1st, 1919.

Strakholessye is six versts from the village Pechki. There were nine Jewish families there. The village consisted of about three hundred houses. Most of the Jews are artisans. The relations between the Jews and the peasants were so good that Strakholessye was known for its friendliness to the Jews. Strak-

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holesseye did not give any volunteers to the gangs of Struk. Under the rule of Struk the peasants began to cavil at the Jews. Now the peasants have become sobered again.

II. Town of Smela (Government of Kiev)

a. Testimony of Cantor Gersh Zaslavsky, 60 Years Old

On the 16th of May, 1919, about seven o'clock in the morning, I came to the synagogue to pray. When I had put on my "tfilin" (phylacteries), two armed soldiers rushed in and called out, "Jews, get together!" They began to beat us and drive us out of the synagogue (there were in all eight old men there). When I asked one of the soldiers where they were taking us, he said, smiling ironically, "You communists will be taken to death." A few minutes later I found myself in the midst of 42 Jews, and we were told to proceed by twos. The insults and annoyances to which we were exposed are beyond description. One old man had his beard pulled out. In this way we were led along the main street to the Smela station. There a railroad car was standing ready, and we were ordered to get in. We climbed in by standing on the shoulders of the others. The car was then locked up, and shifted awhile hither and thither. Then they began to shoot. After we had gone about three versts the car was finally opened. A man came in and threw us out one by one, shooting after each as he was thrown out. Terrible cries of "Shma Isroel" (Hear, O Israel) could be heard far away. The blood of those shot flowed into a brook nearby. I was the eighteenth. As by a miracle I fell alive among the dead. Dead men fell on

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top of me and I swam in their blood. When the slaughter was over, a wild drunken voice called out, "Hurrah! all Jewish communists are dead. Comrade sailor (leader of the Grigoriev bands), what shall we do now?" "Go home," was the answer. "It is not worth while to use up any more bullets on the Jews." Before leaving, one of them said that he had noticed that one of the communists had good shoes on (he meant me). He took off my shoes, and to make sure that I was dead he stabbed at me with his bayonet. After the Grigoriev men left, I raised myself with great difficulty and looked around. Then I saw the frightful scene. The Jews who had been shot lay on the ground and the blood flowed into the river. Completely exhausted I began to walk at random. Wading in water up to my neck I crossed the river and went into the woods. I came near a tree. Not far from this tree stood a man with a machine gun, shooting in the direction of the tree. I threw myself on the ground and pressed against the tree. Thus I lay 48 hours. In the evening I drank water from the river. A peasant came along. I asked him for a piece of bread. He refused. Another peasant came along and gave me a piece. When at last I came out of the woods to go home, I saw many wagons carrying loads of wood. I asked the drivers to take me under their protection, but they all emphatically refused. They would not even let me hold on to a board, though I was nearly ready to drop of exhaustion. With difficulty I reached home.

GERSH ZASLAVSKY.

b. Testimony of Dina Lifshütz, 32 Years Old

On the eleventh of May, about three o'clock in the night, there was a knock at our door. Three men

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in military uniform came in and asked for arms. They searched the house, but found no weapons. Then they chased us all into a room of the sub-tenant and kept asking for arms. Ekhiel Lifshütz, my father-in-law, affirmed on his knees that there were no arms in the house. Schlema Lifshütz, a son of the old man, showed them a document which proved that he had only recently returned from a German military prison. At first this seemed to do some good. A few minutes later, however, they were all told to place themselves against the wall. One of the bandits gave the order to shoot. Schlema Lifshütz fell dead. Ekhiel Lifshütz was severely wounded. They wanted to kill me too. But one of them had pity on a five-months old infant that I was carrying in my arms. I remained alone in the room, which was overflowing with the blood of the men killed. Another band came in, and when they saw the severely wounded Ekhiel Lifshütz, they began to shoot at him and at the dead body of Schlema Lifshütz. I sat for a time as if petrified. When I came to myself somewhat I noticed that Schlema Lifshütz was still alive. I asked for medical assistance, but it was refused. I was compelled to take him to the hospital, where he died three hours after the operation.

DINA LIFSCHUETZ,

III. CHERKASSY (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

a. Testimony of the Wood Merchant, Getzel Rotmistrovsky, 59 Years Old

On Friday and Saturday, May 16 and 17, there were no excesses of any kind in Krasnaya street. We saw only the men who live on the river bank dragging

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stolen goods. People spoke of two or three murders, but they were regarded as accidental attacks. The inhabitants of the street became more and more anxious and began to look for hiding places. On Sunday May 18, at 6 o'clock in the evening, four military persons appeared in Rotmistrovsky's cellar, where a few neighbors had sought protection against the shooting, took money, rings, boots and shoes from the people and went away telling the people not to dare give the alarm. A half hour later they came back and ordered the men to follow them to the station. They quieted the weeping and praying women by saying that those who were not communists would suffer no harm at the station. The men, nine of them, left. On the corner they saw eleven more men under military escort. There were in all twenty men between the ages of 19 and 60, the old men predominating. On the way to the station, they insulted, tortured and beat them with clubs; they were forced to sing songs, and were stripped to their underwear. When they were brought to the station, a man, whom Rotmistrovsky did not know, jumped out and cried, "What sort of a communist is Rotmistrovsky, why did you bring him here?" He seized Rotmistrovsky by the hand and pulled him away with great difficulty from the soldier who was escorting him and would not let him go. Rotmistrovsky wanted to beg for his children, 19 and 33 years old respectively, but his rescuer explained that now was not the time to intercede for anyone else, that his life was in danger, and pushed him into a railway car. He locked the doors of the car and promised to get him home in some way. When he was alone and recalled the words of his saviour he understood what danger threatened the other nineteen men, his sons among

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them. He looked out of the upper windows and listened, but the noise of the drunken bands drowned everything else. After one or two hours Rotmistrovsky recognized by the light of a lantern Tkachtenko, a young peasant from the neighboring village, Russkava Polyana, and asked him to let him out. The peasant also recognized Rotmistrovsky and threatened to shoot him on the spot. After a time Rotmistrovsky observed to his horror that his car was moving in the direction of Smela. On the siding in Belozeria the train stopped and wounded men were put in and taken off. In Belozeria Rotmistrovsky again saw a peasant (an old man dressed like a peasant, but armed) and asked him to help him out, but the peasant paid no attention to him. In the early morning they came to Smela. He looked for acquaintances among the curious persons who were at the station but found none. Suddenly a military person stopped before his car. He was evidently surprised to see Rotmistrovsky. He brought him a sheet, wrapped him up in it and promised under all circumstances to get him home. He was a commissar and had formerly been a longshoreman and knew Rotmistrovsky well. A little later a Russian shoemaker who lived in Smela came to the car and said to Rotmistrovsky that he had recognized him long before and wanted to help him out, but that he was prevented and was told that there was no pity for Jews. At Bobrinsky station they gave Rotmistrovsky a pair of trousers, a coat and rubber shoes and a certificate entitling him to go to Cherkassy. But they advised him to remain a few days in Smela, as they could not guarantee his life in Cherkassy. He followed their advice. Of the other nineteen who had been brought along with him to the station, only one survived. Wounded, he

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secretly got away and reached home. All the others including the sons of Rotmistrovsky, the 33 year old Srul and the 19 year old Shier, were shot to death at the station.

GETZEL SRULEVICH ROTMISTROVSKY.

b. Testimony of a Man Who Escaped Death

It was on Tuesday, May 20th, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. A division of soldiers was marching through the street, also bandits in civilian clothes. They stopped everyone they met and asked him where the communists were hiding. I lay in the cellar. A girl ran up to me and just had time to say, "The soldies are coming." Soon after two soldiers came up and began to persuade me to leave the cellar, for, they said, the pogrom was over and the men were ordered by the commandant to go to the station and be registered. As soon as their names were entered they would be freed. I came out. At the gateway sixteen Jews of various ages were standing, among them a venerable old man of sixty. We were taken to the station. We all had our documents ready, but there was no examination at the station. The soldiers chased us away from the tracks, stripped us of our clothing, leaving us in our underwear, and began to fire on us. The first who fell was Kanevsky, then the older Rotmistrovsky. What happened later I do not remember any more. About ten o'clock in the evening I regained consciousness. I had such pains in my bones and in the stomach that I lost consciousness again, but came to in a few minutes. Dead bodies lay near me. I rose, my underwear was all soiled with blood, and near me I heard the groans of a dying man. I summoned all my strength to get to the dying person. All around there

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was no one, it was quiet and the groaning was distinctly audible, but I could not find the man. Again I lost consciousness. How long I lay there unconscious I do not know. But when I woke up I realized I was lying next to Kanevsky and it was he who was groaning. "Kanevsky," I said, "maybe you can get up and we will try to go home." "No," he replied, "I am dying. I beg you, find my son and put him next to me. I should like to embrace him before I die." I found his son. He was dead. I moved the father near the son. He embraced him, burst into tears, heaved a deep sigh and died. Driven by fear, I suddenly began to run straight ahead without knowing where, but I kept on running. By some miracle I came to the bank of the river and from there I got home. In the morning I was taken to the hospital. It appeared that a shot had grazed the tissue of my stomach.

M. N.

c. Testimony of Niunia Krasnopolsky, Nine Years Old, the Only Survivor of His Family

Saturday, May 17, at four o'clock in the morning, we were all at home. At our house were also our neighbor Maya Lyss, his wife, my mother, my little sister, my little brother and myself. One other neighbor came running to us; her husband had just been killed, she said, and asked us to take her somewhere. Our neighbor and I were going with her. We had no sooner opened the door than about fifteen or so bandits rushed in. "Where are you going?" said one of them and shot twice. Our neighbor was hit and fell. I ran into a room, our woman neighbor into another room, where she also was killed. The whole time I crouched under the bed and saw how one of the

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band, dressed in a sailor's uniform, shot everybody. The soldiers were all quiet. They asked for no money and did not shout. They remained about five minutes. When they left, I crawled out from under the bed and saw that all were dead. I remained in the house. A little later another band came. I jumped out of the window and ran to the station. There I saw Jews being shot, and heard their cries. But I did not cry. I asked a boy to tell me in detail what he had seen at the station, but he said, "I cannot, it is too frightful." I collected cartridges as if nothing had happened, as if mama had not been killed. I had quite forgotten everything. Then I ran through the city and came to the river's bank. I went along the bank. Nobody touched me because they thought I was a Russian. A soldier came up to me, gave me a sack and said, "Go plundering." Then I began to run to my relatives', but all was in ruins at the house of one aunt as well as the other, and they were not at home. Finally I came to the third aunt and there I remained.

NIUNIA KRASNOPOLSKY.

d. Testimony of Terpiansky

Saturday, at nine o'clock in the morning, there was a knock at the house of Boganovsky. He would not open. Then they began to break the doors in. Seeing this, Boganovsky opened the door. Six soldiers came into the room and asked for money. The women had hidden themselves under the bed. One of the soldiers must have noticed it, for he pulled the women out from under the bed by their legs. After he had pulled them all out, they were told to go out into the yard. There the women had to lie on the ground while the men had their money taken away. After they had

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taken the money from Boganovsky they placed him against the wall and fired on him. One shot went through his hand, the other grazed his head. The women raised a terrible cry. The bandits began to fire on the women. Boganovsky meanwhile was left in peace. He lay half unconscious and they thought he was dead. After they had murdered the women, the bandits attacked Mandel and Khazonov. They were taken out on the street. One soldier knocked Mandel down and shot him. Khazonov fell down himself (apparently he fainted), and was shot as he lay. Khazonov left a son, who lost his reason as a result of the horrors. He lay the whole time under the bed and was not noticed by the soldiers.

IV. Town of Dubovo (Government of Kiev)

Testimony of Ben Yankelevich Tsukernik, 65 Years Old, An Innkeeper, Who Can Read and Write

On the 17th of June a man of Koziakov's and Popov's gangs, with arms in his hand, came into my beer house through the window and demanded money. On the approach of the gang I hid my family in the cellar. I, a feeble old man, remained in the house alone. I at once gave the man 100 rubles. Then another soldier came in, said he was the chief and ordered the first one to return the money. Soon others appeared and with the consent of the chief began to plunder my house. After they had taken away everything I had, they demanded that I, being a communist as they maintained, should go to the Staff with my 50 year old nephew Mendel Vinokur. The Staff were in the cellar of the Feldman house, where there were already a number of victims who had been brought to

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be slaughtered. One after the other was taken into the cellar. The leader was an adjutant of Popov and Shevchenko. The order was "Cut them down, spare your bullets!" Near the door stood the two executioners, a Russian and a Moldavian, with drawn sabers in their hands. The command was, "One, two, three, strike!" As my foot touched the lowest step of the cellar, I received a stunning blow with a saber, one on my hand and one on my head. Although I felt that I was still able to stand on my feet, my instinct told me that it would be better to fall down into the darkness below farther away from my executioners. I fell on the wet, slippery floor soiled with my own blood and that of the others. With one foot I touched a body that was altogether unrecognizable. I began to feel about me. There were dead bodies all over. Near me there were twelve. Here and there you could hear low groans. Soon a new body fell on top of me. In the dark I recognized my good friend, the sixty-three-year-old Shmul Pasternak. He was groaning, yet he tried to touch me lightly, and whispered, "Sha, sha!" (Keep quiet.)

Creeping along and pulling my friend with me, I got into the corner of a room and hid myself behind a barrel. In the short distance which I covered as I crept, I came upon severed hands and other parts of the human body, which I thrust away from me in horror. After an hour, which seemed to me a whole eternity, I heard calling, "Whoever is alive come out!" But I was afraid to utter a sound. After listening, however, more carefully I heard the lamentations of our women and mothers in the Jewish language and understood that the bandits must have gone away. It was in fact the peasants of our place who had come out

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of sympathy to carry us out. With great difficulty I took my friend on my back, came out to the exit and gave a sign of life. They pulled us out and took us into the fresh air. I was saved, I know not how. I was saved by a miracle. My friend died. My nephew who was seized along with me was, as was proved later, tortured and slaughtered in the most brutal fashion. I remember as I was being taken to the Staff, the executioners said to me that I would be at once cut down with the saber. I began to beg them and said it would be better if they would shoot me. Thereupon they answered, "It can't be done, we have been ordered to cut down with the saber." With these words they picked up a hand lying near, showed it to me and said, "You see, it is a pity to use a bullet." After these words, I received the blows on the head and the hand.

BEN YANKELEVICH TSUKERNIK.

July 9, 1919.

V. TOWN OF TROSTIANETZ (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Report of B. Sandler, President of the Temporary Soviet of Trostianetz

In my home town, Trostianetz, unhappy and ruined forevermore, there was a belief among the people that on account of a blessing it once received from a saint there would never be pogroms or bloodshed there. The people were convinced of the truth of the legend, especially during the last months when the bands of Petlura in their retreat swept away and destroyed everything, and yet comparatively spared our town and confined themselves to a partial pogrom and the destruction of

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property. Some time passed. The population began to recover from the injuries and losses caused by the bandits. Again they thought of the good saint who with invisible eyes was protecting the welfare of the town. Life in the town flowed along normally and peacefully, when the Soviet power established its rule and the political department appointed a military-revolutionary committee, to which our town sent one of its representatives. Then came the ninth of May, and one of the greatest tragedies in the world was enacted in our town, which led to an unsparing extermination of almost the entire male population at the hands of the insurrectionary bands.

When I begin to describe the bloody events of which I was an eye-witness from beginning to end, a shudder takes hold of me. It is too much for me to bear, for wherever I look I see the same thing—blood, blood. From whatever side you approach the tragedy, from whatever angle you consider it, it appears frightful and gruesome both in regard to the acts of the fiendish intellectuals of the place, the insults and tortures which they inflicted upon their victims, and in regard to the organization and extension of the districts in which the persecutions took place, the diabolical thirst for blood exhibited by the mob and the secrecy of the plan which was hatched long before this unhappy day and was carried out obstinately to the minutest detail. Yes, it is too terrible to describe all this. I feel as if I were beginning to kill people myself. But it can not be helped. I shall have to carry my memories with me to the end. We, eye-witnesses, who saw those streams of blood; who heard the groans of the martyrs; the weeping and wailing of hundreds of widows and orphans, of brothers and sisters and children;

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who for eight days heard the terrible tolling of bells in all church towers; who saw the pogromists, executioners with pitchforks, spades, axes, pickaxes—we who saw and heard all this, are marked men, men departed from life.

An armed insurrectionary band came in like a flood, drove back the members of the Red Army, a part of whom ran to the station while the others joined the insurrectionists. One heard the cries of the people who were seized by a wild panic, and the furious and uninterrupted tolling of the bells, which struck fear into our hearts and announced a storm. I was seized by a terrible excitement and despair and hurried to the city. In the city the usual pogrom scenes were being enacted. From all sides men came running with arms in their hands. They robbed, they screamed, they scoffed, "Now where is your Red Army? Give up your arms or we strike you dead." This bacchanal lasted some time, until they began to pull out all men and boys, and beat them and carried them away. Some said they were going to be fined, others said they would be imprisoned and shot. In this way until evening almost all the men had been captured, except those who knew how to hide themselves well. The town was like dead. The men who had been collected together and a few fathers, brothers, husbands and wives who came of their own accord were taken into the building of the former Commissariat.

A frightful and anxious night descended upon the town. The stillness was as that of the grave, broken here and there by occasional shots and heart-rending cries. In the morning it became known that during the night the bandits had killed eighteen persons in their homes, among them two women.

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The following day the bands took up their pogrom activity in an intensified degree. They ran through the place, busied themselves with pillage and plunder, perpetrated a few murders, sought out concealed persons and took them to the building of the Commissariat, which together with the entire street was cordoned off from the town, so that no one could get in or out.

What fate was being prepared for the persons under arrest; what they intended to do with them; what they were preparing in secret when they began to dig that terrible grave of thirty-five "arshin" in length, which later received all those martyrs who had to spend thirty hours in the building of the Commissariat under the darkest forebodings, thirsty and in stifling air; what was going on behind the wall of the town—was veiled in deepest darkness. We only saw more armed men marching in from the neighboring villages. Besides, we all cherished the hope that surely they could not kill all those people who were taken to the Commissariat. No one had such horrible premonitions. That was a terribly sad mistake. The fate of the martyrs had been decided in advance. On the morning of the 10th of May they began to dig their graves. The counter-revolutionists and monarchists of all stations and tendencies exerted themselves to the utmost on this unhappy day. They worked untiringly the whole night and the whole day, preparing the bloody events which began on the 10th of May at five o'clock in the afternoon, and which will never disappear from the history of the people.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the people assembled in the community house to decide definitely what to do with the "little Jews." Various opinions were ex-

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pressed. The numerous assembly was divided into several groups. Some cried, "Down with the Jews, with their wives and children, let not a soul remain." Others demanded that the young people alone should be done away with and the others should have to pay an indemnity. The third group recommended that only those who belonged to the Red Army should be exterminated. Only a few tried to restrain the crowd from the disgraceful work on the ground that enough blood had already been shed. It came to a vote. The assembly, according to the testimony of a peasant, divided into two camps, which balanced each other, some having abstained from voting. Suddenly the bloody ambassador who played the decisive role in the tragedy rushed up on horseback and called out to the crowd, "Brothers, to the harness quickly! The Jews from Obodovka and Verkhovka are coming up behind us in armored automobiles." This hellish fiend was Drevinsky, a former Petlurist officer, who had just been declared commandant of the rebels. There was great excitement. Amid the tumult one heard cries, "Go on, brothers, we will kill them all and not leave a single one alive."

The two camps became one, and were transformed into a furious mob, who ran straight to the Commissariat, surrounded it and opened fire.

The unhappy victims, consisting of several hundred men and boys, fell on the ground in terror, begged for help, cried and wept, but in vain. The bloody watchword was announced to them, "No survivor."

The bestial crowd soon found that it was not easy to destroy so many people by shooting through the windows. They went inside and threw bombs and hand grenades into the mass of people crazed with

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terror and threatening to choke and kill each other. A bloody dance of death began. Knives flashed, axes whizzed, special weapons were improvised for the occasion, pickaxes and boot heels were employed. A river of blood was formed with the victims swimming in it. There were tortures and abuses such as the world never knew. Dead and half-dead bodies were desecrated, red bows dipped in their blood were fastened to their breasts with the words, "There you have your commune!" Here Beerman and his two daughters were killed in the most bestial manner, as the latter fell on their father's neck and begged to be allowed to die with him. Mogilev, the father, died too, and his daughters made the same request as the others. Deutschman, too, perished there with his four sons, of whom the oldest was 28, the youngest 15. Here all the five brothers Kaphun lost their lives, their father having been murdered by bandits the year before. Here a martyr's death came to a father with three sons of ten, twelve and thirteen years respectively; to two fathers and their only sons; here two octogenarians met their end, and here Bossakovsky died in the arms of his wife (who by a miracle found her way out of this hell) at the hands of Kossubsky. Look at the building of the Commissariat or ask this living witness—they will tell you a frightful history, the meaning of which is not clear to all, but which sounds in our ears like a sentence of death.

Thus in the course of five hours, from five o'clock until ten in the evening, several hundred human lives were extinguished.

When the bloody work was over, some of the robbers hurried to bring vehicles to carry away the bodies of the tortured victims to the reservoirs where the

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sugar factory drains off the water during its operation. There, a verst from the town, a ditch had been prepared, like the graves at the front, where the mutilated mass of human beings was thrown in.

Another gang of bandits fell upon the terror-stricken population, began to drag out of the houses those who had been left unharmed during the day, as for example sick persons suffering from typhus, convalescents, etc., and killed them before the eyes of their relatives, violated girls and robbed and plundered until suddenly there appeared a body of defense which had been formed and organized by the criminal leaders themselves when they became aware of the enormities they had committed and were frightened of their own deeds.

What happened in the town the first morning when it became known that all the persons collected in the Commissariat had been killed cannot be reported—weeping, sobbing, wailing, hysterical cries, madness, fainting and death from heart failure. All wept, the heaven and the angels, the disinterested stars and the unhappy human beings—a sea of tears and endless despair. Ruined widows and orphaned children sent threatening curses against the whole world, threw themselves in measureless grief on the ground and begged God for death.

The executioners who organized themselves as a defense in the morning did not even leave the victims to their sorrow, but chased them back into the houses every moment. The houses were no longer occupied by single families, but by several, which consisted only of women and children. The remaining houses were left to the mob and the women of the village, who carried away the last remnants of value "under the oversight of the defense." No one asked for food or help.

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The children died quietly on the breasts of their half-dead mothers. Now and then you could hear the noise in the uninhabited houses where the village women and the mob were carrying on. On the 17th of May Soviet troops appeared, who chased away all the banditts and drove them into the woods. The seemingly dead place woke up and the people crept out of their holes. There was terrible hunger. The troops shared their rations with the people. When the Soviet troops left, the town was again transformed into a cemetery. Two monuments of sorrow remained in the unhappy town, the blood-stained building of the Commissariat and the silent grave in which the remains of about 400 innocent victims found their rest.

B. SANDLER.

President of the temporary Soviet of the Town of Trostianetz.

May 30, 1919.

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CHAPTER VIII

RESULTS

THE results of the sad events cannot be expressed in exact numbers, especially at a time when the civil war is still going on, and there is no connection between different parts of the Ukraine, which are occupied by various powers fighting each other. The internal front of the Batki has divided the Ukraine into a number of unconnected parts.*

According to the information in the office of the relief committee of the Red Cross for those injured in the pogroms, the complete number of places affected up to September 22nd of last year, i.e., up to a time when the wave of the Denikin pogroms had not reached its highest point, was 372. The number of pogroms in these places is however essentially larger and will amount to at least 700, as in many places, for example Rodomysl, Cherniakhov, Kornip, Volodarka, Yelisavetgrad, Vasilkov, there were four, five and even ten pogroms. Some places suffered from one prolonged pogrom until the entire Jewish population and every trace of Jewish possessions were completely wiped out.

The following number of places were destroyed:

* This is true only of the pogroms of 1919.

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Government of Kiev

District	of	Chernobyl (Struk)	43
"	"	Tripolie (Zeleny)	9
"	"	Cherkassy-Chigirin (Grigoriev)	21
"	"	Berdichev	5
"	"	Tarascha	20
"	"	Uman	12
"	"	Skvira and Pogrebische	30
"	"	Kiev	16
"	"	Radomysl-Zhitomir (Sokolovsky)	52
		Total	208

Government of Volhynia

District	of	Ovruch	26
"	"	Zhitomir	20
"	"	Rovno	10
		Total	56

Government of Podolia

District	of	Gaisin	29
"	"	Balta	8
"	"	Vinnitza	16
"	"	Proskurov	1
"	"	Kamenetz-Podolsk	1
		Total	55

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Government of	*Kherson*	23
"	*Poltava*	15
"	*Chernigov*	7
"	*Yekaterinoslav*	1
	Grand total	365

Below is a classification according to bands:

Regular Troops and Bands of Petlura

Zhitomir, Proskurov, Ovruch, Felshtin, Korosten, Balta, Rovno, Litin, Kremenetz-Kodyma, Trostianetz, Krivoie Ozero, Theophipol, Kotelnya, Zhmerinka, Pikov, Yanov, Gaisin, Pecheri, Tulchin, Radomysl, Vasilkov, Rossovo, Skvira. Boguslav, Yelisavetgrad, Novo-Mirgorod, Poltava, Kobeliaki, Ramodan, Piriatin, Berdichev, Znamenka, etc.

Places destroyed	120
Killed	15,000

Bands of Sokolovsky (District of Radomysl-Zhitomir)

Radomysl, Makarov, Brussilov, Kornip, Khodorkov, Korostyshev, Yassnogorodka, etc.

Places destroyed	70
Killed	3,000

Bands of Zeleny (District of Tripolie)

Tripolie, Rzhischev, Vasilkov, Obuchovo, Pereyaslev, Pogrebische, Bielaia Tserkov, Tatiev, Pliskov, Rushin, etc.

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Places destroyed 15
Killed 2,000

Bands of Struk (District of Chernobyl)

Chernobyl, Gornostaipol, Ivankov, Khabno, Meshigore, Vishgorod, etc.

Places destroyed 41
Killed 1,000

Bands of Sokolovsky and Others (District of Uman-Skvira-Pogrebische)

Uman, Dubovo, Talnoie, Kristinovka, Ladyzhenka, Skvira, Volodarka, Novo-Fastov, Pogrebische, Dzhunkov, Borshchagovka, Priluki, Turbov, Vakhnovka, Lipovetz, Golovanevsk, etc.

Places destroyed 38
Killed 2,000

Bands of Grigoriev (District of Cherkassy-Yelisavetgrad)

Cherkassy, Belozeria, Smela, Rotmistrovka, Zlatopol, Chigirin, Gorodische, Matusovo, Yelisavetgrad, Novo-Mirgorod, Znamenka, Alexandria, etc.

Places destroyed 40
Killed 6,000

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Bands of Yatzenko and Golub (District of Tarascha)

Tarascha, Boguslav, Mironovka, Rossovo, Stiepantsy, Stavische, etc.

Places destroyed	16
Killed	1,000

Red Bands

Vasilkov, Zolotonosha, Obuchovo, Rossovo, Pogrebische, Volochisk, Korosten, Brailov, Korsun, Klevan, Rovno, Gaisin, etc.

Places destroyed	13
Killed	500
Grand total killed	30,500

This figure, however, does not by any means give a correct idea of the actual number of persons who perished. No account is taken in the above figures of the many victims who gave up their lives in places that could not be recorded because there has not been any connection with them so far and no investigations in those regions have yet been made, as for example in the western parts of the Governments of Volhynia and Podolia, in the southern part of the Government of Kherson, etc. Nor have those missing Jewish families been included who were exterminated in numerous villages and hamlets, or those who were killed during their flight from their ruined homes as they wandered from place to place, or those who were pulled out of railway trains and beaten to death, or those who were drowned by being thrown out of steamers, or those who were killed in the woods and the highways.

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There is no account taken of the great numbers of those who succumbed to their injuries and fell victims of contagious and other diseases which they contracted during their imprisonment in dark rooms without food, drink or clothing.

The entire number of persons who perished during the first period of the pogroms at the time of the Directory and the Batki amounts to at least 70,000.

We have no data on the number of persons who fell victims of the Denikin pogroms. The figure 167,000 given in the above mentioned memorandum which was handed to the Zionist Actions Committee and to Dr. Margoline is no doubt exaggerated. According to the statements of persons recently arrived from the Ukraine, the number of those killed in the second period of the pogroms is 50,000. If we assume that 120,000 deaths were due directly to the pogroms, we shall not be guilty of exaggeration. To these must be added the injured and wounded, those suffering from nervous and mental shock and the violated women. The pogroms swept the Ukraine like a hurricane, and it was impossible to undertake a census of such cases. The number, however, must be prodigious, running into the tens of thousands.

So also the number of victims who suffered material loss. It may be said that in all of the places which were visited by the pogroms the possessions of the Jews were completely destroyed. We have a typical report in this connection from the village of Orlovetz (Government of Kiev), which reads as follows: "The plunderers rushed at the Jewish houses. . . . Here they were helped by the whole Russian population. Everything was loaded on wagons and carried away. After they had completely emptied the houses and

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squeezed out in every possible way the last savings of the Jews they proceeded to destroy the houses and the shops. Shutters, window panes, doors were taken out, roofs were torn off, and so on. The greatest zeal was shown in searching for money. The floors were torn up, the soil was turned up again and again in the barns, cellars and yards, ovens were taken apart. . . ." A similar report comes from Zlatopol, "The shops were plundered and then burned down (of 285 shops 275 were plundered and then burned down). Everything was taken away, from hatchets and wooden spoons to pianos. The poor water-carrier had his last blind nag taken away. Of 1,100 Jewish houses, 1,065 were destroyed. The goods and possessions were carried away on thousands of vehicles. The looting lasted two weeks." As the local physician, Dr. Isaacson, expressed himself, "The pogrom stopped of itself, since everything was looted and all the inhabitants had fled to Mirgorod." * The Jewish population of the villages and hamlets visited by the pogroms left everything behind as it was, and fled without further thought to a larger place. The roads were covered with the bodies of old men, women and children, and in the larger places the same horrible death awaited the fugitives. . . . The economic situation of the Jews in the large Government cities of the Ukraine is desperate. The authorized agent of the Relief Committee of the Red Cross reports from Yelisavetgrad, "There is need of assistance in every shape and form. If Yelisavetgrad should not get any support, the entire population will die. This is no exaggeration. The people have not a shirt to change and there is no possi-

* See Appendix, *pp.* 288 *ff.*

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bility of getting any. If no help should come the outbreak of disease is unavoidable. Food exists only in very small quantities. The peasants do not come to market as they have nothing to buy. Articles of food are not coming in and hunger is approaching." Another agent reports, "More than a thousand inhabitants of Ladyzhenka are to this day living in Golovanevsk. Ragged and barefoot, with a completely decayed shirt on the body or without any shirt, healthy and contagiously diseased men and women are squatting in the synagogues, in empty barns or simply in the streets. God alone, or the livid and tightly closed lips of these people, can tell you how they live and pass the day. One sees many biers in the crooked streets of Golovanevsk, and many collections are made to secure shrouds for the Jews of Ladyzhenka. . . ."

According to existing data, 150,000 men suffered material loss in August, 1919, in the Government of Kiev. And there is no doubt that in the Governments of Podolia, Volhynia and Kherson, the damage was not less. It would not therefore be an exaggeration to say that in the Governments of Kiev, Volhynia and Podolia about 600,000 persons suffered material loss. This was the calculation of the Relief Committee of the Red Cross for the time up to the coming of the Denikin pogroms. We may assume that not less than half a million were affected materially by the latter, and, therefore, that the entire number affected was over a million.

If we add about 50,000 or 60,000 orphans we get a complete picture of the destruction of Jewish life in the Ukraine. The pogroms in the Ukraine in the year 1919 form one of the most tragic episodes in the dark history of the much-suffering Jewish people.

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APPENDIX

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SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER II

REPORT OF A. I. HILLERSON

I. City of Ovruch

Ovruch is a cantonal capital of the government of Volhynia, with a population of about 10,000 people. More than two thirds of this population are Jews.

The Jewish population is mostly unpolitical; there were no notable revolutionaries among them. In the period of the imperial pogroms Ovruch did not suffer.

The first pogrom in Ovruch took place in December, 1917, under the first Rada. Polish land-owners sojourning in the city and canton, and likewise former tsarist officials, true to tsaristic principles, sowed seeds of division, and instilled hatred for the Jews, attributing to their machinations the increase in the prices of products.

Under the influence of their agitations the 165th Ukrainian regiment, quartered in Ovruch, upon its demobilization in December, 1917, began to wreck Jewish stores and destroy the wares. Peasants of the neighboring villages came with carts and carried away all that remained undestroyed. Then the local population did the same. Only the stores were destroyed. The homes of the Jews did not suffer.

This pogrom gave occasion for the Jewish ex-soldiers in Ovruch to form an organization for self-defense. This operated for a considerable time but finally broke up.

Attitude Towards the Jews Under the Hetman

Under the Hetman there were no pogroms at all. The power of the Hetman was in reality a restorational power; it was colored in tsarist colors, but, according to the circumstances of the moment, in a decidedly faint shade. Under the Hetman

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there was no pogrom-agitation, but there was no lack of anti-Semitic propaganda. Among other things, from Zhitomir there was received in Ovruch a secret order not to accept Jews in the state service, and gradually to discharge those previously taken in.

The power of the Hetman, being a continuation of the tsarist power, although in a weakened form, was extremely unpopular among the Ukrainian peasants. And when the Germans, owing to the circumstances of the time, began to abandon the country, uprisings flared up in many places.

Uprising of the Peasants and formation of the Republic of Ovruch

On November 30, 1918, the peasants of the Pokalev district [*volost*], canton of Ovruch, arose. They declared the power of the Hetman overthrown and formed the republic of Ovruch. The volunteer officers who had been guarding the German power in Ovruch, about one hundred in number, fled without making resistance.

The peasants introduced strict order in Ovruch. They immediately freed the political prisoners from prison, and named one of their number, the peasant Dmitriuk, city commissar; a Jew, Friedman, member of the Bund, was named his assistant.

Among other things the peasants proposed to the Jewish community that they organize from their own midst a military detachment of one hundred and fifty men. But the Jews, having considered this proposal and recognized that the peasant government which had been formed had not sufficient guarantees of durability, wisely declined to form such a detachment.

At this time the power of the Hetman in Ukraine definitely fell; the Directory of Petlura came into power.

Bolshevism Among the Pokalev Peasants

Under the influence of the White Russian bolsheviks, who on the side of Kalinkovichi are the nearest neighbors of the Pokalev peasants, tendencies to bolshevism began to develop in violent measure among the latter, and bolshevist demands were heard ever more loudly. There was formed a majority of bolsheviks, and a minority which was ready to join the Ukrainian national movement.

Dmitriuk and Friedman, who stood at the head of the Ovruch republic, came out against the bolshevist tendencies of the

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Pokalevites. Dmitriuk was killed and Friedman saved himself by flight.

A certain Meschanchuk, as I believe an anti-Semite and black-hundred man, had already been named by the Pokalevites as commandant of the city of Ovruch. He secretly entered into agreement with the Petlura government in Korosten, informed it of the bolshevist tendencies in Ovruch and invited thither the so-called "Clan of Death."

"The Clan of Death" (Kuren Smerti)

The Clan of Death arrived in the city by night, surrounded the Pokalevites and disarmed them. Then the Cossacks of this Clan began to go around to the homes of the Jews, to remove the weapons. They found no weapons, but did find money and valuable property in many houses. All this they took. Thus began the plundering in Ovruch.

The Jews went with complaints to the commandant Meschanchuk. He quieted them by declaring that the regular army would soon appear and that then the plunderings would stop. In fact, there did appear on the twenty-fifth of December in Ovruch a detachment of guerrilla-soldiers with the ataman Kozyr-Zyrka at their head. To those who met him Kozyr-Zyrka declared that he had come to introduce order in the city. Some say that Meschanchuk, in presenting a report on the condition of the town, had declared that bolshevism was raging there and that the Jews were to blame for it.

The Ataman Kozyr-Zyrka

Legends have sprung up in Ovruch about the personality of Kozyr-Zyrka. Some assert that he was a certain count from Bielaia Tserkov, and that Kozyr-Zyrka was not his real name, but only a pseudonym.

Others declare that he was a runaway Galician convict, in support of which they point among other things to the tattooing on his arms.

But all descriptions agree in this, that he was a handsome young fellow, a fiery brunet of gypsy type, with good manners, a fine orator. speaking exclusively in the Galician-Ukrainian dialect. He did not speak Russian, though he understood the language very well.

Kozyr-Zyrka considered it his first duty to become acquainted with the attitudes of the various social groups. Therefore he

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invited to meet him the mayor of the town, a Pole named Moshinsky, and the representatives of various social organizations, mostly Poles and former tsarist officials. What these invited guests told Kozyr-Zyrka remained unknown, but it is not difficult to make a guess.

Arrest of the Clerical Rabbi

Having heard the representatives of the Christian community, the Ataman decided to make the acquaintance of a representative of the Jewish community. Therefore he ordered the Jewish clerical Rabbi arrested and brought to him.

The Rabbi was arrested December 26 about 2 P.M., and was brought to the commandant's headquarters. There he was detained until 10 P.M., steadily exposed to all manner of taunts on the part of the Cossacks. At last at 10 P.M. he stood before the eyes of the ataman Kozyr-Zyrka. The latter received him extremely rudely, and, after questioning him in a prejudiced way, announced to him: "I know that you are a bolshevik, that all your relatives and all Jews are bolsheviks. Know that I am going to destroy all the Jews in the city. Get them together in the synagogue and inform them of what I have told you."

First Murders

With these words he dismissed the Rabbi, late at night. In the same night Cossacks surrounded a peasant's cart, in which Jewish boys and girls, gymnasium students from Mozyr, were riding. The Cossacks demanded that the peasants give up to them the "Jewish brats," but the peasants saved them. However, they arrested a young Jew from Kalinkovichi, who was passing through Ovruch, and took him to the Ataman. And on the ground that he was from Kalinkovichi, which was in the hands of the bolsheviki, Kozyr-Zyrka declared him also a bolshevik and ordered him shot.

Persecutions

There were also arrested two Jews passing through from the hamlet Narodichi; they were peddlers of cheap tobacco and matches. They were declared profiteers and brought to the Ataman. There they were stripped naked, scourged with whips, and made to dance. At the same time a bundle of tobacco was thrust into the mouth of one and a box of matches into the

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other's. Kozyr-Zyrka himself stood with raised revolver and threatened to shoot them, if they stopped dancing. Afterwards they made them beat each other and kiss the spot beaten. They also compelled them to cross themselves, etc. After amusing themselves with them as much as they liked they drove them out naked on the street, and then threw out their clothes after them. (Testimony of Rabbi Kipnis 10-11, Weilerman 13-16, *et al.*)

Departure of Kozyr-Zyrka and Second Seizure by the Pokalevites

The twenty-seventh of December passed in petty robberies in Jewish homes. At this time the following incident occurred. A detachment of Cossacks went to the hamlet Narodichi for the requisition of leather. Returning, the detachment halted in a certain village. There the Cossacks drank too much. When they went on, the peasants ambushed them and fired upon them. Four Cossacks were killed; the rest rode into Ovruch. This incident produced a profound impression upon Kozyr-Zyrka and his partisans, and in the same night they left Ovruch and returned to Korosten.

The Pokalev peasants again took command of the city. First of all they went to the prison, where were the land-owners and foresters whom they had previously arrested, and slaughtered them all. Then they fell upon several land-owners living in the city, and wounded them badly, and likewise severely wounded the wife of a forester who was under arrest, and her sister, who was visiting her, and the latter's child.

Second Attack of Kozyr-Zyrka

On December 31 Kozyr-Zyrka again approached Ovruch with heavy reinforcements and began to fire on the town with heavy guns. The Pokalevites replied to them for the course of an hour, but then were silenced. Kozyr-Zyrka continued to fire on the town, and finally his bands burst into the city, where a bloody bacchanalia began.

Pogrom in the Villages Potapovichi and Geshovo.

By way of preface it must be observed that on the way to Ovruch near the village Potapovichi the road was found torn up. Someone said to the Cossacks that the Jews had done this.

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Then the Cossacks decided to settle with the Jews of the near-by villages.

In Potapovichi there were only four Jewish families, and the Cossacks, entering the village, began to rob and murder them and violate the women. In one house the owner was away; his three daughters and son-in-law were there. On the person of one of the daughters was hidden about a hundred rubles. The Cossacks took this and other money, and likewise every piece of valuable property. They violated the women, and since the latter, especially the two girls, resisted, they beat them until their faces were turned into masses of blood. The son-in-law, who had just returned from war-captivity, was taken out in the yard, where another Jew was found. They shot both of them, killing the son-in-law outright, while the other Jew was only wounded, but pretended to be dead, and so saved himself. From this house they went to a Jewish blacksmith, who had just returned from the front. They sent two bullets into him, and were preparing to shoot a Russian boy servant of his, who was in hysterics. The mortally wounded blacksmith gathered his strength together and cried: "Why are you killing him? He is Russian." The Cossacks made sure the boy really was Russian, and left him in peace. But since the blacksmith, by interceding for him, had shown that he was still alive, they finished him off. After this they went out into the yard, where they met an old man, the blacksmith's father-in-law, and killed him, as well as a boy, the blacksmith's nephew.

From Potapovichi they went to the village of Geshovo, to hunt for Jews there. In this village lived a number of Jews, but they all had time to flee; only one deaf old *melamed* (teacher) remained. The Cossacks took him along with them and set out in the direction of Ovruch. On the way they met an old *shokhet* returning to his home. They seized him, too, and on the spot hung both old men on a high tree, one by a telegraph-wire, the other by a strap. The latter, the peasants say, fell down several times, but each time they hung him up again. Then they took them down from the high tree and hung them on a small tree, to which they affixed a placard saying that "Whoever takes them down has not more than two minutes to live." In consequence of this the peasants would not let them be taken down. And only when the bodies began to decay did the Jews succeed in taking them down and burying them in a nearby place.

In all nine Jews were killed in Potapovichi and Geshovo. (Testimony of Glossman, pp. 33-35.) Such was the prelude to what afterwards took place in Ovruch.

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Murders, Violations and Robberies

Having entered Ovruch after midday, December thirty-first, the Cossacks scattered over the city and began to rob and murder the Jews. One detachment went to the market-place and there seized about ten Jewish girls, whom the Cossacks dragged into the Feitelson inn, where the girls were exposed to indescribable persecutions and violence.

Other Cossacks at this time were killing every Jew they met. One Jew whom they attacked took refuge in a near-by house. The Cossacks went into a house, where they thought he was hiding, and found a father and three sons sitting at table. They led all four out into the yard and shot them one after another. They came to the house of the lawyer Glossman, an educated man, a member of the commune. They took him and his old father out in the street, then decided to free the old man and told him to go. But he refused to abandon his son, and the Cossacks began to beat the old man with whips, in the course of which they struck out his only eye (he had long lost his other eye); and they shot the younger Glossman on the spot. The Ataman Kozyr-Zyrka was present on horseback at this shooting.

The mayor of the town, Moshinsky, was passing by at that time, and young Glossman, who was very well known to him, applied to him to intercede and tell the Cossacks whether he was a bolshevik. But Moshinsky went on, pretending not to hear the entreaty. This is a characteristic incident.

The Cossacks dispersed about the town, and in parties entered the houses, stole money and property, beat up old men, violated women, and killed young Jews. Many of those whom they prepared to shoot bought their safety with money, the price of the ransom being very considerable. Thus, late in the evening, a number of Cossacks appeared in the house of Rosenmann. In this house, besides the old mother and two daughters, were two sons, one of whom had for several weeks been lying sick abed. The son who was well they took for a Russian (he is, in fact, not Jewish in appearance), and told him to go, but, finding that he was a son of the house, detained him. They also demanded that the sick son should get dressed and go with them. But, having convinced themselves that he was really seriously sick and could not get up, they contented themselves with leaving one Cossack by his bedside; the well son they took out into the yard, where the other Cossacks were waiting for them. There they stood him up against a wall, and one Cossack loaded his

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gun. The young man began to beg them not to kill him, promising a large ransom. "Give us twelve thousand," demanded one of the Cossacks. The young man assured them that his family would pay this sum for him. Then the Cossacks led him into the house, where his mother and sisters lay in a deep swoon. They brought the women to consciousness, and the women began to search the house for money. But only two thousand rubles were found in the house. The Cossacks consented to take this money on condition that the remaining 10,000 rubles should be paid on the next day by 10 A.M. They said they would appear at this time, and if the money should not be handed over they would kill all.

In fact, on the next morning at the appointed time two Cossacks appeared, and, having received the 10,000 rubles as agreed, they declared that the Rosenmanns could now live in peace, since their names would be recorded at headquarters and no one would disturb them further. The Cossacks kept their word. The Rosenmanns were not troubled further, whereas visits were made to other Jews by different parties of Cossacks, the later parties taking whatever their predecessors had failed to get. The Cossacks disdained absolutely nothing; they took off the Jews' clothing and shoes. It is characteristic that the Cossack who led out Rosenmann to shoot him gave the impression of being a cultivated man; he had clean hands, and valuable rings shone on them. He spoke with a marked Polish accent. (Testimony of Rosenmann, p. 27.)

In another case a somewhat drunken officer, a captain, demanded of the Jewish keeper of a small inn that he should immediately serve dinner to his entire company, and pay him personally 5,000 rubles. When the innkeeper declared that it was impossible to fulfl this at once, since he had no money and still less provisions to feed a whole company, the captain gave orders to lay him out and beat him with whips. His daughter, who had been about to hide herself, ran out and covered her father with her own body. Then lashes were distributed upon her and everyone else in the house. Then the captain took the innkeeper away with him. His daughter followed her father. At first the captain demanded that she go away, but finally allowed her to follow her father. He took them to his quarters, placed a revolver on the table, and ordered the daughter to prepare a dinner for his company in the course of the day and provide him with 5,000 rubles, otherwise her father would be shot at evening. It occurred to the old man to use this proposal to save himself. He assured the captain that his daughter

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could do nothing, but that if they would let him go for a single hour, he would get the money and provisions. After long hesitation the captain agreed to let the old man go for half an hour. The old man ran to his home, which, by that time, had been stripped bare by the Cossacks. He advised his family to hide wherever they could, and then hid himself in a garret with acquaintances. Afterwards he and his family fled from the town. (Testimony of Wachlis, p. 36.)

In the first two days seventeen Jews were killed. The Jews applied to the mayor, Moshinsky, begging him to send a deputation of two Christians and one Jew to the Ataman to beg him to stop the pogrom. The mayor promised to do so, but in the end did nothing. Then the old men and women (the young Jews were all hiding) went with tears and lamentations to the house of the Ataman. The Ataman consented to receive a deputation of three from those who had come. When the deputation was admitted, he demanded that all the male Jewish population between the ages of 15 and 40 should appear on the square near headquarters on the next day.

Panic Among the Jews

This demand threw the Jewish population into a fearful panic. All were convinced that the working Jewish population was being demanded for slaughter. However, it was impossible to disobey the command. So on the next day the entire Jewish population between the ages of 15 and 40, protected by old men and women, appeared at the appointed spot near the headquarters building. After about an hour Kozyr-Zyrka at last rode up in an automobile. The Jews cried "Long live the Ataman, long live Ukraine!" Kozyr-Zyrka got out of the automobile and delivered a speech to them in which he enumerated all their "bolshevistic crimes."

Kozyr-Zyrka's Speech to the Jews

In his speech, spoken in beautiful Galician-Ukrainian dialect, he said that he had the right to destroy all the Jews, and would do so if even a single Cossack suffered. In Potapovichi he had already done so, shooting a Jewish spy himself. He would destroy all Jews in Ovruch, if a single Cossack suffered. Therefore he advised the Jews, if there was a single bolshevik spy among them, to strangle him with their own hands.

When Kozyr-Zyrka finished his speech, the Jews cried hurrah.

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The fiscal Rabbi proposed to him that all Jews should swear loyalty to Ukraine and furnish a military detachment from their midst. The Ataman replied that he had no use for Jewish oaths or Jewish detachments. He permitted the Jews to breathe the air of Ukraine, but demanded that they remember his warning. The Jews dispersed and began to consider how they could move the Ataman. They collected about 20,000 rubles and gave it to him for gifts to the Cossacks.

Collections

Kozyr-Zyrka accepted the money, but observed that not many gifts could be bought for this sum. He demanded 50,000 rubles more. The Jews promised to collect it. But since they were all plundered and ruined, it was not easy to collect such an amount. It was necessary to apply to the small artisans and Jewish servants, who contributed their savings.

Having received the extra sum, Kozyr-Zyrka issued an order forbidding plundering. But plundering continued on that and the following days.

Requisition of Tailors and Cobblers

At the same time Kozyr-Zyrka requisitioned all Jewish tailors and cobblers, and ordered them to work on the clothing stolen from the Jews. They made shoes, cloaks, uniforms, trousers, etc. Out of women's silk skirts were made scarfs and the like. They were compelled to work from 8 A.M. to midnight, even on Fridays. No food was allowed them during working hours. (Testimony of Shetman, p. 21; Stoland, p. 12.)

Kozyr-Zyrka as Judge

Kozyr-Zyrka also undertook to settle civil disputes. To give an idea of the sort of judge he was it is enough to cite the following case. A certain Jewess was in possession of some land by inheritance. The original owner had acquired the land from a peasant by purchase. A peasant, descendant of the seller, taking advantage of the agrarian disorder, had already brought suit for the land under the first Rada, and his suit had been denied. When Kozyr-Zyrka appeared, and the peasant felt sure that Jews had no rights, he applied to him with a suit for this same land. Kozyr-Zyrka ordered the peasant to bring to him the husband of the respondent. But the latter did not believe

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that Kozyr-Zyrka had really summoned him, and did not go. Then the Ataman sent for him. When the Jew arrived, he asked him why he had not come before. He replied that he had no reason to believe that the peasant was really conveying to him the command of the Ataman. Kozyr-Zyrka ordered the Jew stripped and twenty-five lashes administered to him, which was done in his presence. Half an hour after this he proceeded to question the Jew about the land. The latter replied that, being fearfully beaten, he was not in condition to talk at all, and that as far as the land was concerned it belonged not to him but to his wife, who could give the necessary information. The Ataman summoned the wife. She showed him a copy of the court decision recognizing her right to the ownership of the land. Kozyr-Zyrka was not satisfied with this and demanded, for the settlement of the dispute, the presentation of witnesses by both sides. The witnesses were presented, and all confirmed the fact that the Jewess was the lawful owner of the land. Then Kozyr-Zyrka ordered the Jewess to hand over a written document to the effect that she voluntarily yielded the land to the peasant and renounced forever all claims to that land. The document was furnished. (Testimony of Kheierman, p. 35.)

Requisition of Musicians

Kozyr-Zyrka also was fond of entertainment. He requisitioned a Jewish orchestra, making it its duty to play at all Cossack parties. To the sounds of the music of this same orchestra Kozyr-Zyrka once scourged two bolshevik peasants. They were given a countless number of blows, and then shot.

Kozyr-Zyrka Amuses Himself

Kozyr-Zyrka also was fond of more "refined entertainments." One evening they brought him nine comparatively young Jews and one elderly and stout one. The Cossacks had driven them pellmell through the streets. When the Jews, panting, came at last into the Ataman's rooms, he was lying in his bed undressed, and his assistant was also lying undressed in another bed. Right there they compelled the Jews to dance, meanwhile chasing them, especially the stout one, with whips. After this they demanded that they sing Jewish songs. But it turned out that none of them knew the Jewish songs by heart. Then the Ataman's assistant began to recite the words of the songs in the

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"jargon" (Yiddish), and the Jews had to repeat them in singsong. For a long time they sang and danced, while Kozyr-Zyrka and his friend and assistant laughed merrily. Then the Jews were taken into another room and fools' caps were put on their heads. They were brought before the Ataman again, a candle was put in the hands of each, and in that aspect they had to sing songs. Kozyr-Zyrka and his friend were so convulsed with laughter that the latter's bed even broke down under him. The Jews were compelled to raise the bed and put it in order, while the officer remained lying upon it. One of the Jews could not endure these persecutions and began to weep. Kozyr-Zyrka observed to him that 120 rods was the penalty for crying. The Jew said: "In that case I will sing." "Well, sing then," was the answer, and the Jew began to sing again.

During an "entracte" the Ataman's friend said: "It's time to let them have their trousers." But Kozyr-Zyrka this time did not agree. Having amused himself as much as he liked, the Ataman let the Jews go, and gave them a chauffeur as escort so that the guards should not shoot them. The chauffeur conducted them, but demanded to be paid 15,000 rubles for saving their lives. Of course they had no such sum. But the chauffeur went home with each one and collected of their families as much as each could pay. (Testimony of Beioband, p. 23.)

It is hard to count all the characteristic incidents which took place in Ovruch while it was Kozyr-Zyrka's capital. But we must dwell on the following incident.

The Case of Herzbein

The Poles and former tsarist officials, in their newspapers, spread the report that the Jews had plotted a St. Bartholomew's night against the Christians, and had marked as many as 150 victims. They asserted that a list of the fated ones existed, and that the list was written by the hand of a petty advocate Herzbein. The latter was arrested. As often happens in such cases, those who had invented this calumny ended by believing themselves in their own invention. The Christians became excited, and applied to Kozyr-Zyrka. He confirmed the existence of the list, but showed it to no one. The excitement increased. Some of the Christians began to leave the town.

In reference to Herzbein it must be noted that he took no part in politics at all. He moved entirely among Christians, where he had many friends; he scarcely had any dealings with Jewish society. His wife applied to Christian friends to inter-

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cede for her husband, whom they knew well, as a man not connected with politics or with Jews. But they refused.

The probable history of the above-mentioned "list" is something like this. Upon the fall of the Hetman's power the mayor, Moshinsky, summoned an assembly of many Christians, mostly land-owners and officials, and proposed to organize for self-defense in case of the arrival of the Petlurists. A list was drawn up in which were entered about 100 names, exclusively Christians. Since Herzbein was noted for his good handwriting —but also, perhaps, for other reasons—Moshinsky asked him to copy this list, which he did. It is extremely likely that someone, with provocatory intent, handed over this list to the commandant, as a list of Christians marked for slaughter.

Herzbein's wife applied to the mayor, asking him to summon the council to unveil the slander and re-establish her husband's good name. Moshinsky gave his promise, but when she came to see him again, she was told that he had left town. She then applied to his substitute, who likewise promised, but did nothing.

Only the president of the council, the notary Olshansky, sympathized with her. He sent around a summons to a session of the council. But only Jews appeared for that session; the Christians absented themselves; there was no quorum, and the session could not be held. Since the reports of the impending "St Bartholomew's eve" continued to excite the Christians, some of them applied to Kozyr-Zyrka to investigate and find out how serious the rumors were. There also appeared before him the notary Olshansky and an official who knew Herzbein well. They declared that they were firmly convinced that Herzbein could not be the author of such a list. Kozyr-Zyrka answered that he himself attributed no serious significance to the list and to the rumors that were circulating, and that to quiet the Christian population he would issue an announcement to this effect. As for Herzbein, he promised to free him at once. He confirmed his promise to free Herzbein to the latter's wife. He did actually issue an announcement to the effect that the rumors about a St. Bartholomew's eve planned by the Jews appeared to be a "provocation." This announcement, largely dealing with the establishment of the home guard, about which more will be said below, is attached hereunto. As for Herzbein, in spite of all his promises, he did not release him, and he was finally shot. (Testimony of Taube Herzbein, p. 29; of Yudin, p. 28.)

The regime of Kozyr-Zyrka lasted up to the 16th of Jan-

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uary. The Cossacks continued to plunder Jewish houses, and occasional murders took place.

The Civil Commissar and the Home Guard

Rumors of Kozyr-Zyrka's doings reached Zhitomir and the commissar of civil (internal) affairs was sent from there. This commissar proved a decent man and the Jews reposed complete confidence in him. But, as he himself said, he was powerless to give them any real help, since Kozyr-Zyrka even held up his telegraphic reports to Zhitomir. The one thing in which he succeeded was the organization of home guards, about which later the Ataman issued a proclamation (see above-mentioned proclamation.) But these home guards, consisting mainly of Jews, did not constitute a real power. The members of the guard were beaten, and one even killed, by the Cossacks. (Testimony of Waderman and others, p. 13.)

Mobilization of Jews for Dirty Work

On January 15 the Cossacks began early in the morning to drive young Jews to the station, to sweep and clean the cars. They took mostly young Jews, but did not neglect old ones either. On the way the Cossacks robbed them. At the station they were compelled to do all kinds of dirty work, even unnecessary work. They mocked them, and beat them with whips and scourges. They took the better dressed ones to one side and took their clothes and shoes away from them. By evening almost all had been robbed, one killed; another seriously wounded. And while they were at the station, other Cossacks plundered their homes in the town.

Panic Reaches Highest Pitch

An extremely perturbed state existed in the city. It was felt that a new catastrophe was approaching. The Jews were in a panic of terror. They decided to die all together. So towards evening they began to gather in the synagogue. But the synagogue could not accommodate all. It became unendurably stifling. Many fell in swoons. Some, being unable to endure the closeness and the throng, knocked out windows and ran away at random. Individual Cossacks got into the synagogue and robbed whomever they could. At the same time other

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Cossacks robbed members of the home guard, and, as above mentioned, even killed one of them.

Mass Execution and Departure of Kozyr-Zyrka

Thus the Jews of the city of Ovruch spent the night of the fifteenth of January. On the morning of the sixteenth the Cossacks spread about the city the report that the commissar of internal affairs, in whom, as was said, the Jews had the greatest confidence, was inviting the representatives of the Jewish population to listen to an announcement of great importance to the Jews, just received from Zhitomir.

The Jews welcomed this news, believed it, and about fifty or more men went to the station. On the way they were surrounded by mounted Cossacks, who pursued them with whips and made them sing *maiefis* (a Jewish song) and other songs. The poor wretches understood that they had fallen into a trap. When this extraordinary procession drew near to the station, the Cossacks surrounding the Jews began to cut them down with sabres and fire at them with revolvers. The Jews scattered and fled, bullets raining after them. At the same time other Cossacks near the station itself, who had prepared an ambush for the Jews, opened fire on them with machine guns. Thirty-two corpses remained on the spot. Many others were wounded; a few escaped. When this hecatomb was finished, Kozyr-Zyrka appeared among the Cossacks, who greeted him with the words: "Thank the Lord, little father, we shot a lot of the Jews." Photograph of three corpses is attached hereto. (Testimony of Nemerzel, p. 95; Weinermann, p. 13; Kaplan, p. 1-10.)

In the same night, in view of an attack of the bolsheviks from the direction of Kalinkovichi, Kozyr-Zyrka with his crew abandoned the town and departed for Korosten. Thus ended the regime of Kozyr-Zyrka in the city of Ovruch.

Summary

As a result of this regime as many as 80 Jews were killed and as many as 1,200 houses plundered. Not more than ten or fifteen homes were, by accident, left unharmed. In the given case the pogrom took place under the slogan: "Kill the Jews because they are bolsheviks." But the attitude of the masses in Ukraine towards the Jews is such that any other

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slogan would suit as well for a pogrom. The pogrom came near levelling all the Jews in Ovruch in respect to property; almost all became comrades in beggary. The losses must be reckoned at a hundred million, at the present rate of exchange perhaps in milliards.

Local Committee of Assistance to Pogrom Victims

In Ovruch a committee of assistance for pogrom victims was formed, which is working very effectively. But the help it gives, of course, is infinitesimal in comparison with what is needed. For Ovruch help is needed on the very largest scale, on a national scale. Regarding the character of the assistance given by this committee, as also regarding the movements of money in general, a report has been prepared by S. S. Kahan, who traveled with me to Ovruch.

Soviet Commission for the Investigation of Pogroms

In Ovruch we found the Soviet Commission for the investigation of pogroms, which had come from the city of Mozyr on orders of the late Sverdlov, president of the all-Russian Central Committee of Soviets. The commission upon its arrival issued a proclamation, a copy of which is attached hereto. Unfortunately the activities of this commission will not give the proper results, since for comprehensible reasons the Jews are afraid to give the names of persons connected with the pogroms, even when they know them. As a result some persons, known accomplices of the pogromists, are enjoying liberty, and some of them actually are in the service of the local Soviet regime. We came in contact with this commission and learned from its members that Sverdlov promised to appropriate almost three million rubles for the pogrom victims. It is hard to say how genuine this promise is, but it is indubitable that even such a sum would amount to little for the restoration of what was destroyed in that city.

*Pogrom in Korosten**

The pogrom in Korosten began with robberies and murders of Jews at the station. Afterwards the pogrom spread through the town. The homes which chanced to be nearest to the Podol-

* Cf. below, *pp.* 365 *ff.*

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sky station suffered most. In one household, consisting of nine people, the pogromists manifested exceptional barbarity. They began by violating three daughters of the house. Since the young women showed superhuman resistance, they were all mutilated and mangled. Even now they are still suffering, with broken arms. They killed the old grandmother, who tried to protect her granddaughters, after first tearing out her tongue and cutting off her nose. In this house they also killed two men and a little girl. The other members of the family were mutilated. One man died later of the wounds he received. The house was plundered.

There were murders also in other houses. Ten people in all were killed in the town. I cannot refrain from speaking of the following very characteristic incident.

In one house, whose owners hid themselves, only one old Jewess remained. The pogromists came into the house and demanded to be fed. The old woman received them kindly and fed them abundantly. They ate, thanked her for the hospitality, and went away, without touching anything in the house. After their departure a seriously wounded Jew ran into the house and implored her help. The old woman rushed for help. It was dark, and, without knowing it, the old woman happened upon the same pogromists who had been in her home. They asked her where she was hurrying, and she explained. Then the pogromists returned to her home, and one of them, rolling up his sleeves, washed his hands, and, in perfectly correct fashion, bound up the Jew's wound. When they were gone, the Jew told the old woman that they were the same pogromists who had wounded him.

I arrived at Korosten on March 12. About two days before a fresh company of the Red Army had come to Korosten. On the thirteenth one of them went into the store of a Jewish woman and took about twenty pounds of sugar, without paying. The Jewess ran out on the street and raised an outcry. An officer passing by stopped the Red soldier, took the sugar away from him, and, striking him in the face, placed him under arrest. His comrades of the same company took his part, and demanded of the commandant that their comrade be freed, and the officer handed over to them. The soldier was freed, but they were refused the surrender of the officer. Then they began to hold meetings, and at 8 P.M. opened an incessant fire into the air from rifles and shotguns. This firing was the signal for the beginning of a Jewish pogrom. The pogrom began. One Jew, the cantor of the synagogue, was killed. The pogrom stopped,

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owing to an unexpected cannonade on the part of the Petlurists, who began to attack Korosten.

I did not succeed in collecting testimony either about this pogrom, or about the one preceding it, since on the next day I was compelled to leave the town under the incessant roar of guns.

II. City of Proskurov

Proskurov has the aspect of a very lively town, in the government of Podolia. Its population amounts to 50,000, of which nearly 25,000 are Jews. Its democratic municipal council consisted of 50 members; 26 Christians and 24 Jews. Of the Jewish members 18 ran on Jewish tickets, the others on general socialist tickets. At the head of the council in Proskurov, as almost everywhere in Podolia and Volhynia, were Poles. The mayor was a Pole, Sikora, and the president of the municipal council was a Pole, Dr. Stavinsky.

In administrative matters Proskurov was governed by the military commandant Kiverchuk and the commissar Taranovich. The former was in the military service even under the tsar, but the latter was a former schoolteacher. The town was defended by militia, which was primarily subordinate to the commandant. The municipal government, not wholly trusting the militia, organized a guard of its own, called the "ward-guard." At the head of this guard stood a Central Bureau, having as its president the Christian Rudnitzky and as vice-president the Jew Schenkmann. Since the municipal guard consisted mainly of Jews, it did not at all enjoy the favor of the commandant Kiverchuk, and he made all sorts of difficulties for it.

Even under the tsar there were on hand in Proskurov not only all the legal parties, but also the illegal ones. It goes without saying that social-political life in Proskurov was greatly enlivened after the fall of tsarism.—Under the Hetman the representatives of the socialist parties in Proskurov, and especially the bolsheviks, were repeatedly subjected to repressive measures. With the fall of the Hetman and the accession of Petlura's regime, the bolshevik units in Proskurov continued to exist, but illegally. But, as a whole, all the socialist groups in Proskurov, not excluding even the bolsheviki, formed a common front, headed by the Bund member Joffe.

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About three weeks before the Proskurov massacre, the following event took place. It proved fatal for Proskurov.

Convention of Bolsheviki in Vinnitza

A convention of the bolsheviki of the government of Podolia took place in Vinnitza, Petlura's own capital. It lasted two days and its sessions went off without interference, though it carried resolutions for the raising of a bolshevik revolt throughout the government of Podolia, naming February 15 as the day of the uprising. The circumstance that this convention was not interfered with caused some persons to assert that it was summoned with the knowledge of the Petlura regime, with provocatory intent. But unprejudiced investigations lead to the conclusion that there was no provocation in the case, and that the convention went off all right, owing to the poor state of organization, and consequently deficient information, of the Petlura regime. It is pointed out that the bolshevist uprising took place only in Proskurov, whereas in other places in the government of Podolia, even at the station Zhmerinka, where there are nearly 7,000 railroad workers, no attempts were made at an uprising. In this respect also reasons are seen for believing that there was no revolt in the other places, because at the head of the bolshevist organizations in those places were more intelligent people, who saw that the moment was not suitable for a revolt.

In Proskurov, on the other hand, the heads of the bolshevist units were too young and heedless. But, besides, there was one material circumstance which prompted the bolsheviki of Proskurov to begin their uprising. In Proskurov were quartered two regiments, the 15th Bielgorod and the 8th Podolia, which were definitely bolshevik in tendency.

Appearance of the Ataman Semosenko at Proskurov

Some ten days before the pogrom in Proskurov, there appeared a brigade of "beyond-the-rapids" (Zaporozhsky) Cossacks of the Ukrainian republican army, commanded in the name of the head Ataman Petlura by the Ataman Semosenko. With this brigade appeared also the 3rd Gaidamak regiment. Both brigade and regiment, according to Semosenko's announcement,

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had come from the front for a rest and to perform garrison duty in Proskurov. On February 6 Semosenko sent to the printers a proclamation in which he announced that he was assuming the duties of garrison-commander, and in that capacity forbade any unauthorized meetings and gatherings in the city. He warned that any agitation against the existing regime would be punished according to the laws of wartime. All instigations to a pogrom were also forbidden, and anyone caught in the act of instigating one was to be shot on the spot.

He also sent word to the municipal council that he had assumed the duties of commandant of the garrison, that he intended to prosecute every disturber of order, and at the same time informed them that at one of the stations he had had a Cossack officer shot who had attempted to loot. The vice-president of the Central Bureau of the ward-guard, Schenkmann, heard about this communication, and set off to Semosenko, to make his personal acquaintance. Semosenko received him cordially, promised to supply the guard with munitions, and to co-operate in every way to prevent pogroms. This conversation with Schenkmann, and also the fact that Semosenko had sent the above-mentioned proclamation to be set up in type, became known to certain agents of the municipal independent government, and they, according to the words of Dr. Stavinsky, president of the municipal council, went to the commandant Kiverchuk, to make inquiries as to how much authority Semosenko had and who had given it to him. Kiverchuk answered that he knew nothing about it, and took steps to see that the proclamation, already set up in the printer's office, should not be published.

It must be observed that with the appearance in the city of the 3rd Gaidamak regiment a perturbed tension arose among the Jews. This regiment conducted itself in a challenging manner, and it was definitely said of it that it had a past record for pogroms. No one in the city knew that a bolshevik uprising was being planned. Only two days before February 15 the commander of the militia, Kara-Zheliazkov, informed Joffe that he had heard that a revolution was being planned in Proskurov and that it was definitely alleged in the commandant's headquarters that a future bolshevist regime, with Joffe at its head, was already named.

Joffe, disquieted, summoned the representatives of the socialist parties, among them the bolsheviks. Two representatives of the communist party who appeared at this meeting stated that

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an uprising really was being planned and that the new government was being formed. The representatives of the other groups protested and pointed out that the uprising would end in failure and bring the Jews to complete destruction. They replied that the uprising would take place simultaneously in the whole government of Podolia and that a part of the garrison in Proskurov would be on the side of the rebels, and that sixteen villages were ready to come to their aid. They did not give information as to when the uprising would take place. (See testimony of Joffe, pp. 84-87 and 92-99.)

Beginning of the Bolshevik Uprising

On the evening of Friday, February 14, there appeared in the Central Bureau of the ward guards two young men of the bolshevist faction, who declared that a bolshevist uprising was scheduled for midnight, and asked the president, Rudnitsky, and his assistant Schenkmann, what position the ward guards would take in reference to it. The reply was that the ward guards, by their very nature, were a non-partisan organization, having for their purpose only the protection of the inhabitants, and that in the assumed circumstances they would be absolutely neutral. At the same time Schenkmann pointed out the inopportuneness of the uprising and the fact that it would certainly lead to a Jewish pogrom. But he also was answered that the rising would affect the entire government and that its favorable outcome was assured. Later another member of the communist organization appeared, who declared that by order of the revolutionary committee, which was being organized, he was appointed commissar of the bureau of the ward guards, and that Schenkmann was appointed by them to maintain relations with the bolshevist staff, which was already being organized. He gave Schenkmann the password by which the latter could get into the headquarters. According to Schenkmann's testimony he and Rudnitsky collected all the individual members of the guard and informed them that full freedom of action was allowed them, and called upon them to remove then and there all external evidences of membership in the ward guards. This was done. At the same time all who were questioned declared that they would take no part in the political uprising. With the password he had received Schenkmann went to the bolshevist revolutionary committee, and then to the general staff. Having become convinced that the bolsheviks' business was not going right and that the proposed uprising would turn out, in his words, a bluff, he approached the most responsible bolshevik and urged the

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inopportuneness of the uprising. The latter in his turn stated that the uprising had been postponed from 12 at night to 6 A.M., and said he would see to it that it was further postponed to a more favorable occasion. In truth, when Schenkmann, after this conversation, returned to the Central Bureau, the commissar of the bolshevik revolutionary committee, who had been left there, told him that he had received a telephone message that the uprising was postponed. Schenkmann then went around the city to make sure that the guards were in their places. And when he returned again to the bureau, the same commissar informed him that a new change had been made and that the uprising was appointed for after 6 A.M.; the signal would be given by shots.

Shots were, in fact, fired at a quarter to seven in the morning, and the uprising began. The bolsheviks first seized the post and telegraph office, and arrested commandant Kiverchuk, considering him, not without reason, a dangerous black-hundreder and pogromist. In one of the apartments of the Trachtenberg house on Alexandrovskaya street in the very center of town, they opened their headquarters. Some of them went to the barracks of the 15th Bielgorod and the 8th Podolia regiments. There they awakened the sleeping soldiers and informed them that the uprising had begun and that the organs of the bolshevist regime were already being formed. They proposed to the soldiers to sally out against Petlura's soldiers, who were concentrated in cars at the station. When the soldiers pointed out that they had no machine guns, they were told that the peasants had them and were already nearing the city to take part in the uprising. Then the bolshevistically inclined soldiers arrested their officers, and also the soldiers who were against the uprising. They seized the regimental weapons and started in the direction of the station. There they opened fire on the cars in which were the Gaidamaks and other Cossacks. But when the latter came out of their cars and the attacking soldiers saw how numerous they were, they retreated to their barracks. The Cossacks pursued them and began to fire on the barracks. Then the soldiers withdrew to Felshtin and Yarmolintsy, whither a part of them had previously been sent to arouse the bolshevist revolt; and afterwards they dispersed to various places and thus escaped pursuit.

After the withdrawal of the soldiers it was clear that the revolt had failed. The shooting which took place early in the morning had aroused the councilmen of the city, and they began to assemble in the Town Hall. Several times the mayor and

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the president of the council went to the commandant's headquarters, but no information was given them there. At last they saw Kiverchuk driving up to headquarters, and learned from him that he had been arrested. When they asked who had arrested him, he replied, "The Jews, members of the ward guard." He added that his own orderly had joined them, and that he had just shot the orderly with his own hands.

End of Bolshevist Uprising

According to the testimony of witness Marantz (p. 17-32) he, on Saturday morning, dressed as a soldier, came down Alexandrovskaya street to the Trachtenberg house, which, as he learned afterwards, was the bolshevist headquarters. He noticed many workmen about the house, dressed as soldiers. One of them asked him to join them. He then went over to the other side of the sidewalk. At this time he noticed that commandant Kiverchuk's hundred Cossacks, with his assistant Novitsky at the head, was riding horseback from the station in the direction of the Trachtenberg house. He then turned to a Russian workman, an acquaintance, who was standing there, and asked what Novitsky's appearance meant. The other replied: "Novitsky is with us, and is at the head of the uprising." But he did not have time to finish the sentence when this same Novitsky gave the loud command: "Load your guns." Shortly a volley rang out. As was afterwards discovered, it killed a young woman, daughter of the Trachtenberg who owned the house, who was in her own room. The bolsheviks surrounding the Trachtenberg house fled, and the revolt was definitely ended. Other volleys were heard in various parts of the city, but apparently with blank cartridges. The Gaidamak soldiers were again concentrated at the station. Arrests took place in town, while at the station tables were laid to entertain the Gaidamaks. The Ataman Semosenko, this time in full accord with Kiverchuk, took up the duties of garrison commandant. He celebrated his assumption of the post by a luxurious entertainment of the Gaidamaks, and after dinner furnished them vodka and cognac. At the end of the banquet he delivered a speech to the Gaidamaks, in which he described the serious situation of Ukraine, and the efforts they had put forth upon the field of battle, and added that the most dangerous enemies of the Ukrainian people and the Cossacks were the Jews, whom it was necessary to extirpate in order to save Ukraine and themselves. He demanded of the Cossacks an oath that they would fulfil their sacred duty and extirpate the Jewish population; but at the same time they

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were also required to swear that they would not loot Jewish property. The Cossacks were led to the colors and took oath that they would massacre but not loot. When an under-officer proposed, instead of the massacre, to levy a contribution on the Jews, Semosenko threatened to shoot him. One captain was also found who declared that he would not let his company kill unarmed people. This captain, who had important connections in Petlura's government, was sent out of town with his company. The other Cossacks drew up in line of march, with music in the van and sanitary corps behind, and marched into the city along Alexandrovskaya street, where they broke up into separate groups and scattered over the side streets, which were thickly populated with Jews. (See v. II, p. 14, testimony of Baliner.)

The Massacre

The mass of the Jews had hardly heard of the bolshevist revolt which had occurred. Accustomed in recent times to all kinds of firing, they paid no particular attention to the shots which were heard that morning. It was Saturday and the orthodox Jews had gone early to the synagogue, where they prayed, and then, returning home, sat down to the Sabbath dinner. Many, according to established custom, after the Sabbath dinner, had lain down to sleep.

The Cossacks scattered over the Jewish streets in groups of five to fifteen, and with perfectly calm faces entered the houses, took their sabres, and began to cut down all the Jews in the houses, without distinction of age or sex. They killed old men, women, and even nursing babies. They not only cut them down with the sword, but also thrust them through with bayonets. They resorted to firing only in case individuals succeeded in breaking forth into the street. Then bullets were sent after them. When news of the beginning of the massacre spread among the Jews, they began to hide in attics and cellars, but the Cossacks dragged them down from the attics and killed them. Into the cellars they threw hand grenades.

According to the testimony of the above-mentioned Schenkmann the Cossacks killed his younger brother on the street near the house, and then ran into the house and split the skull of his mother. The other members of the family hid under beds, but when his little brother saw his mother's death he crept out from under the bed to kiss her body. The Cossacks started to cut down the boy. Then the old father could endure it no longer

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and also came out from under the bed, and one of the Cossacks killed him with two shots. Then they went to the beds and started thrusting at those who lay under them. He himself happened not to be hurt.

According to the witness Marantz, fifteen people were killed and four seriously wounded in the house of his friend Auerbach. When he applied to his Christian neighbors to help him bind up the wounded, only one Christian woman consented to help; the others refused.

The witness Grünfeld (v. I, p. 29) says that from the window of her dwelling she saw a gang of about 20 Gaidamaks stop at the opposite house, Khaselev's; four of them left the others and went into the Schiffmann house, where they remained a very short time, and on coming out began to clean their bloody sabres in the snow. In that house it turned out that eight people were killed. Another part of this gang went into the inn "France," which was next door; out of it ran the old proprietor, pursued by the Gaidamaks, and after them ran the old man's children begging for mercy.

According to the witness Spiegel (v. I, p. 76) he and his brother were visiting the Potekha family, when he heard that there was a massacre going on in town. Disturbed for the fate of his old mother, he went home, and, by roundabout ways, conducted the old woman to the house of Polish acquaintances. But they absolutely refused to take them in, saying they were afraid for their own fate. When he returned to the Potekha house, Christians who were standing around it (so-called petty bourgeois) warned him not to enter, as a massacre was going on inside. But, disturbed about his brother, he nevertheless went in and found that the whole Potekha family and all who had been in the house were cut down, among them his brother. The old mother was so hacked that he could recognize her only by her figure. Near her lay the body of her son, hacked with sabre-cuts and thrust through with bayonets. In the same manner her oldest daughter had been killed. The youngest daughter was also killed, and the middle one was lying severely wounded. A woman relative visiting them was also severely wounded. In the yard were two brothers Bressler and their aged mother. His brother was severely wounded, but still breathing, and died in his arms. "Out of curiosity Christian neighbors came into the house, and I asked them to help me lay the wounded in beds, but they refused. Only one neighbor named Sikora rendered me some help. Two of the wounded died; the rest recovered, but remained cripples."

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In the house of Wolfzup (v. II, p. 16) all the family were killed except one young woman who remained alive with 28 wounds. The murderers came to the house with machine guns and a sanitary detachment. On the command "Halt!" some spread themselves out cordon-fashion, and some began right there to sharpen their weapons. Then the command "Get to work!" was given, and the Cossacks dispersed among the neighboring houses and began the massacre. In the house of Semmelman (p. 13) 21 were killed and two wounded. The Gaidamaks came to the house in regular order with two machine guns. There were with them a sister of mercy and a man with a red-cross band, who proved later to be Skornik, in command of a sanitary detachment. In the house of Blechman (p. 15) six were killed; one by a stroke on the head which split his skull into two parts. A girl was wounded in the hind part of her body, for which purpose her dress was raised. At the house of Korchak (p. 9, v. II) eight men arrived and first of all smashed the windows to bits. Five entered the house, three staying in the street. Those who entered seized old Korchak by the beard and dragged him to the kitchen window, from which they threw him out to those who were standing in the street. These killed him. Then the men inside killed the aged mother and two daughters. A young woman visitor they dragged by the hair into another room, then threw her out into the street, where she was killed barbarously. Then they returned into the house and inflicted several serious wounds on a 13-year-old boy, who afterwards became totally deaf. They inflicted nine wounds in the abdomen and side upon the oldest brother, placed him upon the dead body of his mother, inflicted two more wounds, and said: "Now we have finished with them."

In the house of Zazul (p. 16) they killed a daughter after torturing her a long time. A boy in the house received several wounds and pretended to be dead. The mother offered the murderers money, but they replied: "We have come only for your lives." According to the witness Glusmann (v. II, p. 17) he was in the street on Saturday, February 15, but militiamen advised him to go home. Arriving at home, he found 16 neighbors in his dwelling. From the window they saw a detachment of Gaidamaks, armed from head to foot, approaching the house in complete order. He tried to urge his wife and daughters to hide, fearing for their honor. But they refused to hide without him. The Gaidamaks drove them all out in the yard, and then one went to the gate and shouted to those who remained there: "Come here, here are a lot of Jews." The Gaida-

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maks soon surrounded them all. Glusmann found himself near the door leading to the cellar, and his family was beside him. He was struck twice with a bayonet and fell into the cellar; this saved him. His wife, who stood above, was killed. He also observed that a young wounded man asked to be shot. A Gaidamak shot at him twice. Then another said to him: "Why are you shooting? Didn't the Ataman say to cut them down, but not to shoot them?" The other answered: "I know, but what can I do? He asks me himself."

The massacre lasted from two to five in the afternoon. It probably would have lasted till late at night, but commissar Taranovich, who was not initiated into all the plans of Semosenko and Kiverchuk, was horrified at the sight of the bloody carnival enacted in the town. He flew to Semosenko and began urgently to request him to stop the massacre, but the other paid no attention to his words. Taranovich went to the telegraph office and over a direct wire informed the head of the government, Kamentsy, of what was happening in Proskurov. From there he learned that Konovalov, the commandant of the front, was on the spot, and Taranovich, also by direct wire, called the latter and informed him of what was going on. Konovalov at once telegraphed to Semosenko an order to put a stop to the massacre at once. Taranovich brought this order to Semosenko, who then said: "All right, for to-day we've had enough killing." By the signal of a horn the Gaidamaks were notified of the termination of their activities. The Gaidamaks then gathered at a place previously agreed upon and from there went in regular line of march, with songs, to the place of their bivouac at the station. The facts about what commissar Taranovich did were communicated by the witness Verkhola (p. 44-65), and are also established in the investigation conducted by the bolshevist regime regarding the acts of Taranovich. I have personally seen the material of this investigation.

We must be just to the Gaidamaks; they honestly fulfilled their oath; they cut down without mercy, but did not loot. In some houses they were offered money, and tore the money to bits. If there were individual cases of looting, they were exceptional. But, together with the Gaidamaks, some other Cossacks joined in massacring the Jews—mainly from Kiverchuk's hundred, and also militiamen. These, who were bound by no oath, not only slew, but also looted. But for the most part the robberies took place in the night after the massacre. They were not lootings in the strict sense of the words, but spiriting away of property which had been left, so to speak, ownerless,

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in consequence of the wholesale slaughter of families. In the stealing of this property an active part was taken by the criminal element, which had been released from prison, according to all information, by order of Kiverchuk, who did this apparently with the object of blaming what happened on them, in case of necessity. By the same Kiverchuk's orders the militia was disarmed, and only those militiamen remained armed who showed themselves accomplices of the Gaidamaks.

By the irony of fate, brightly lighted windows testified to the fact that all in the house were massacred. Namely: in Proskurov all houses are lighted by electricity, which is very moderate in price there. Now the orthodox Jews, who are the majority in Proskurov, true to their law, do not put out the fires and do not shut off the electric lights on Saturday, or rather on the night from Friday to Saturday. So the electricity burns till morning, when it goes out with the cutting off of the current, but then in the evening of Saturday, when the current is turned on, it lights of itself. After the awful Saturday, February 15, the Jews lighted no lights. But all the more brightly burned the light in the windows of the houses where Jewish families had been totally wiped out. And the plunderers went for those lights. There were, of course, accidents, and they entered some Christian houses. This explains the isolated occurrences of attacks on Christian homes during the night Saturday to Sunday, of which the witnesses Verkhola and Dr. Stavinsky made mention in their testimony (p. 70-75).

The witness Verkhola and Dr. Stavinsky, president of the municipal council, state that they did not hear of the massacre that had taken place until late in the evening. They went through the city on foot, and saw many corpses lying around. They also entered lighted dwellings in which murdered people were lying. Intending to establish a base for treating the wounded, they went to several drug stores, but there they met the above-named Dr. Skornik, who was requisitioning all bandaging material for the use of the Cossacks, alleging that there were many wounded among them, brought from the front. Upon investigation that was found totally untrue.

This Dr. Skornik, with a sister of mercy and two sanitary-corps members, took an active part in the massacre. Dr. Skornik especially distinguished himself. When another sister of mercy, outraged by his behavior, cried out to him: "What are you doing? You are wearing the Red Cross band!" he tore off the band and threw it to her, and continued killing.

According to the testimony of three gymnasium-students, who

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had been drafted in Yelisavetgrad by the Gaidamaks to serve in the sanitary corps, Skornik, when he returned to his car after the massacre, boasted that in one house they met such a beautiful girl that not a single Gaidamak could make up his mind to kill her; then he thrust her through with his own hand. According to the testimony of witnesses, a body of a young woman of extraordinary beauty, thrust through, was in fact found among the corpses at the cemetery. Since the whole personnel of Dr. Skornik's sanitary corps fell ill of typhus, no one of the corps succeeded in leaving when the Petlurists evacuated the town. They all came into the hands of the bolshevik forces, and, after an investigation, those found guilty were sent to Odessa without a trial. I have seen the data of the investigation and must state that Dr. Skornik was unquestionably proved guilty of active participation in the massacre. It was established, moreover, that he was a morphine addict; and in general he produced a strange impression on all. (See testimony of Dr. Stavinsky, p. 88-90.)

On the next morning occasional murders of Jews continued, both on the streets and in the houses. The Jews remained in hiding and very few ventured out on the streets. According to the witness, Tzatzkis (35-40), he, on Sunday morning, dressed himself in peasant's garb, went to Alexandrovskaya street, and approached a group of Gaidamaks, who were talking with townspeople. He heard the Gaidamaks say that up to two o'clock they would be killing Jews individually, but after two o'clock they would repeat the general slaughter of yesterday.

Dr. Stavinsky, in the capacity of president of the municipal council, together with the mayor and other persons, went to the commandant's headquarters and begged that the massacre be stopped. The witness Verkhola also appeared there and particularly insisted upon it. Right there in the headquarters it was decided to call the municipal council, and Semosenko and Kiverchuk promised to attend its session. When Verkhola and Stavinsky went to the council, they were compelled on the way to witness individual instances of murder and wounding of Jews. One was shot before their eyes at the Town Hall itself.

Very few members appeared at the Council meeting, and only one Jew, Raigorodsky; the other Jews had to turn back, because attacks were made upon them. (See testimony of Marantz.) The council opened its session immediately upon the appearance of Semosenko and Kiverchuk. Dr. Stavinsky opened the session and in a few words described the situation which had arisen. Semosenko then spoke and declared that what had happened had

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been called forth exclusively by the Jews, who, being one and all bolsheviks, had plotted to murder the Gaidamaks and other Cossacks. He would continue to act in the same way in the future, since he considered it his sacred duty. Kiverchuk expressed himself in the same spirit.

Then Verkhola spoke. I consider it necessary to say a few words about the personality of Verkhola. Verkhola sprang from the people and was self-educated. He graduated from a School of Art, taught in folk-schools, and attended lectures at the university. In his politics he is a Social Democrat and Ukrainian nationalist. Under the first Rada he was elected to the municipal council, and also to the Zemstvo board. Twice he fulfilled the duties of commissar of the city of Proskurov. When the revolution in favor of the Hetman took place, he considered the Hetman's regime reactionary and believed it impossible personally to continue his social and administrative work. He resigned from all his offices and retired to private life. When the peasant uprisings against the Hetman began, the Austrian authorities arrested Verkhola and accused him of organizing these uprisings. He was taken to Tarnopol, where he remained two months in prison. But then, while he was being taken into court, he succeeded in escaping; and all the rest of the time he was in hiding. He returned to Proskurov only on February 13, two days before the massacre. It was immediately proposed to him that he withdraw his resignation as member of the council, and he consented. When the massacre began, Verkhola devoted himself to incessant efforts to put a stop to the occurrences taking place.

Speaking after Semosenko and Kiverchuk, he delivered a long speech to the Council, in which he declared that the events in Proskurov were a disgrace to Ukraine. Speaking of the past services of the Cossacks he declared that in the present case Semosenko had clothed thugs in the garb of Cossacks and become their Ataman. Turning to Semosenko he said: "You are fighting bolsheviks; but were those old men and children bolsheviks, whom your Gaidamaks cut down? You assert that only Jews produce bolsheviks; but do you not know that there are bolsheviks among other nations, too, including the Ukrainians?" He urged Semosenko, for the sake of Ukraine's honor, to put an immediate stop to the horrors taking place.

After Verkhola Raigorodsky expressed himself in a few words, in the name of the Jews entirely agreeing with Verkhola's speech.

Semosenko replied to Verkhola in the same words he had

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used in his previous speech. He said he was not fighting old men, women and children, but only bolsheviks. Looking straight at Verkhola, he said that he did not doubt it was true, unfortunately, that there were bolsheviks even among the Ukrainians, but that he would not spare them either. He would consent to issue an order to stop what was going on, on condition that the bodies of the dead should immediately be committed to the earth. He also considered it necessary to observe to the municipal council that, knowing of the impending bolshevist uprising, it had not warned him of it. Dr. Stavinsky and the members of the council denied this charge.

Verkhola again spoke, thanking Semosenko for his readiness to issue orders stopping these horrors, but insisted that he order back the Cossacks who had been sent to Felshtin and other places to perpetrate Jewish massacres there. To this Semosenko replied that in Felshtin also a similar bolshevist revolt had taken place, just as in Proskurov, and that it must have the same consequences as here. However, after long insistence, Semosenko consented to recall the Cossacks who had been sent out.

In the same session of the Council, in the presence of Semosenko and Kiverchuk, it was voted that the guard of the city should be entrusted to the aviation corps, with the commander of which Verkhola had succeeded in speaking previously. Verkhola himself was appointed supervisor of this guard. Losing no time, he sent the following proclamation to a printing shop to be printed: "On the Ataman's orders and with his consent, expressed in the council, the massacre of the peaceful population is terminated. The Cossacks are ordered out of town. The guard of the city is entrusted to the aviation corps, and the council guarantees complete security to the inhabitants. Normal conditions of life should be re-established. Order has been issued to shoot all who are caught in the act of looting, and likewise Cossacks who appear in the city after 6 P.M." When this order was set up, Verkhola took the proof of it to the commandant's to get permission to have it pasted up around town. But there he was arrested, because Semosenko and Kiverchuk found that he had no right to issue such a proclamation, which furthermore was couched in improper language. By Semosenko's orders Verkhola was to be taken to the station for trial—which, in reality, meant to be shot. But the mayor Sikora and members of the Ukrainian national union, who came to the commandant's and found out about what had happened, declared to Semosenko and Kiverchuk that to deal

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so with Verkhola would call forth violent revenge from many Ukrainian organizations, which knew him well. Finally Semosenko ordered an investigation of Verkhola, and he was immediately released.

Instead of the proclamation which Verkhola intended to issue, Semosenko issued an order in which he declared Proskurov and the canton under martial law, and forbade any movement in the streets after 7 P.M. In this order he writes, among other things: "I warn the population to stop anarchistic revolts, since I have the power to suppress them. I call the attention of the Jews in particular to this. You are a people hated by all nations. And yet you bring such confusion among the baptized. Do you really not want to live? Are you not sorry for your own people? As long as no one bothers you, be quiet. Such a miserable nation, and yet they cause so much disturbance among a poor people." Further on in the same order Semosenko demands that all shops, stores, and places of business should at once begin to function. He also orders that in three days' time all shop-signs be translated into Ukrainian, "that I may not see a single Muscovite sign." The signs must be inscribed in good style; pasting on of letters is strictly forbidden. Persons guilty in this regard will be delivered over to courtmartial.

On the same day another proclamation was issued, in which Semosenko writes that "In the night of the 14th of February, some unknown, dishonorable, conscienceless persons raised an insurrection against the existing regime. According to information at hand, these persons belonged to the Jewish nation, and intended to take the power into their own hands, in order to produce confusion in the affairs of state and to bring Ukraine, which has suffered so much, to anarchy and disorder. Most decisive measures were taken to suppress the revolt. It is possible that among the victims were many innocent persons, since nothing can be done without mistakes. But their blood must fall as a curse upon those who showed themselves provocators and adventurists." On the next day another proclamation was issued, in which Semosenko writes that the sad fact is established that at the time of the bolshevist uprising of the fourteenth and fifteenth of February the local garrison supported the bolsheviki; that the soldiers of that garrison went over openly to their side. Therefore he declares the 15th Bielgorod regiment and the 8th Podolia disbanded. For the purpose of taking from them their property and documents he appoints representatives of the 3rd Gaidamak regiment and a commission from

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the "beyond-the-rapids" brigade. (All these proclamations published; see p. 3.)

As is evident from Verkhola's testimony, as well as from that of other witnesses, the murders continued during the course of three days. But after the session of the municipal council, mass slaughter was terminated. However, all day Sunday and likewise Monday, there were numerous cases of isolated murders of Jews, both in houses and on the streets. Massacres of Jews also took place in neighboring villages, into which the Gaidamaks penetrated either at their own discretion or upon invitation of the peasants. The Jews cast about in all directions, seeking escape from the situation. Most of all they placed their hopes on Verkhola.

Since commissar Taranovich had long been weary of his duties and had been asking to retire, which he had not been permitted to do because of the lack of a suitable substitute, the public officials, and particularly the Jews, besought Verkhola to assume the duties of commissar. The latter consented, and he and Taranovich together called up the commissar of the government (*gubernia*) on direct wire. This official knew Verkhola well from his previous service, and gladly consented to substitute him for Taranovich. Telegraphic orders were immediately issued naming Verkhola commissar, which, incidentally, was extremely displeasing to Semosenko and Kiverchuk. As soon as he took up the reins of office, Verkhola issued two proclamations, in which he indicated that "any appeal to national hatred, and particularly to pogroms, is a disgrace to Ukraine and a hindrance to her regeneration." Such appeals were always weapons for the reactionaries. Every hostile manifestation on the part of a more powerful nation against a weaker shows that that nation cannot assume those forms which are based on equality and fraternity. Such behavior only helped the enemies of Ukraine, and he expressed the hope that the population would not yield to such provocation. He demanded that all agitators inciting to pogroms should be arrested and handed over to a field court-martial. (v. III.) In the other proclamation he demanded that all stolen property be brought to the commissariat to be returned to its owners.

As already stated, it was intended to repeat on Sunday the massacre of Saturday. Three Gaidamaks who appeared Sunday morning at the city headquarters, among other things, declared, in the presence of Verkhola, that they were granted permission to keep killing the Jews for three days. But after the Sunday session of the city council, Semosenko really did

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see to terminating the slaughter, and it was not repeated again in mass proportions. But the murders of individual Jews, as already stated, were repeated on Sunday and Monday. These murders were numerous.

By Semosenko's directions the victims of Saturday's massacre were to be buried on Monday. Thus the bodies remained in the houses or lay about the streets from Saturday till Monday. Many of the bodies were gnawed by swine.

On Monday, beginning early, numerous peasant's carts, with bodies heaped up on them, started for the Hebrew cemetery. Bodies kept arriving throughout the day and filled the whole cemetery. According to the testimony of the witness, Finkel (pp. 1-4), he himself, while in the cemetery, counted more than a thousand corpses. Hired peasants dug in the cemetery a ditch of enormous proportions, which was to become the common grave of the victims of the massacre. In the cemetery, as reported by the same Finkel, there appeared marauders, who, under various pretexts, approached the bodies, handled them over, and robbed them. There also appeared relatives of the slain, who sought out their corpses and took out of their pockets valuables, in many cases very considerable ones; but very many of the corpses proved to have been previously robbed. Women were found with fingers, on which there had evidently been rings, cut off their hands. The inspector, Dobrovolsky, had charge of the burials. He had orders that not a single body should remain unburied by night. However, they did not succeed in burying all the bodies until four o'clock Tuesday morning. It should be added that besides the common grave four smaller graves were dug and many buried in them. Some Jews succeeded in burying their relatives in separate graves.

As already stated, individual murders of Jews continued also on the following days, both in Proskurov and the vicinity. Many were killed on the road to neighboring places, in the fields, and woods, and nearby villages and hamlets. Besides those Jews who were killed by the Gaidamak horde that was turned loose, the authorities themselves arrested many Jews on the pretext that they were bolshevists, and afterwards shot them. In this regard Kiverchuk's assistant, Kovalevsky, especially distinguished himself—a son of a local householder, a very corrupt and cruel young man. (See testimony of Sarah Hellman, pp. 13-15.)

Extremely interesting in this connection is the testimony of the witness Tzatzkis, who, with ten others, was condemned to be shot, but escaped by a sort of miracle. This Tzatzkis, who

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has been mentioned before, disguised in peasants' costume, overheard some Gaidamaks on Sunday morning say to a group of Christians that after two o'clock they were going to repeat the massacre of the day before. He set off for the house of his parents, who lived in Alexandrovskaya street near the commandant's house, to warn them of the impending massacre. In the house, besides his parents and sisters, he found his younger brother, a cousin, and a more distant relative. From the window they soon saw five Gaidamaks with the commandant's assistant, Kovalevsky, approaching the house. This Kovalevsky was well acquainted with his younger brother and had even granted him permission to carry a revolver. They quickly hid their old father and the women who were in the house in the garret, and themselves opened the door to the Gaidamaks. Kovalevsky came in and announced that he had come to search the house for secret implements and weapons. The brother replied that there were no "implements" in the house, and that he had a revolver by permission of Kovalevsky himself. This revolver, along with the permit, he straightway handed over to him. Kovalevsky pretended to search for implements under the beds, and then ordered them all to follow him. When they pointed out that they could not leave the house and that some one had to be left, he, after long entreaties, consented to leave their distant relative in the house. Two Gaidamaks also remained, while three led them to headquarters and placed them in a room where there were already many prisoners, both Jews and Christians, suspected of being bolsheviks. All through the day many new prisoners kept arriving, and finally Tzatzkis' father was brought in. It turned out that the two Gaidamaks who had stayed in the house went up into the garret and arrested his father. By evening there were 32 Christians and 15 Jews. The prisoners were persecuted in all sorts of ways. A certain Pole, a former land-owner, was exposed to especially severe persecutions, constant beating with ramrods and other tortures. Individual persons were called to be examined, among them Tzatzkis' brother.

The same Kovalevsky did the examining; but it was no genuine examination, only an appearance of one, since the questions put were wholly trivial. On the next day, about 5 P.M., all the prisoners were taken out in the street and drawn up in rank and file, Christians and Jews separately. A vigorous Gaidamak came up to the group of Jews and said triumphantly: "Well, you Jews, you won't come back to us any more, we are going to send you all into the land committee," which, in the

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language of the Gaidamaks, meant "to the other world." They conducted all the prisoners to the station, and continued to persecute them on the way, especially that same Pole. At the station they were all put in a separate car. In the evening they began to call out the Christians in turn. They, it appears, were called into a neighboring car, where three tipsy Cossacks questioned them about something or other and then took them into a third car. Some time passed, and they led five Jews out of the car, among them Tzatzkis' brother. When they did not return in the course of an hour and nothing was heard about them, the remaining Jews understood that they had been taken out to be shot. As indicated, they put the Christians, after questioning them, in another car, sending only one of them back into the car where the Jews remained. About 10 o'clock they took all of them, that is, ten Jews and one Russian, out of the car on to the bed of the railroad. They took the Jews aside, and, first of all, searched them and took away their money. Then they arranged them in two rows and led them to a river slope about 10 versts from the place where the cars were. It was clear that they were being led to be shot. On the way the Gaidamak marching beside Tzatzkis felt of his sheepskin coat. "Are you looking to see how fine a coat you are going to inherit from me?" Tzatzkis asked. "Shut up, you damned Jew, or I'll smash you with the butt of my gun!" the Gaidamak replied, threatening him with the butt of his gun. His father marching in front overheard these words and asked him in Hebrew not to quarrel, lest they torture before killing them. At last the river-slope was reached. The prisoners had to take off their clothes and shoes and remain in nothing but their underclothes. Tzatzkis asked permission to say farewell to his father. It was granted. He went up to his father, took him by the hand, and together with him began to pronounce the words of the prayer before death, mentioning in it the names of his children. Then all were placed in one line with faces to the river, and behind them the word was given and three volleys were fired. All fell, including himself. The groans and cries of the wounded resounded. The Gaidamaks ran up and began to finish off those who were groaning. They had to busy themselves a particularly long time with the Russian, who struggled with death stubbornly. Finally all was silent. The Cossacks departed. Tzatzkis began to feel of himself and was amazed to find that he was not only alive, but not even wounded. Making sure that no one was near, he hurried and ran as fast as he could towards the nearest

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village. In one place, crossing a stream, he fell through the ice and got up to his knees in water. But he did not feel either fatigue or cold. At last he arrived at the village and came to the house of a peasant whom he knew, aroused him, and told him what had happened. The peasant wept when he heard his story, but advised him not to stay in his house, because it was near the city. He gave him shoes and clothes, and Tzatzkis went on to the next village, from which he succeeded in getting to the town of Medzhibozh.

There were other cases of marvelous escapes.

In this regard the story of a young man named Halperin (pp. 31-34) is very interesting. Four times he found himself face to face with death, but each time he escaped. He was a pupil in the commercial school, and, before the pogrom, was a member of the ward guard. He was dressed in a soldier's cloak and cap. On Saturday, after dinner, when bodies of murdered people were already lying about the streets, he went to his home, which was on the outskirts of the city, in the direction of the village of Zarechie. Near his house he met a crowd of Gaidamaks, and one of them stopped him and asked whether he was a Jew or a Russian. He replied that he was a Russian. The other demanded evidence, and he showed him his card as a student in the commercial school, in which his creed was not stated. The Cossack turned the card over a bit, looked at him rather suspiciously, but then said: "Well, go along." When other Cossacks then rushed at Halperin, the first shouted to them: "Let him go, he's a Russian." Halperin went to his house, and found it locked, with a window broken. He did not dare enter the house. Only afterwards did he find out that his family had hidden and had not been injured. But a rich Jew named Blechman, who lived in the same house, was found to have been robbed and murdered, with his whole family, consisting of six persons. Halperin went to the neighboring village of Zarechie and visited a Jewish acquaintance named Rosenfeld. About 9 P.M. there began a battering at the door, and some young peasant lads forced their way into the house; they fell on the old man Rosenfeld and killed him. He himself, with Rosenfeld's son, fled in the direction of the woods. Being unable to run far, he stopped. The young men surrounded him and fired at him, but, finding that he was not wounded, they decided to take him to the city and hand him over to the Gaidamaks. Just then a peasant appeared from the city and began to tell of what was going on there. The young men stopped to listen to the newcomer, and Halperin succeeded in

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hiding. Then he went towards the village of Grinovtsy. In this village lived Jewish acquaintances of his named Bucher, but, since it was now very late, he did not venture to go to their house, but spent the night in the open fields. Next day he went to the house, but there it was learned that the peasants were holding a meeting to decide the question of how to deal with the Jews living in the village. He then went back to the city, but, since things were very unsettled there and he did not find his family, he returned to the village again, where he spent the night. Monday morning three Gaidamaks appeared and began to hunt for Jews. Halperin, with two young men and a girl, fled to the woods to hide. After remaining some time in the woods, they decided it would be less dangerous to go to town, and started for Proskurov. On the way they met three young peasants returning from town to the country. One of them had a rifle. The fellows stopped them and examined their documents, and said, "These are just the sort we want," and turned them back towards the village. Halperin was seated in a sledge with the armed peasants. The two other young men and the young woman went on foot. There they met the same three Gaidamaks, who had come to the village earlier, and were now returning to the city. The Gaidamaks stopped them. The peasant with the rifle got down from the sledge and explained to the Gaidamaks that he was taking the Jews he had caught back to the village. The Gaidamaks pulled out their sabres and began to strike the young people who were on foot. All three were killed. Halperin, who was still in the sledge, whipped up the horse, which dashed towards the village. One of the Gaidamaks rushed after him, but could not catch up. Having gone a considerable distance, Halperin got down from the sledge, ran into the field, and stretched himself out on the snow. In the mist he was not easily distinguishable. However, after a time some peasant boys came, who decided to hand him over to the civil authorities as a Jew. They took him to the village of Grinovtsy, taking from him his wrist-watch on the way. In Grinovtsy, where the Buchers lived, it appeared that all the Jews had been arrested, and he was added to the number.

There were about forty Jews, including children, in Grinovtsy. They all had the name of Bucher, and represented the descendants of a certain Bucher who had settled in the village long before. Between the Buchers and the local peasants good and neighborly relations had always subsisted. Nevertheless, when the news of the Proskurov massacre came to the village, the young peasants decided to settle with their Jews, too. Some

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of them went to Proskurov and brought back the three Gaidamaks of whom mention has been made. Hearing of this, all the Jews hid, but the peasants hunted them down and rounded them up with the Gaidamaks' help. The question was raised whether to settle with them there or in another place. The Gaidamaks first searched the Jews and took their money and valuables, amounting to more than 30,000 rubles. Then the Gaidamaks proposed to massacre them all on the spot. But the old peasants told the Gaidamaks that they themselves would deal with their own Jews, but not here in the village, rather outside the village. They put the Jews, with their wives and children, in sledges, and started them in the direction of Proskurov. On the way the young peasants wanted to put an end to them, but the old peasants insisted that they be handed over to the authorities, who would mete out justice.

They were taken to the commandant's headquarters in Proskurov, and thence to the station-commandant at the station. The latter, in turn, took them to the office of the field court-martial, but from there they were taken back to the commandant's, and thence to a chamber for prisoners. Since the will to massacre had by that time sensibly diminished in Proskurov, it was decided to set them all free next morning. But when they were freed they did not return again to their homes in Grinovtsy. (Testimony of the Buchers, p. 3.) As for Halperin, during one of the transfers, he succeeded in escaping.

The witness Marantz also tells of a marvelous deliverance. On Sunday, February 15, he, as a member of the council, started for the council-chamber to take part in the memorable session at which Semosenko and Kiverchuk appeared. On the way he met the councilman Störr, and joined him. They noticed that a Gaidamak officer was chasing them in a cab. When he caught up with them he jumped out of the cab, took out his sabre and attacked them. In a moment more the blows of the sabre would have struck them. At that moment some one on the opposite sidewalk called the officer by name; he turned around, and Marantz and Störr succeeded in hiding in the nearest house, and so escaped.

On the morning of Wednesday, February 19, comparative quiet prevailed in the city. It goes without saying that the Jews did not open their shops, since they had no interest in that. But Semosenko issued an order that the shops should immediately be opened.

On February 22, Semosenko issued a proclamation to the effect that, according to information in his hands, there were

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many bolshevik agitators in Proskurov, and, therefore, he demanded of the population that on this same day by 8 P.M. all bolshevik agitators should be handed over to the authorities. If not, the most decisive measures would be adopted. At the same time he again demanded that all shops should be opened immediately under penalty of 6,000 rubles fine for each merchant. The Jews saw a new provocation and a new threat in this proclamation. To pacify Semosenko they collected a sum of 300,000 rubles and decided to offer it through the local government for the needs of the garrison. The mayor, Sikora, took it upon himself to present this sum, but managed it so badly that Semosenko, though knowing that the money had been collected by Jews alone, issued a proclamation stating that he had received 300,000 rubles "from the entire population of Proskurov," which he thanked for properly appreciating the labors of his Cossacks.

To the central authorities he announced that the inhabitants of Proskurov, in gratitude for the keeping of order in the city and for saving them from the bolsheviks, had presented him with 300,000 rubles for the needs of the garrison.

On February 27, Semosenko issued a proclamation which begins with these words: "Jews, I have heard that yesterday you wanted to hold a meeting in Alexandrovskaya street in order to seize the power, and that you are preparing in four days to start another such revolt as occurred on February 14-15." After this follow corresponding threats. (See vol. III.)

This proclamation completely overwhelmed the Jews, since they knew that no meeting had been planned and that the Jews were not thinking in the least of seizing the power. First of all they applied to Commissar Verkhola. Now Verkhola had certain facts in his hands, which indicated that someone in Proskurov was circulating provocatory rumors in his own selfish interests. It must be observed that a commission had been sent from Kamenetz to Proskurov to investigate the recent disturbances. But Semosenko, as Verkhola testifies, on his own authority, disbanded the commission, and named his own commission to investigate, not the pogrom, but the bolshevik revolt. One of the most active members of this commission was the Gaidamak Rokhmanenko, whose real name was Rokhman. This Rokhman, a Jew, according to his statement, entered the ranks of the Gaidamaks as a volunteer. He gave himself out for a former student and the son of a rich tanner of Kiev. But, according to evidence I have collected, he was a man of little education, and no means, who had for-

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merly lived on money which he earned by giving lessons in Jewish. This Rokhman got himself into Semosenko's favor, was named on the investigating commission, and, as a member of the commission, received power to arrest people on his own responsibility and bring them to trial. He arrested principally sons of rich parents, and through another Jew Prosser, in whose house he lived, received ransom for them. (See testimony of Störr, pp. 7-9.)

Verkhola succeeded in proving not only that Rokhmanenko was dealing in extortion and blackmail, but that other members of the commission were also taking bribes. He made a detailed report of all this to Semosenko, and insisted that he give him power to arrest them all. Semosenko, after long deliberation, consented to the arrest of Rokhmanenko, but absolutely refused to let the others be arrested. Verkhola searched Rokhmanenko's quarters, took away from him 18,000 rubles in cash, arrested him, and compelled him on examination to admit extortion and blackmail. At the same time Rokhmanenko declared that he had handed over most of the bribes he had received to Semosenko's chief of staff, Garaschenko. Verkhola communicated to Semosenko the results of his examination, and gave Rokhmanenko himself over to the public prosecutor. In spite of repeated urgings from Verkhola, the prosecution of the case against him was conducted very feebly, and at last lapsed altogether. Though Semosenko was asked at least to release the records of the investigation of the case, the latter were not returned. Rokhmanenko himself, while in prison, boasted that no one dared bring him to trial, and that he would soon be free and would then be bitterly revenged on his enemies. When the evacuation of Proskurov by the Petlurists began, it was decided to conduct Rokhmanenko from the common prison to another place, it being expected that his friends would liberate him and take him away. While he was being transferred, some one, out of personal revenge, shot him. Thus ended the days of this adventurist and renegade, who, by the way, boasted that he had taken an active part in the massacre of the Jews.

It goes without saying that Semosenko's proclamation of February 27 was issued under the influence of the provocatory activity of Rokhmanenko and other members of the special commission, who in their own selfish interests needed to sow panic and alarm among the Jews.

And, in fact, the Jews could not shake off their panic of fear. In company with Commissar Verkhola they considered all means which could be adopted for getting rid of Semosenko. At last

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Verkhola applied to the president of the Ukrainian national union, Mudry, who was in friendly relations with Semosenko's immediate superior, the corps-commander Konovaletz, and asked him to use his influence with Konovaletz to get Semosenko transferred to another place, since, while he was there, the tranquilization of the population of Proskurov was unthinkable. In this respect Verkhola also made sure of the co-operation of Kiverchuk, who did not like seeing all the power in the hands of Semosenko, and undoubtedly was envious of the latter. Besides this, Kiverchuk thought that Semosenko, in slaughtering a large part of the Jewish population, had done his work and that there was no further need for him. Together with Mudry, Verkhola went to Konovaletz's headquarters and there got from him an order that Semosenko should lay down the duties of garrison-commander and return to the front. Kiverchuk, in turn, was also soon removed from the post of commandant of the city of Proskurov, and remained only commandant of the canton of Proskurov.

However, Semosenko was slow to lay down his office. He schemed to remain in Proskurov, and, in his turn, intrigued against Kiverchuk. Apparently he especially disliked the moral satisfaction which his going would give the Jews. But when he saw that he had to go, he made use of the fact that he was suffering from a chronic venereal disease, called a consultation of physicians, and, through his adjutant, persuaded them to give him their verdict to the effect that in the interests of his health it was necessary for him temporarily to give up service entirely, and to retire to some hospital at a good distance from Proskurov. (See testimony of Dr. Salitronik, pp. 41-43.) With great pomp, attended by sanitary detachments and sisters of mercy, Semosenko at last left Proskurov.

This Semosenko, who bathed the houses and streets of Proskurov with Jewish blood, was, according to the description of witnesses, a weak young man of 22 or 23, who had begun his service as a volunteer under the tsar. With the forced seriousness of his face he produced on all the impression of a half-witted, nervous and unbalanced man. Judging by some of his resolutions in the reports which I have seen, it must be admitted that he was at the same time characterized by great powers of calculation and decisiveness.

According to my approximate reckoning more than 1,200 persons were killed in Proskurov and environs. Besides this, out of over 600 wounded, more than 300 died.

In view of the fact that in his first proclamation Semosenko

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threatened to shoot on the spot anyone who instigated a pogrom, and that this proclamation was not published owing to Kiverchuk, who at that time was hindering Semosenko's entry into power by every means; and in view of the further fact that Kiverchuk willingly let him have this power when he expressed readiness to massacre the Jews; I come to the conclusion that Semosenko was mainly the physical instrument of those bloody horrors which took place in Proskurov. But the chief inspiration of the bloody times in Proskurov appears to have been, in my opinion, Col. Kiverchuk—that old tsarist official and unquestioned pogromist and black-hundreder.

It was the sad function of Proskurov to establish a new phase in the technique of pogroms. Previous pogroms had as their chief purpose robbery, that is, the stealing of Jewish property; murders followed the looting, but still they were not the principal purpose. The Cossacks regarded the looting as the just reward for their faithful service; and in the killing of peaceful and unarmed people they saw a manifestation of their valor and personal prowess. Beginning with Proskurov the basic purpose of the pogroms in Ukraine appears as the total destruction of the Jewish population. Looting was also widely practised, but it took second place.

In Proskurov the Uman massacre of the time of Honta was repeated. The difference is only that in Uman, under Honta, Poles and Jews were massacred, while in Proskurov only Jews were massacred, with strict neutrality on the part of the Poles and other Christians.

III. Felshtin (Government of Podolia)

The Felshtin pogrom must be regarded not as an independent pogrom but as an episode of the Proskurov massacre.

As I stated in my report on Proskurov, a part of the soldiers who revolted on the morning of Saturday, February 15, went along the road to Felshtin, in order to raise a revolt there. Upon arriving there they first arrested the commandant of militia and announced to all that a bolshevik revolution had taken place in Proskurov, and that a similar revolution was to take place in the whole canton of Proskurov. But soon they released the commandant of militia and took from him, as from other people, their signed statements that they unqualifiedly submitted to the newly organized bolshevik regime. However, on

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the same day, February 15, they learned that the bolshevik revolt in Proskurov had failed. They then hastily quitted Felshtin and scattered in various directions.

This episode with the bolshevist uprising greatly disturbed the local Jewish population. In the evening this disquietude increased when vague rumors began to arrive about the events in Proskurov. The alarm of the Jews increased more when on the next day, Sunday, these rumors became more definite.

The Jews applied to the commandant of militia, asking him to strengthen the guard. He promised to summon peasants from the neighboring village of Porichie, and also from Proskurov, to help the local guard. For this he received from the Jews a corresponding sum of money. And, in fact, on Monday morning there appeared armed peasant youths from Porichie, who surrounded the place. This was the auxiliary guard which the commandant of militia had collected. He himself went to Proskurov on Monday morning. He returned at 6 P.M. and after him appeared Cossacks with "red caps," that is, those same Gaidamaks who, as was now definitely known in Felshtin, had massacred the Jews in Proskurov.

The Jews understood that they were fated for slaughter and began to hide wherever they could. Most of them hid in cellars and garrets. Many tried to leave the place, but the guard surrounding the place, which the commandant of militia had invited from Porichie, did not let the Jews pass through. Thus the Jews were completely hemmed in; very few got out.

The night was spent in great agitation. Occasionally individual shots were heard.

According to the testimony of the witness Landa, whose house opens on the square of the main street of the town, he saw from the window of his house that several hundred Gaidamaks were collecting in the square, and with them many peasants' carts from the neighboring villages. In the morning, approximately at seven o'clock, he heard the sound of a horn, and saw the Gaidamaks forming in line on the square. Someone addressed them, after which they scattered through the town. Soon he began to hear the cries of people being murdered. Four Gaidamaks came in to his own house, and one of them made a motion at him with his sabre, but another stopped him. They demanded money of him, and he gave them about 6,000 rubles, assuring them that he had no more, and offering them all his things, but asking that they spare his life. They took no things and went to the door. The same Gaidamak who had stopped his comrade when he threatened him with a sabre said: "You had better hide, because

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others will come and will certainly kill you.'" Landa, who was alone in the dwelling, since he had previously sent his wife and only daughter to another place, with the aid of this same Gaidamak got up into the garret by a hanging ladder, which the Gaidamak handed up to him in the garret, where he hid it. From the garret Landa was able to view all the horrors which were taking place in Felshtin. He saw old men and children dragged out of the houses and murdered. After a long time he saw three women near his house, and thinking that one was his wife, jumped down to look at the body. He found that it was not his wife, but did not venture to return to his dwelling because the ladder remained in the garret. He then ran into the house of a Russian neighbor and begged for refuge, but was driven out. Then he ran into the garret of a neighboring house and hid there in the straw. Two lads of the Porichie guard saw this, and pursued him; they went up into the garret, but did not find him. They tried to set the straw on fire, but did not succeed.

Another witness, Sviner, who had recently returned from the front, tells how he, with his mother and sisters, hid in their house, and several groups of Gaidamaks visited them. He bought them off with money. When the last group appeared, he had no money left. He went out on the street to them and began to beg them to spare him. He took refuge in cunning and turned to one Gaidamak and said that he had lain with him in the trenches during the war. The Gaidamak began to look him over, and then turned his glance towards his legs and said: "You have some fine shoes, give them to me." He gladly agreed, and went into the house with the Gaidamaks and took off his boots. The Gaidamak in turn took off his own boots and put on Sviner's. Then he took out of his pocket a fresh pair of stockings, gave them to Sviner, and helped him put on his old boots. Having received a pair of rubbers also, he turned to his companions and said: "We won't kill a man with whom I sat in the trenches." Towards evening Sviner and his family, not knowing that the massacre was over, decided not to stay in the house any longer, and, making their way through the corpses on the street, they all left the town and spent the whole night in the fields. They only returned on the next day, when they learned that the town was quiet. Sviner then went to the house of his brother, who had been president of the Jewish community. With difficulty, walking over bodies, he got to the house, and there found his brother, his wife, her parents, and also several other people who had hidden in the house, all murdered.

The witness Kreimer states that he was in Proskurov at the

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time of the pogrom there. Having saved his life, on Sunday, February 16, at 12 noon, he started on foot for Felshtin, where he regularly lives. But at the village of Malinichi he was arrested by a militiaman and taken to the militia headquarters. The commandant of militia said he must take him back to Proskurov, to the commandant's. When he said he would be shot there and begged him not to send him there, the commander of militia replied that he himself would undergo a serious risk if he did not do so. He showed him a telegram received from Kiverchuk, commandant of Proskurov, telling him to shoot on the spot, or send to him in Proskurov to be shot, all agitators and Jews.

At this time militiamen brought in an entire family which had escaped from Proskurov in the same way and was heading for Felshtin. But when asked whence and whither the family was going, the head of the family was clever enough to answer that they were going from Felshtin to Proskurov. Then the commander of militia took steps to send this family back to Felshtin. The witness Kreimer made use of this and immediately asked this family to tell his relatives in Felshtin of his dangerous situation, and to ask them to spare no means whatever to save him. After this the commander agreed to let him stay in the village till the next morning. But after some time, approximately two hours, the militiamen brought in sixteen other Jews, who had escaped from Proskurov. Then the commander of militia declared that he could not keep such a crowd of people until morning, and decided to send all of them, including Kreimer, to Proskurov at once. They were already placed on carts, but at this time a telephone call came from Felshtin and the (Felshtin) commander of militia, who knew him, asked insistently for Kreimer. Then it was again decided to let them all stay in the village till morning. In the evening Kreimer succeeded in speaking with a certain local Jew, who entered into negotiations with the commander of militia on his behalf and that of four other Jews, to let them go to Felshtin for a fixed sum. The amount agreed upon was five thousand rubles, which was paid. Owing to this, Kreimer and the four other Jews, with the latter's families, succeeded in getting away in carts to Felshtin. But the other Jews, not having money to pay a thousand rubles apiece, were taken back to Proskurov. Kreimer arrived in Felshtin on Monday during the day; in the evening the Gaidamaks arrived there. He succeeded in getting his relatives to a neighboring village in good time, and he himself hid in the cellar, where he spent the whole night, and likewise all

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the next day. Through a crack in the boards with which the cellar was covered he watched various episodes of the massacre, and also saw how the militiamen, especially peasants, stole goods from the shops, and also property from the houses.

The witness Schneider assures us that telegrams similar to the one received from Kiverchuk by the military commander in Malinichi, were sent also to other villages and hamlets, and that owing to them many Jews were shot on sight. He knows of the fact that a Jewess named Brauer, who was fleeing with her children from Proskurov, was in this manner led out to be shot, but ransomed herself for a large sum of money. The same witness Schneider states that he was well acquainted with the head of the post and telegraph bureau, who likewise managed the local Bureau of Information, and that he went to see him at twelve o'clock noon to find out about the situation. While he was there the postmaster was called on direct wire from Proskurov, and remained at the telephone more than an hour. When he returned, Schneider asked him: "Well, what do they tell you from Proskurov?" The other answered that the Gaidamaks had gone out over the whole canton of Proskurov, and would probably come to Felshtin, too. When he asked what was going to happen in Felshtin then—surely not a repetition of the horrors in Proskurov, the other gave an evasive answer. Upon the repetition of the question he made no reply. Then Schneider hastily said good-bye to him, so as to communicate what he had heard to the Jews. As he left the postmaster said to him: "Come and see me this evening." But Schneider in his heart replied that he had no time to go visiting at such a time.

It is to be noted that the Gaidamaks arrived the evening before, but nevertheless did not let the Jews leave their houses. Schneider spent the night from Monday to Tuesday, the whole day Tuesday, and the following night, in the cellar where he had hidden himself. He did not know that the massacre had ended at two o'clock on Tuesday. Only on Wednesday morning did he come out of the cellar. But even then corpses in great numbers were still lying about the streets. He started to help the wounded and with this object went to the public hospital. The militia commander happened to be there, and Schneider was an involuntary witness to the following conversation of the militia commander with the regional ("government," *gubernia*) commander from Kamenetz. Evidently in reply to a question about the happenings in Felshtin, the militia commander reported: "Monday morning some Cossacks appeared, who said they were Gaidamaks. Their ataman suggested to me that I

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should not hinder them from dealing with the Jews as they might see fit. And when he asked me whether I consented to this, I replied: 'I haven't the power to oppose you, and I shall not interfere with you.'" Further he communicated the facts about the massacre that had taken place in the town, and stated that the number of killed was about 500. "Before leaving the place," he said, "the same ataman said to me: 'Don't interfere with the peasants; let them do what they think best. Let them take that which the Jews have sucked out of the people for such a long time.'" And, in fact, the peasants did come with carts, and plundered the property of the Jews.

At Felshtin there were gathered several hundreds of Gaidamaks; that is, apparently, all the Gaidamaks who were in Proskurov, since the whole third Gaidamak regiment consisted of only several hundreds all told.

It is characteristic that some of the Gaidamaks who arrived at Felshtin on Monday evening went to Jewish homes and asked for lodgings. They were not only furnished with lodgings, but fed an abundant supper with sweetmeats. These Gaidamaks behaved themselves very decently and even respectfully. They declared that they had come to Felshtin without any evil intentions, and that they would go back the next day. However, in the morning, after the signal-horn, those same Gaidamaks cut down the very same Jews who had entertained them.

The question has arisen how to reconcile the massacre in Felshtin with the promise, which, according to Verkhola and others, Semosenko gave on Sunday to the session of the council, namely, to call the Gaidamaks back from Felshtin. The Jews of Felshtin declare that Semosenko gave orders to this effect by telegraph, but that the telegram was hidden by the head of the post and telegraph bureau. This rests on an evident misunderstanding. The distance from Proskurov to Felshtin is only 25 versts in all. and the Gaidamaks who came to Felshtin Monday evening unquestionably left Proskurov on the morning of the same day. It is clear that what was needed was not for Semosenko to recall the Cossacks from Felshtin, but simply not to send them there. But it is possible that it was no longer in Semosenko's power to keep them in Proskurov.

We must remember that the Gaidamaks had been promised bloody sport with the Jews in Proskurov for three days. But the experience of the first day, Saturday, surpassed the expectations, apparently, of Semosenko and Kiverchuk themselves. It was therefore decided to stop the massacre in Proskurov.

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But at the same time the Gaidamaks, having tasted Jewish blood, got a liking for it, and showed a desire for further slaughter. It was not so easy, apparently, to stop them. Besides this, the telegrams sent out all over the canton by Kiverchuk, of which mention has been made, stirred up the entire canton. From Kiverchuk's point of view, after what had happened in Proskurov, the capital of the canton, it would have been unjust, perhaps insulting, to the rest of the canton, to leave it entirely without Jewish blood. However this may be, at any rate, the Gaidamaks received permission to go out into the canton. Moreover we must remember that they were afforded freedom to act on their own responsibility. It depended on them to act in this way or that. This explains the fact that in Yarmolintsy, where the bolsheviki had also been, they contented themselves with a considerable sum of money. The local Jews went out of the town to meet them and furnished this sum to them; and they did not start a massacre. But when they came to Felshtin they found a pogrom-like frame of mind already prepared there. This frame of mind had been created by the guard from Porichie, which the militia commander had summoned, and also by the commander of militia himself, who, according to all the evidence, sympathized and co-operated with the pogrom. Even his eighty-year-old father, during the massacre, took a stout board in his hands and finished killing wounded Jews, as is confirmed by several witnesses who saw it from the garret where they were hiding. This pogrom-like frame of mind was also helped on by the head of the post and telegraph bureau, who was informed of everything, but not only did nothing to avert the pogrom, but did not even try to mitigate it. This is made sufficiently clear from the testimony of the witness Schneider. Under the influence of this pogrom-like frame of mind, the debauch of the Gaidamak horde in Felshtin was irrestrainable.

The pogrom in Felshtin lasted several hours. There were 485 people killed, and 180 wounded. Of the wounded more than a hundred died of their wounds. Thus the killed amounted in all to 600 people, which amounts to nearly a third of the Jewish population in the town; it contained in all about 1,900 Jewish inhabitants.

It should be observed that in Proskurov the Gaidamaks, who had taken an oath on Saturday to slay but not to steal, honestly fulfilled their sacred oath. Robberies on the part of the Gaidamaks were rare there. But from Saturday to Tuesday, when the Felshtin massacre took place, several days had elapsed,

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and in this time the sanctity of the oath, apparently, had evaporated from the consciousness of the Gaidamaks. In Felshtin robberies went hand in hand with murders.

It must also be noted that while in Proskurov the assaults on women were isolated, in Felshtin there were a great many. The majority of the murdered women had first been violated, and many women who were not killed also suffered violation. Twelve cases were registered in which the unfortunate women needed surgical attention as a result.

As they left after the giving of the signal by trumpet, the Gaidamaks poured kerosene and benzine over five of the best houses in town and set them on fire.

Thus these champions completed their work for the welfare of the Ukrainian fatherland, and thus ended this bloody bacchanalia in Proskurov and Felshtin.

(*End of A. I. Hillerson's Report.*)

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SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER III

I. POGROMS OF STRUK'S GANGS

Hamlet of Pechki (Canton of Radomysl)

Testimony of Simon-Leib Rabinovich, age 42, fish-dealer.

On March 20, when navigation began, there came to Pechki 20 Strukists. They were appointed to guard the river; perhaps steamers might pass, and then, as the soldiers themselves put it, "there will be gold bracelets, watches, and fine boots." Ten of them were quartered about the hamlet. The rest of the day and the night passed quietly. On the next day, early in the morning, two armed Strukists came to my house and ordered me to go with them. When I asked where they were taking me, they answered, "To headquarters, to Struk's." I went with them. On the way the bandits took three other Jews and started us in the direction of Gornostaipol. When we came out of the house, the soldiers began to demand money. Having received a comparatively small sum, the soldiers let us go. We returned to the hamlet. There a Strukist met me and yelled at me: "You are a Jew! You Jews want a commune! You'll find it in the water or under the ground!" I began to reply to him. Peasants gathered around us. The soldier proved rather dull, he had no answer for my arguments, and the peasants looked ironically at him. The soldier let me go and went away. (As I afterwards found out, that bandit was a Jew named Orosky, from the hamlet of Gorodische; no one knows what his former occupation was.) On the same evening the bandits rounded up all the local Jews, old men and women, and, showing them a machine-gun, demanded a contribution of 4,000 rubles. We began to bargain with them and

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struck a bargain at 1,800 rubles. Things became peaceful. On March 23 firing began; a bolshevist detachment began to attack the Strukists from Oster. The Jews left the village and hid themselves as best they could in the vicinity. The Strukists won, and again became the only government in the whole region. Three days later the Jews returned to the hamlet. Their houses had been completely plundered. In my own house the windows and doors were smashed, and all the furnishings had vanished. I learned that the Strukists had only made a beginning at this; all the goods had been seized by the local peasants. I began to demand insistently that the peasants return the plunder to me. This helped. The peasants got frightened (on this day there were no Strukists in the village), and began, little by little, to bring my goods back to me. I was told that my neighbor had taken my feather-bed and cushions. I went to ask him to return my bed to me. He fell on me like a wild beast; how did I dare to demand of him, the head man of the village? He would arrest me and hand me over to the Strukists as a communist. I saw that some change had taken place in my neighbor. He had previously been peaceable, and extraordinarily conscientious, and had always been kind with me. I understood that I could not stay any longer in the village. I had to get away to save my life. I left the house, and slowly, as if taking a stroll, so that they should not notice my plans, began to go out of the village. On the way I kept chatting and joking with the peasants. I felt by the behavior of the peasants that something was due to happen to me there. For a minute I entered a peasant's hut. In a couple of minutes the head man ran after me with a gun in his hand: "Aha, you're here! I'll shoot you right here at once. You want to give us the slip." I managed to appease the head man with words, and got him pacified. He went away and told me to wait for the overseers (*desiatniki*), for whom he had sent. I again sneaked out of the hut without being noticed, and, slinking along over fences and through fields, going in up to my neck in water, got to the river, and from there got across in a boat to Oster. As I learned, the Strukists came to the village on the next day. They took the entire Jewish population of the place, young and old, out beyond the village into the fields. They demanded money. Whoever had money with him bought himself off, received blows to boot, and was undressed (they undressed them all and left them in nothing but underclothes). My father, a 75-year-old man, had no money with him and was killed on the spot, before the eyes of the other Jews. Now there is no one

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left of the Jews. The peasants are quite friendly to us when we visit them.

SIMON-LEIB RABINOVICH.

VILLAGE OF ORONY (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Testimony of Vasia Makovskaia

Our village furnished many Strukists. There had never been any friction between the Jews and the peasants. The Jews had been living there a long time and were on good terms with the peasants. When the Struk gangs appeared in our region, the attitude to the Jews changed in our village. The Strukists from the village and their comrades came there on every convenient occasion. They brought with them malice and hatred for the Jews. The peasants' attitude to the Jews became worse and more hostile from day to day. They began to discover that the Jews were in the way there, and disturbed the freedom of life. Every time when the Strukists came into the village the peasants told them what could be demanded of each of the Jews. Often they would send the Strukists into Jewish stores or homes to seize something that suited their own, the peasants', needs. In a short time there had disappeared from the Jews' houses much property, clothing, and money. I won't go over in detail all that happened among us at this time, how they stole all our money, took our shoes and clothing off from us, how they beat us and threatened us with death. All this is nothing in comparison with what happened to us afterwards.

At Passover about ten bandits came to us. The "guests" were very impudent. Whenever they saw a Jewish face, they mercilessly beat him. From the peasants we found out that they were getting ready to hold a Jewish massacre the next day. Then all the Jews left the place by stealth. My husband was 93 years old and I had to hunt for a cart for him. All the peasants to whom I applied for a cart refused, explaining that they had been strictly ordered not to transport Jews. My husband and I hid in a poor peasant's hut. At night I was informed that the Strukists had left. My husband and I returned home. About ten minutes afterwards ten bandits burst in and demanded that we tell them where our "communist"-sons were. They began to beat us. My husband gave them our last 200 rubles, and the bandits left. We could not stay in the house any longer and decided to hide again somewhere. We had only gone a few paces when we saw the Strukists coming

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towards us. We tried to get into the barn; I succeeded in doing so. But they saw my old husband and took him to the nearest hut. I heard them demanding of him that he surrender his sons. The old man replied, in exasperation, that they should leave him in peace. One of them shot at him three times. He fell dead. Another soldier, when he was already dead, beat his head and cut his face. They undressed him, took the things, and went out of the hut. I heard them saying to each other: "We must find his wife, she must be somewhere about here. It would be a good thing to hitch her up and have her take her husband to the river, and then drown her." I don't know where I got such strength and skill. As soon as the soldiers left, I began to make my way across fences until I got to the end of the village. There I betook myself to the grain-fields, where I spent the night. Early in the morning I left the grain-field and went to a certain peasant who was very well acquainted with us. He was sorry for me but was afraid to let me into his hut. He took me into the barn with the potatoes and locked me up. I spent two days in the barn. On the third day, when the bandits left the village, the peasant brought me into the house. I fell in a faint, and was brought to. I lay abed several days. When I came to myself, I didn't even look at my house and started for Gornostaipol. Two of my sons are serving in the Red Army.

(Signed for Vasia Makovskaia, who is illiterate, at her request.)

Orony is a village of 300-400 huts, eight versts from Gornostaipol. Four Jewish families lived there. The name of the 93-year-old man who was killed was Benzion Mikhelev Oranik; he is buried in the Gornostaipol cemetery.

Village of Karagod (Government of Kiev)

The village of Karagod, canton of Radomysl, 14 versts from Chernobyl, consists of approximately 300 peasants' huts. Fifteen families of Jews lived there. The village lies on the road from Chernobyl to Khabno. The Jews of Karagod had lived very peacefully with the peasants. When the gangs of Strukists began to operate in the region of Chernobyl and Khabno, misery began to be widespread. Many Jewish houses were destroyed down to the foundation. Peasants took part in this, in Karagod, as in a whole series of other villages. All the Jews of Karagod abandoned the places they had occupied, and fled. In Chernobyl

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I happened to meet three Jews from Karagod. I must say things went off comparatively well there, since there were no human lives lost. Of three Jews whom I questioned, one had been considered the rich man of the place. He left the village in good time. On the way "soldiers" fell upon him, and took off his clothes and left him half naked. Now he is going tattered and hungry, and relies on people's charity, to escape death from hunger. Of the other two, one has his head bandaged; his skull was hurt. Sometimes he cries from pain in an inhuman voice. His face is nothing but a mass of livid wounds; from the bloated mass his eyes look out through little cracks. The other Jew looks better. His left hand is hurt and he cannot use it. I could not question them long, I could not bear to listen to their broken, hoarse words, full of sighs. I was simply not able to see the tears slowly wandering through the Jew's gray beard. Here, in brief, is what they say:

Zolotar, Nukhim Avrumov, 41 *Years Old, Married, Tailor*

Beginning in December, 1918, the gangs of Struk visited our village endlessly. They were peasants of the neighboring villages, mostly former soldiers, or simply scum with a very bad reputation. From our village also some young peasants, who loved to live well and had little hankering for agriculture, adhered to the Strukist horde. When the Strukist gangs passed by not far from us, groups of them came in to the village to visit their people, and on the way, playing with their rifles, to empty Jewish pockets or carry away some domestic articles from the Jews. This lasted for a rather long time, and we got used to such a condition of things. On April 10 there appeared in the village seven such bandits. One of them came to me while I was sitting at work. At the time several peasant customers were with me. When the soldiers came in they said to the peasants: "Take your cloth, and if you recognize cloth belonging to other peasants here, take that, too, because we are going to clean things up here right away." The peasants did so and left. The bandits demanded money from me. I felt at once by their tone and all their behavior that a more serious matter was impending than in the previous attacks, and I gave them all the cash I had. Having taken the money they began to pack up the linen, clothes, and household goods, as much as they could carry away with them, and departed. I hoped that I had gotten off with this, but I was mistaken. After about ten minutes one of them returned with an order from the leader to bring me to

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him. I tried to buy myself off with money. The soldier took the money, but nevertheless took me, too, to the leader. The latter demanded 200 rubles of me. I had no more money. The leader began to beat me with a whip and the handle of his revolver. I was covered with blood. I began to implore him to let me go into the village, where I would be able to borrow the amount from an acquaintance. The leader consented and went in person with me. On the way we met a crowd of peasants. The bandit began to beat me, make me sing Jewish songs, dance, fall on my knees, and cross myself. I was compelled to do all this. The peasants did not interfere. But the spectacle was apparently not very pleasing to them, because they began to disperse. The leader took me farther. Meeting a Russian girl he knew, the bandit bade me repeat the dance, the singing, etc. The peasants to whom I applied for money would not lend it to me. Blows rained upon me without end. In one hut, where I went for money, I found a Jewess of the place with black and blue marks on her bare arms, in tears. Three bandits stood around her. What happened afterwards it is unnecessary to relate. With great difficulty I got 200 rubles from a peasant lad. The soldier let me go. For several days I hid, and then went away to Chernobyl. I was informed that absolutely nothing was left in my house and establishment. I must add that they took my clothing and shoes off me and compelled me to perform the "comedy" in nothing but my underclothes and bare feet.

(Signature.)

Khatutzky, Moise Duvidov, 42 Years Old, Married, Shop-Keeper.

With the appearance of the Strukists I had nothing left to sell in my shop. The goods were stolen by troops of bandits, who paid me for them with vilest epithets and blows. To hide the goods anywhere, to bury them in the ground, did not help. They did not spare the trouble of hunting everywhere, and the longer the search lasted, the more blows were inflicted on me and my wife. I don't remember when this was; but two soldiers came to me and demanded money. I gave them two hundred rubles which I had. They were not satisfied with this and commanded me to go with them. I knew that this threatened serious danger for me, because there had been several similar cases. The Jews returned with such disfigurements that it was hard to recognize them, and told of horrible things. I began to entreat the soldiers and offered them various things. But nothing

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helped. They began to beat me, and I had to go. The soldiers took me to a brook and threw me into the water. They apparently wanted to drown me. But the water there was very shallow. They threw me around every way; in spite of all, I remained alive. Then they took me out of the village and threw me into a pond which was near the distillery. There death appeared inevitable. But it happened that two peasant acquaintances went past, and they interceded for me, saying that I was a "good Jew." Cursing, the soldiers left me in peace.

(Signature.)

Village of Chinkov

The village of Chinkov is 25 versts from Chernobyl; has about 100 houses; only two Jewish families lived there. When Struk's gangs appeared there and began to pay special attention to these two Jewish families (to visit them often, take away what they liked, and threaten), one of them left the village, while of the other there remained an old man (he hoped that his age would save him from danger) with a youth of 16-18 years, his assistant in his mill. This boy is the only witness of what happened in the village. He is now in the Chernobyl alms-house, seriously ill, according to the physicians. He is all done up in bandages, and cannot move his arms. On one arm are four open wounds, on the other hand one finger is entirely cut off. On his head are several serious wounds, and his nose is badly injured. Here is his story:

We got used to frequent visits from guests who grossly reviled us. The visits always ended with the receipt of small sums of money or of articles having no special value. My employer had rented the mill for a long time and was on the best of terms with the local peasants. He always hoped that the peasants, with whom he had grown up together and with whom he constantly associated, would save him. I cannot say that the peasants instigated the bandits or sympathized with them. But they did not do the least thing on their part to avert the actions of the bandits. The word of a single local peasant was enough (of this we have seen ocular proof) to stop the action of the bandits. I don't remember myself on what day this occurred. A tall, vigorous soldier came in and demanded money. The old man agreed with him on 2,000 rubles. This was the last cash which the old man had. Several days later the soldier came again and demanded now 20,000 rubles.

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Three other soldiers were waiting in the street. The old man had no money. The soldier became furious, and, shouting "Damned Jewish communist," struck him so violently with his bare sabre that the old man fell dead on the spot, without even uttering a sound. I started to move for the door. The soldier noticed this and struck me on the head with his sabre. I fell. The soldier called his companions from the street and they all began to run around the place and take everything they liked. As they left our house one bandit noticed that I was still alive. He struck me several times more with his sabre. Then they set fire to the house and barn. I did not lose consciousness. When I began to suffocate with the smoke I tried to jump out of a window. But the bandits noticed me and I had to go back into the house. The barn was already in flames and the fire was beginning to penetrate the house. I approached the window. The bandits were gone. I went out from the house in the direction of Chernobyl. What happened afterwards I do not know. They say that peasants found me on the road and took me to Chernobyl. Recently they brought the charred bones of my employer there, too, and buried them.

Village of Ditiatki

The fortunate village of Ditiatki got off without human victims. It consists of approximately 300 peasants' huts; it is eight versts from Gornostaipol. In December, 1918, the Strukists began to appear there. They were young peasants from the neighboring villages, with rifles. They permitted themselves frequent taunts at the Jews, of course not without blows and threats with revolvers. The peasants soon fell under the influence of the Strukists and began to dig up ancient sins of the Jews. They began to hunt for old "unpaid" debts and to think up various crimes (the Jews served as spies of the bolsheviki, had invited the Hetman to return to Kiev, etc.). And they demanded unconditional fulfilment of their demands and claims, otherwise they would summon the Strukists thither. The Jews were compelled to pay and pay. This became a chronic phenomenon. "For a lark" they would arouse the Jews by night, or would stop them on the street, saying, "Why, those shoes are mine." The Jews could not endure this any longer and left the village, abandoning their property to the will of fate. And they did well. Soon they heard that they were being searched for. It is difficult to believe that the search was for the sake

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of money, of which they long since had no more. Even yet the Jews of Ditiatki have not returned to the village.

Testimony of Gusovsky, Joseph Berkov, 45 Years Old, Married, Shop-keeper

The Strukists often visited our village and every time came to me and took whatever they liked. Often they divided my goods among the peasant children, who followed them in throngs. If anything was not given to them quickly enough, they would beat me, threaten me with rifles, etc.

Once, as I was coming home, I heard Strukists asking the peasants, "Where does the spy Gusovsky live here?" I understood what this meant. I hid in a peasant's barn. At night I returned home. They had wounded my wife, and completely plundered my household goods. Everything had vanished; they had taken the feathers out of the pillows. My wife told me that the bandits had come looking for me, and said they would come again. I understood that it was impossible to stay in the village any more, and with my wife and children left the place, carefully creeping through fences.

(Signature)

II. POGROMS OF GRIGORIEV'S GANGS AND OTHERS

YELISAVETGRAD (GOVERNMENT OF KHERSON)

Pogrom of May 15-17, 1919

On May 15, 16 and 17 of this year a pogrom of which I was an eye-witness occurred in Yelisavetgrad, Government of Kherson.

The Soviet forces, which, under the leadership of the ataman Grigoriev, had taken Nikolaiev, Kherson and Odessa, after the taking of Odessa, disposed themselves on the line Voznesensk-Pomoschnaia-Yelisavetgrad-Znamenka-Kremenchug, and Znamenka-Korystovka-Piatikhatki. Among these guerrilla forces, consisting exclusively of the dregs of the peasant population of the Kherson government, there were very many criminals, who poured into the divisions of Grigoriev during their occupation of the towns, since upon the transfer of the towns to the Petlura-Grigoriev regime all the criminals were released from prison, and part of them entered Grigoriev's ranks. The frame

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of mind of the Grigoriev forces was always hostile to the Jews, and when these forces, after the taking of Odessa, freed from military activities, began to stretch out in squadrons along the line of the railroad, the pogrom agitation began to increase among them and speeches began to be delivered ever more frequently on the theme of "the injuriousness of Jews and communists."

Two days before a Jewish pogrom had been carried out by the Grigoriev troops in Znamenka (36 versts from Yelisavetgrad), and the Grigoriev squadrons from there began to arrive in Yelisavetgrad. Great agitation arose in the city. The stores did not open; attacks on dwellings began; on all the streets groups of soldiers went about questioning passers-by whether they were not communists. On the tenth there appeared on the streets of the city a manifesto ("Universal") with the signature of the ataman Grigoriev, calling for the overthrow of the Soviet regime, which, according to the manifesto, consisted of foreigners from "Moscow and the country where they crucified Christ." The Soviet institutions were destroyed, the militia units broken up; the city remained without protection. Throughout the city there began to pop up everywhere hooligans, dwellers in the outskirts, tramps from the market place, and educated black-hundreders and members of the Union of the Russian People. They carried on open agitation and called for the destruction of the Jews. To arouse the masses of the people against the Jews the genuine Russians disinterred the bodies of the well-known local bandit, Petka Smely, and the former mayor, Verischagin, who had been shot by the bolsheviks immediately upon the withdrawal of the Petlurists, and held a solemn funeral. Unofficial and isolated attacks on Jewish houses continued for about a week. On the tenth of May there approached the city from the direction of Odessa a small detachment of Soviet forces that had been despatched; it consisted of Georgians and sailors. The Grigorievists hastily left the city towards the station of Znamenka. The town went over to the previous regime, but not for long. For the ataman Grigoriev, learning that the number of the detachment sent out was not large, again attacked the city, and on the night of the 14th a battle took place near Yelisavetgrad between several thousand Grigorievists and the Soviet detachment.

When the sailors and bolsheviks drove the Grigorievists out of the city, the latter threatened to return and massacre all Jews, so that the Jewish population knew that if the city was taken this time there was no escape from a pogrom. The Soviet

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detachment of Georgians and sailors resisted for only some hours. Seeing that the enemy was superior, the Georgians retreated and succeeded in escaping towards Odessa, while the sailors went over to Grigoriev's side and together with him entered the city on the morning of May 15. Immediately the Grigoriev forces opened the prison, let out all the prisoners, and then dispersed about the city in groups of five or ten and began to smash shops and houses. They were soon joined by Russian inhabitants of the outskirts, market women, tramps and hooligans, and also educated black-hundreders. In the mass of excited people you could find officials, teachers, etc. The local Social-Democratic newspaper "Our Life" (*Nasha Zhizn*) a few days after the pogrom came out openly reproaching the workmen for the fact that even they took part in the pogrom. Compatriots who hid in the cellar of the house where I live heard some one playing excellently on the piano for more than an hour while the house was being wrecked.

On the first day the pogrom was carried on by the soldiers, sailors, and inhabitants of the place. On the second and third days the city was filled with peasants from the neighboring villages, who came to plunder and carry off Jewish property. The murders were committed principally by soldiers, sailors and criminals; the rest looted. They operated as if on definite plans. A group of soldiers armed with rifles would come up to a house or shop, break the doors or windows, enter the house, kill the Jews who did not succeed in hiding or hid ineffectively, and take away everything of value—money, gold, and silver. When the soldiers left the premises a wild mob would break in and plunder the whole property, not excluding furniture and the heaviest articles, which were then and there loaded on peasants' carts and taken away to the outskirts of the city and to the villages. What could not be taken or carted away was smashed and destroyed. Whirlwinds of feathers from feather-beds and pillows blew around the streets. The soldiers, who devoted themselves principally to killing and looting, hunted around in garrets and cellars, hauled out the Jews from wherever they could, demanded money, and then, having got money, shot them on the spot. If no money was produced they killed both men and women. Through all the streets ran gangs crying, "Kill the Jews, kill the communists." The Jewish population hid in garrets, cellars, barns, and in the houses of Christian acquaintances. Very many Christian householders concealed Jews and saved thousands of them; for the pogromists did not touch a single Christian house or shop. On the Christian houses were depicted

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crosses, and saints' images were set in the windows; or the people stood in the doors of their own houses, and the thugs ran past them.

The pogrom began May 15 in the morning. On the same day the trade union of metal-workers and the president of the Peasants' Assembly, which was being held at that time in Yelisavetgrad, went to the station and demanded of the commandant of the Grigoriev forces on the front, Pavlov, that he immediately stop the pogrom. But neither on the 15th nor on the following day, the 16th, were they listened to. They were even warned that in case of a revolt of the population against the Grigorievists the city would be shelled with cannon. On the second day towards evening a "revolutionary committee" which had been organized in the city, and which consisted of the trade union of metal-workers and a representative of the Peasants' Assembly, succeeded in organizing a small detachment of the most class-conscious workers to defend the town; several automobile loads of armed workmen were sent through the town, and the plunderers stopped their activities. The pogrom died down and the Jews began to show themselves on the streets. On the third day, May 17, it was quiet, but about 10 A.M. the thugs, thinking that the city-guard was weak, and also the soldiers and sailors, finding out that the order to stop the pogrom had not come from the commander of the forces, again began to plunder and kill. Since by this time almost the whole city was already plundered, the soldiers devoted themselves chiefly to killing Jews. Those who had come out of their hiding-places on the second day did not succeed in hiding as well on the third day as on the first, and, consequently, the quantity of victims on the third day was particularly large. Whole families were slaughtered; neither old men nor infants in arms were spared. The mob ran around the city in throngs and finished smashing up houses and shops.

The Metal-workers Union and the Peasants' Assembly again asked the commander on the front, Pavlov, to stop the horrors. This time, at last, on the evening of the third day, they succeeded. That evening a proclamation was pasted up, which began: "I have listened to the representatives of the workmen and peasants, and have decided immediately to stop the devastation of industrial life."

The pogrom ended. The Grigorievists returned to the station, the robbers disappeared, and it became quiet in the town. For three days anarchy reigned in the city, since the Grigorievist commanders took no measures, while the revolutionary com-

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mittee had no power to take measures without the Grigorievists. On the 21st or 22nd four Soviet regiments came to Yelisavetgrad from Odessa, and after a brief exchange of shots the Grigorievists withdrew to Znamenka. The city was occupied by the Soviet Voznesensky regiment; the other three regiments continued to pursue the enemy.

With the entry of the Soviet forces the Jewish population came out of its places of refuge, but it was impossible to return to their houses, since all the Jewish houses had been plundered, all the furniture and beds taken away or smashed to bits, all the articles of the households stolen, so that there was nothing to sleep on, cover oneself with at night, or cook dinner with. In Yelisavetgrad the number of Jewish inhabitants was reckoned at 50,000, and they were all left beggars. In the city there had been some provisions, but most of them had been stolen, and what remained with the Christian co-operatives was enough for a week. The flour in the mills had been plundered at the time of the pogrom; in several mills the communicating cords had been removed, so that they could not function. The population was utterly ruined and condemned to extinction. Commerce was destroyed, and from this the peasant population also suffered. Out of hundreds of stores there were only five counted which happened to be spared by accident.

On the day after the pogrom they began to take the bodies to hospitals and cemeteries. All the hospitals were filled with the dead, who were reckoned at two thousand people. The Grigorievists ordered burial immediately after the pogrom and forbade anyone to go to the cemetery except people needed to dig the graves. An accurate count is still going on at the present time, since, when I left Yelisavetgrad on May 27, they were still finding bodies of the dead in various places.

Aid in all shapes and forms is necessary. If aid is not furnished to the city of Yelisavetgrad, the entire Jewish population will perish. This is no exaggeration. People have no change of linen and no possibility of getting it, so that unless help is furnished the appearance of contagious diseases is unavoidable. There are very few provisions, and the peasants do not come to market, since there is nothing for them to buy; there is no importation of provisions, and famine has already begun. There remain thousands of widows and orphans; there are wounded, and they must be treated.

In Yelisavetgrad a committee of aid for the suffering population has been formed; it consists of Christian and Jewish persons in public life. This committee empowered me to use every

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means to get aid. In the name of this committee and in the name of the fifty thousand Jewish population, I appeal to you for immediate assistance. I cannot set definite limits. The losses are reckoned in hundreds of millions. It is necessary immediately to send underclothes and other garments, provisions, and medical aid. It is necessary to establish feeding stations, to treat the wounded, and, if possible, to prevent the fearful plague of an epidemic from arising.

From eight to ten thousand Jewish families are ruined. Ten to fifteen feeding stations are required for the feeding of ten to fifteen thousand people. The necessary medicines, bandages, and medical personnel are on hand in the city. For the first about ten thousand suits of underwear for men and women are necessary.

CHERKASSY (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Pogrom of May 16-20, 1919

Preface to the Material Collected by I. G. Tzifrinovich; by the District Teacher Klüger, July 15, 1919

From the material evidence collected offhand, and still more from the valuable statements of persons who were utterly unwilling to furnish written testimony (through fear of revenge, since their testimony involves a whole series of people, persons in public life, and organizations, which are now flourishing and peacefully functioning),—from all this evidence it is clear that the pogrom was planned in advance and carried out according to definite plans. There are strong suspicions that the people of Cherkassy, who took direct part in the murders and robberies and at the same time concealed in their houses many Jewish neighbors, did this with the definite purpose of rehabilitating themselves afterwards in regard to their activity in the pogrom. All Russian servants in service with Jews left their places before Grigoriev's entrance, evidently being informed of what was coming. Peasant women and city market-wives, who arrived at the market to hang around even on May 12, complained, saying: "They said it would start at two o'clock, and here it is almost three and nothing doing! Maybe they have postponed it."

Following the course of the massacre it is easy to establish the fact that almost one and the same gang, without demanding money or ransom, and without looting, kept on slaying and

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shooting, as if it had taken for its aim the wiping out of a certain fixed quantity of Jews. In this group was Fedorovsky, a degenerate with earrings in his ears, a human beast, who had no use for money. In this same group also "worked" some of the "intellectuals," who had succeeded in dividing among themselves money from the treasury and consequently had no need for more, but did their work as "amateurs." The killing was done by orders; such orders were issued, or given orally, by Grigoriev, as follows from the following scene. In one place the stony heart of Fedorovsky shuddered, and he was on the point of sparing his victim. "You forget, sir, Ataman Grigoriev's orders," one of his companions in arms reminded Fedorovsky, who had almost forgotten his rôle; and—the Jew was killed.

Other similar gangs, but without leadership, added looting to their primary duty of killing "Jew-communists" and Jews in general. From these it was possible to purchase safety, unless there were local people among them; the latter, fearing to be recognized afterwards, put an end to their victims without mercy. After them came the "manufacturists," as Grigoriev himself called his soldiers. These were "commissary"-soldiers, collecting household supplies. The majority of them wore red bands or ribbons. After these came "marauders"—local inhabitants, servants, boys and girls, who grabbed and carried off all that was still left. The Jews' own servants came—and they knew very well where everything was, and even where anything was hidden; for you could not hide things from servants who had been in service five to eight years. However, we must be just to the servants. There were some among them who guarded their employers and their property with their own breasts. There was even one who was killed along with her employers. Except for the first gang, which did its work calmly, —I should have said, mocking their victims in every possible way (in one place Fedorovsky offered to grant his victim life in exchange for his daughter's honor),—all the other gangs were in a terrible hurry, worked in haste, and were very cowardly; they were afraid to go into cellars and garrets. This, perhaps, explains the absence of violations of women. They were afraid, apparently, because the force of soldiers consisted of not more than 300 men in all, and it is said by those who were at the station and at the cars that they kept running away every couple of hours to the station of Smela, because the bolsheviki were firing on the town very often and they feared an attack. It can be said with confidence that 150 to 200 men could have

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driven them out of town, and that the two hundred or two of Jewish youths who perished on the left flank in covering the retreat of the bolsheviki would have been sufficient, if disposed to advantage, to have saved the whole city from the frightful massacre.

On Friday, May 16, when the Grigorievists began to press upon Cherkassy, and the bolsheviki, not relying on their units, began to evacuate their establishments, they started in to mobilize the trade unions and dispatch them to protect and cover their retreat. On the left flank were Jews, namely in the center of that wing. There a butchery in the literal sense of the word took place. Almost without rifles, without cartridges, without defense, and with a flank uncovered and not connected with the general staff and the other units, they were hurled to the attack, surrounded by Grigorievists, and almost all killed.

To complete the picture it will not be superfluous to add that from Friday the 16th to Wednesday the 21st the city was under unintermittent fire, bombs kept tearing over the houses, and only for a few hours at night the cannonade ceased. The Jews had to hide both from the bombs, and from the bandits; they went from garret to cellar and from cellar to garret. Even now, when I shut my eyes, I see before me those men, women and children, rushing around in frantic fear, like a frightened herd of sheep, not knowing where to take refuge, where it would be best. They have just got up into the garret. They are afraid there. They clearly hear the hissing of the bombs. They rush to the close, dark, gloomy cellar. There they are still more afraid. Their minds are numb with the cries and wailing of children. The cannonade quiets down. All drag themselves out of the cellar into the yard and again up into the garret. And this continues for five long, long days and nights. And then . . . then the sight of the killed, lying about the streets, torn corpses, pools of blood. Then the common graves dug, the recognition of one's family and friends by buttons, by marks, since the bodies were mutilated. The funeral . . . and lamentation, long, incessant lamentation of the whole great city.

It is comprehensible that many of those who were saved by some miracle, who lived through all those horrors, are not in a condition to give any sort of testimony. Furthermore very many of the eyewitnesses immediately, as soon as it was possible, fled pellmell, only to get away as far as possible from the nightmare. This and the time-limit of the work explain the insufficiency of the officially reported material evidence. Very many request that no publicity be given to their testimony.

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The photographs are monotonous, as groans and wails are monotonous. Bodies and tombs, tombs and bodies. And on them is a fearful inscription, an inscription which gives no rest: "Why and wherefore?"

I. Testimony of the ex-President of the Municipal Council, V. Petrov

I have lived in Cherkassy about six years and know little about life in the town in the past, but I know it very well for the past two and a half years. In spite of its favorable geographical position and nearness to large centers, Odessa and Kiev, the composition of the city's population and the general basis of life create the impression of an uncultivated provincial city. The most numerous group of the population is the petty bourgeois (*meshchane*); small householders, renting pieces of city land and transferring it to peasants of neighboring villages, kitchen-gardeners, formerly construction-workers in the building of the railroads, and men who work for small contractors; some workmen in the local factories and industries. These groups, centering about the orthodox parishes, at the beginning of the revolution of 1917, played the part of a constant and hostile opposition to the Executive Committee of social organizations, the democratic council (Duma), and the Council (Soviet) of Workmen's Delegates. However, at the time when the Bolsheviki came into power (in February, 1918 and 1919), out of these groups there had split off some communists and sympathizers with them, who understood the war upon the bourgeoisie and the speculators as a punishment of the Jews.

At difficult moments in the state of provisions, in turn at the shops, at the bakeries, and in the crowds that indulged in unauthorized visits of search while looking for provisions, it was always possible to hear anti-Semitic opinions and expressions. But, nevertheless, during a whole series of changes of government—from the Rada to the Bolsheviki, from the Bolsheviki to the Germans, from the Hetman to the Directory, from the Directory to the Soviet regime—the tense atmosphere expressed itself in night robberies and attacks on the streets, but did not take on more serious forms. Though it must be said that in the period after the occupation of Cherkassy by the Petlurist forces (December-January, 1919), the actions of the guerrilla soldiers in the way of general searches, with removal of articles declared to belong to the state, and with arrests of "profiteers," took place by preference in Jewish streets from house to house.

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And the representatives of the Ukrainian authorities, both military and civil, treated the population's complaints and the municipal council's protests at this as something of no consequence, something that had its explanation, and a very natural one in their opinion, in the elemental frame of mind of the masses; they thought people were too much excited over such phenomena. This view of the local administrative authorities was entirely accepted by the militia, which in the period of the Soviet regime had encouraged the anti-Semitic feeling in the population, because of the setting of the bourgeoisie to forced labor, the searches for provisions, etc. The experiments of local communists had great significance as propaganda by "action"; such things as the taunting of the bourgeoisie when they brought in the levies, the beating of bourgeois hostages in prison by local communists, the shooting of "green" hostages from among Christian counter-revolutionaries taken at the beginning of the movement, the shooting of ten of them after the attack, which was not investigated afterwards, upon the assistant to the President of the Executive Committee (who was wounded in the finger), the arrest of two local clergymen, etc. The dark reactionary petty-bourgeois masses who even before then were pervaded with anti-Semitic feelings, had practical lessons in an attitude of levity towards human life and in the impunity of bloody experiments.

And so, what did not happen in Cherkassy throughout the series of earlier changes of government, but what the people in public life in the city (of whom there are very few) all the time expected with alarm, dreaded, and tried to avoid—this happened on the second entry into the city of Grigoriev's gangs, on May 16.

The chronological order of events preceding the pogrom was as follows. After the Grigoriev forces had occupied the station of Bobrinsky and after the treachery of part of the forces sent by the Executive Committee to fight with them at the station of Belozeria, on the evening of May 10 the Executive Committee gave orders for all the Soviet institutions to abandon the city. But when the latter with their necessary things, property, and money arrived at the station, got loaded into a train, and started off, the train was fired upon and had to stop. A meeting was held, after which a delegation from the garrison was sent out to Smela to the Grigorievists; there were attempts at the station to deal roughly with communistic Jews. The members of the Soviet institutions were compelled to return to town. On the next day at twelve o'clock the members of the Executive Committee, with a detachment of the Extraordinary Committee

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(*Chrezvychaika*), and a small military detachment, left the city on horseback and in carts, going across the strategic bridge towards Zolotonosha. Soon after this the city was occupied without opposition by Grigorievist guerrilla soldiers, with a detachment. The commander of the mobilization division of the Soviet military committee was made commander of the garrison. On the eleventh and twelfth the Grigorievist forces entered Cherkassy. These days were marked by organized attacks on a number of Jewish dwellings. Soldiers under the command of officers, on the pretense of searching, plundered and carried off clothing, money, and other things, taunting the Jews and calling them both bourgeois, and communists or bribers of communists. The feeling on the streets in these days was agitated; groups of petty bourgeois kept collecting, expecting something; people talked of retaliation for the cruelties of the Extraordinary, for the shooting of hostages, for the arrest of priests, etc. On the eleventh I met on the main street a group of Ukrainian agents, who came to me and said they were alarmed by the state of feeling in the city, that they wanted to prevent a pogrom, but did not know how to go about it. I advised them to stay around the headquarters at the station and persuade the commanding powers to restrain the soldiers from excesses in the city. The Ukrainians went to the station, but the results of their conversations with the general staff are unknown to me. On the morning of the 13th a Soviet detachment with some of the members of the Executive Committee returned to Cherkassy. Apparently the Grigoriev forces abandoned the city during the night before. But towards evening on the 16th a hasty evacuation began. I know that the Executive Committee proposed to the trade unions to organize city guards, that a committee was appointed, but received no arms or cartridges from the Executive Committee, since there were not enough even for the troops. Some of the members of the unions, mainly mechanics (needle makers, shoe makers and others), went with the troops to the front, where they fought on the left flank near the sugar factory. When they retired on this flank the workmen were killed almost to a man by the local population. Towards evening on the 16th the Grigoriev forces broke into the town. The soldiers dispersed about the streets and began shooting at crossways, looting and killing in houses, and plundering in shops. The local petty bourgeois, women and children, readily took part in the plundering, pointed out Jewish houses to the soldiers, etc. Late in the evening the pogrom quieted down, but it broke

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out again with renewed force on the next day, the 17th of May. Bands of soldiers, conducted by volunteer guides, went through the streets from house to house asking: "Who lives here, Jews or Russians?" and, according to the answer and its plausibility, either went past or entered the houses and yards, killed the men if they did not succeed in ransoming themselves, looted, and then went on to the next house, leaving the continuation of the work begun to a crowd of women and boys. I saw soldiers, evidently sent out from the station, hurrying along; they said they were allowed to go into the city until 8 A.M.; and, in fact, about that hour I saw soldiers collecting at the Executive Committee's office, and then getting on their horses and departing in the direction of the station. But the pogrom did not stop; groups of soldiers, and bands of local inhabitants, small householders and workmen, roamed over the city and continued to slay and pillage. It was mainly the Jewish men that they killed, but in a number of houses and apartments they killed women and children and even entire families. By night and during the shelling of the town by the communists the pogrom temporarily stopped. On the 18th and 19th there were more cases of removal of Jewish men to the station, where most of them were shot. On the 19th the pogrom began to subside, but on the 20th the city again experienced an alarm and the pogrom threatened to break out again with new force in connection with the spreading of the news among the soldiers that on the evening of the 19th a soldier had been killed by a number of Jews, who offered resistance when he tried to shoot them. In connection with this there began searches along the Krasnaya street and further throughout the city. Whole wards were surrounded by the soldiery and only through the agency of negotiations between the Committee of Safety and the general staff did they succeed in scattering the ever-increasing and infuriated bands of soldiers. Towards evening the murders and robberies ceased. On the morning of the 21st there began a violent bombardment of the city by the Soviet troops, after which during the day the town was occupied by them.

Already on May 17th a group of local people in public life, mostly former members of the municipal council, tried to organize a delegation to go to the station to the staff of the Grigorievist detachment with the object of persuading them to call off the soldiers from the city and put a stop to the killing and pillaging. But on account of the repeated bombardment, and because there was no previously established center, they did not succeed in going to the station. On the 17th the dele-

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gation met, and on the 18th it got to the station, using a first-aid wagon for the trip. At the station the delegation was received by the commander of the detachment and by several officers of the staff. Uvarov said he was busy with exclusively military matters. The staff officers said that all necessary measures for the protection of the town were being taken—a horse-patrol was going through the town and dispersing the plunderers. One of the officers suggested that the delegation should attend to the removal of the dead bodies. The position of the delegation was very difficult; on the one hand, asking for the withdrawal of the troops from town; on the other hand for the sending of reliable patrols to guard the city. The main thing was that there was no common language. One of the staff officers, for instance, openly declared that the Christian population need not be alarmed; they were robbing and murdering only Jews. The delegation returned to the city with no real accomplishment. On the 19th a more extensive conference of a group of local inhabitants was held in the court of the municipal council. An "initiative" group of three persons was elected, plans were started for the establishment of a militia, and a summons was issued for a meeting on the next day of trade unions and of the population in general to elect a committee of safety and take measures to re-establish life in the city. The "initiative" group printed a short circular addressed to the population, hunted up the assistant commander of militia and the commander of the first region and proposed to them that they make it their business to re-establish the militia and postal service. On the same day this group again went to the staff at the station, and received permission to summon a meeting and establish militia, and again discussed the situation in the city. Reciprocal aid was planned between the militia and the patrols, and the staff promised to co-operate with the committee in protecting the town and re-establishing normal life. The group proposed that the staff issue an order to stop the unauthorized searchings, pillaging, and shooting, and to control the soldiers who were wandering about the town. The staff consented to issue such an order and asked the group to prepare a draft of it. The draft was prepared and sent to the staff next day. The latter made important additions at the beginning and end, and Order No. 1 was printed and pasted up in the city. On the next day, May 20, an assembly of the inhabitants was held, which elected a committee of safety of five persons. The make-up of the assembly was very mixed; there were few laborers; largely small bourgeois, and groups of intellectuals. The membership of the

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committee elected, in spite of the mixed character of the assembly, proved pretty good. The committee went to work immediately upon the conclusion of the assembly. The main part of its work consisted in attempts to intervene in the activities of the gangs of soldiers. Two serious efforts were made on that day. A telephone message came from Dicker's drugstore that a detachment of soldiers had come there with an order from the staff to carry out a search, whereby during the search a rifle and a revolver were found in an apartment adjoining the drugstore. The soldiers were for arresting all the people in the drugstore. Immediately the committee despatched the vice-commander of militia and Uspensky, a member of the committee, who succeeded in explaining to the soldiers that the rifle and revolver had been left in the apartment by the vice-commander of the cantonal militia, who lived in the apartment, and who had gone out into the country. The soldiers departed, but after some time came back again and took away to the station all who were in the drugstore, both attendants and wounded. When we in the committee heard of this, I with Uspensky, member of the committee, went to the station, and there in our presence all those who had been taken were called from the prison car and released. At the same time Uvarov explained that the arrest had taken place on the ground of a soldier's report that in Dicker's drugstore was concealed an armed detachment of Jews with supplies of weapons, cartridges, and machine guns, waiting for a chance to attack the Grigorievists. Here at the station we were informed that 36 prisoners had been freed at the staff headquarters up to the 20th. Here we also saw whole groups of Jews coming to the station, worn out with ceaseless and anxious hiding in cellars and dugouts; and here after a brief questioning permits were issued giving them the right to live freely in the city. The second serious case was on Krasnaya street and elsewhere, in connection with the searches instituted because of the killing of a soldier by some Jews on the evening before. Around this region and in the neighboring streets ever-increasing bands of soldiers began to wander. After unsuccessful attempts to stop the murders and searches by talking with the soldiers, we communicated to headquarters about it and asked that the bands be dispersed. The staff sent a detachment with an officer at its head into the city, and with some difficulty the detachment succeeded in dispersing the bands. But many of those who were seized in this district and taken to the station were killed upon the hasty retreat of the Grigorievists next day. The rest of the work of the committee consisted in hunt-

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ing up carts for the department of health to remove the corpses, co-operation with the hospitals in getting wood and flour, and attempts to re-establish the public institutions, which attempts did not succeed, owing to frequent bombardments.

I know that besides the delegations from the population a delegation from the railroad workers also went to the Grigorievist general staff to protest against the murders and shootings. When I was at the station I saw, among the military, workmen, students, and gymnasium boys. I heard from third parties that when they were about to shoot a Jewish gymnasium student, named Bahr, at the station, several gymnasium students among the Grigorievists ran to the officer who had charge of the shooting and tried to persuade him to let their comrade off. But the officer proposed then that one of them should take Bahr's place. No one cared to do this, and Bahr was shot. I know that there was a series of cases in the city in which the intervention of Christians, especially from the common people, stopped or prevented murders. There were quite a good many Christians who hid Jews in their houses, cellars and barns, but there were also cases of refusal to hide and protect them. In trying to explain to myself the attitude of the workmen during these terrible days, I received the impression from their representatives, from exchanges of opinion on the subject in the Soviet of trade unions, that the masses of workmen were indifferent in feeling, and that the worst elements among them took part in the pillaging and even in the murders. Those who had been connected with the party activities of the communists withdrew with them, or hid. But there were among the workmen some who, blinded by Grigoriev's manifesto ("Universal"), at the same time genuinely did not want to see the return of the Soviet regime, which, because of its ranks of guards, the procrastination of the Extraordinary Committee, the inaccessibility of the commissars, and owing to its distrust of the masses of workers, was always too remote from them and in no way dependent on them.

Ex-President of the Municipal Council of Cherkassy,
V. PETROV.

APPENDIX I. *Circular to the population on the necessity of an assembly for the election of a committee of safety; promulgated in the city on May* 19.

"Citizens! The population of Cherkassy is stunned by the horrible occurrences which have taken place during the last few

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days in the city. All the inhabitants are in anguish and in fear for their lives. In the environs military operations are going on, and, owing to that, the activities of previously existing institutions have ceased. It is necessary to care for the guarding of the city, and for removing the bodies of the slain; it is necessary to have a care for the sale of bread, for keeping up the water-supply, etc. Therefore a group of persons, on the request of various institutions and citizens, summons all to help in the common cause. All citizens who can help in the common cause by deed and counsel, and especially representatives of all institutions and professional organizations, are requested to meet on Tuesday at eight o'clock local time, at the Town Hall, to decide what measures should be immediately adopted, and who should be entrusted with the conduct of the city's affairs and the care for the needs and defense of the population henceforth, until such time as the fighting shall cease and a government be organized.

"Citizens! Preserve order, and help each one in establishing peace among the population. Do not spread abroad false rumors, but live peaceably, by honest labor. It is time to understand this and everyone should persuade his neighbor of it—that robberies and violence must not be permitted."

A true copy: Ex.-Pres. of the Council,

V. PETROV.

APPENDIX II. *Order No.* 1

"I, Ataman Uvarov, commander of the guerrilla detachments, order the population of the city of Cherakssy and the surrounding villages to be quiet. All who have weapons not registered with the guerilla detachments are to surrender them at the staff headquarters of the Personal Military Detachment (station of Cherkassy) in the course of 24 hours from the day of publication of this order.

Every form of violence, pillaging, murders, unauthorized searches, and other disorders are most strictly forbidden. Searches and arrests may be made only by order of the staff of the Cherkassy garrison. All persons appearing on the streets with weapons, and not belonging to the organization of defense or the military patrols, will be disarmed and taken to the Personal Staff (station of Cherkassy). For disobedience to this order the guilty will be exposed to the laws of wartime with all rigor, even to execution.

Citizens! Understand that the time for violence and arbitrariness has passed. Come to your senses and each take up his

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honest labor. Do not conceal agitators and others who are undermining the authorities. Only by simultaneous common endeavor can the government be strong and the life of every worker be secure.

May 20, 1919. The Commander of the group of Cherkassy forces, Ataman of the Personal Detachment, UVAROV. . . The head of the general staff, ABRAMOV . . . Adjutant FEDOROVSKY.

II. *Testimony of Mariam Dubnikova*

On Saturday morning, May 17, two soldiers entered the house of Bielotzerkovsky, next door to ours, and started pillaging. Bielotzerkovsky succeeded in hiding. My husband went to them, opened the way to them, and tried to reason with them. They took away from us money up to 20,000, watches, rings, and other things. "But now what's to be done with you?" one of them asked my husband. My husband again began to argue with them, telling them that he and the others were not communists. "We aren't after communists, we are after Jews." Then they took everybody out in the yard and ordered the men separated from the women. A fearful outcry arose. Silberman's wife cried violently. At this moment there burst into the yard a gang of forty or fifty men with curses and cries of "What are you bawling for?" "They wanted a commune." "We'll fix them." Incidentally, one of them noticed an inscription in Jewish on a kindergarten sign, and said to another: "Here must be a Bund." Straightway they began to beat and torment the men, and took them away, as they told us, "to be examined," because there were a great many there and it was necessary to find out who they were. On the way to the station they took off their clothes and killed them near a dumping ground. In the yard a patrol remained, who would not let us pass, however much we struggled. When the patrol left, my daughter and another girl ran to the station. On the way they met Bondarev, who was shocked at what had occurred and consented to go with them to the station. They went by roundabout ways by his direction and on the way counted 28 corpses. At the station they asked where the commandant was. They were told that he was on the ninth road. They went thither. The commandant was not there, but some soldier or other came out and when asked if 17 Jews had been brought there replied that no such persons had been there. But when my daughter started to insist, saying that they had brought them there, he replied: "Your staff is in the field."

Among the 17 slain, whom they found, on the way back

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from the station, were: my husband and son Benjamin, the fiscal rabbi Silberman, Bolakhovsky, Kapitanovsky, Vimunsky, Vinokur, Polonsky, Eidelman, two Ruthman's, Chernobylsky, Bielotzerkovsky, and his son, a boy of 16 years, Brusilovsky, and two others unknown to me.

MARIAM DUBNIKOVA.

III. *Testimony Given by M. T., Who Was at the Station*

On May 18 at 11 A.M., there burst into the yard of Lurie's match factory a band of about 20 men, armed and in military uniforms. The first victim of this gang was Simon Antonovich Yakhnis, manager of the factory. The story of his murder was told by the soldier B. E. Lurie, who went with them to the station. In the yard a bandit met Yakhnis and started to load his gun. The other seized the barrel and began to plead: "Don't kill me; here is money for you." The soldier took the money and killed Yakhnis. M. T., upon being questioned, communicated the following facts about himself.

I was sitting in the cellar. Hearing a voice, I came out and saw a soldier. I started to run away. In the yard blocks of wood and boards were lying around. I started to run around the boards. There I met Lurie, and we began to circle around together. About three soldiers met us. "Hands up!" We put our hands up, and were searched; they took our money and began to load their guns. The workmen and guards came out of the factory and asked them not to harm us. Then we were surrounded and taken to the station. On the way various gangs came up to the soldiers and asked them where they were taking us. One of the bandits who met us cried: "Why don't you cut off their noses?" On the Smolianskaya street we heard cries: a number of bandits were chasing a Jew. He was struck on the head with a gun-butt; some one fired, and he fell. The bandits rushed at the dead man and began to strike him with sabres. We kept going. Outside the city, along the road leading to the station, bodies of Jews were lying about. Everywhere were traces of blood and brains; papers and passport books lay around. We arrived at the station. I was no longer walking with Lurie, who had been taken away somewhere, but they put with me an old, tall Jew. We were led to a car. In the car were soldiers and a Russian woman with two children. A soldier came up to me and began to yell: "You want to rule!" Then the chief of staff, Uvarov, inspected my papers; though he thought they were not genuine, he nevertheless decided to spare me. "We were not spared, and we shall not spare you; but it is enough for

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the present, we have enough. We shan't be able to dispose of the bodies. Take him home and see to it that you get him home alive." We went back. On the way we were stopped many times. One bandit on horseback stopped, questioned us, and, when he found out the facts, said: "Well, look out, don't kill any more, or you will suffer yourselves."

M. T.

IV. *Testimony of the Son of a Murdered Shoemaker, Simon Pogrebizhsky: Israel, Aged* 13

The killing took place on Saturday, May 17, at 10 A.M. Four men knocked on the door. It was opened to them. Among them was Fedorovsky, personally known to Israel, and three whom he did not know, but who were local people according to the statement of neighbors. All those who entered were armed with rifles. Two of them were in civilian clothes. They began to demand money. Fedorovsky shouted: "If you want to live, give me a thousand rubles." This amount was in the house, and Simon gave it to them. Then Fedorovsky bade him show him the cellar, as he said, in order to hunt for communists. The other started. His son Jacob, a gymnasium student of the sixth class, fifteen years old, asked: "Can I go, too?" "Why not? Come along," said Fedorovsky. As soon as father and son entered the cellar they began to load their guns. Understanding what it meant, the unhappy wretches ran down the steps and succeeded in slamming the door. Then Fedorovsky cried: "If you don't open up, we will kill the children that are left in the house." The father opened the door and instantly they brought him down in his tracks with shots. Having done their job, they returned to the house again, where four children were left, of whom the oldest, who told the story, was thirteen, the youngest seven. They began to demand more money, threatening to kill them. There was a little more money in the house, which they took; they also carried off the leather that was on hand and several other things. They were not satisfied with this and demanded money again. The children swore that they had no more. Then Fedorovsky seized the child of seven by the neck, threw him violently on the floor, and departed.

ISRAEL POGREBIZHSKY.

V. *Testimony of Abram Shenderov*

On Saturday, May 17, at 4 A.M., there was a knocking at our house. My son David, 18 years old, opened the door, and four

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soldiers rushed in to the room with the cry: "Communists, Jews, just such little fellows were on the front yesterday." They began to pillage. Then they stood my son up against a wall. He ransomed himself, giving them seven thousand rubles. About 12 o'clock another gang knocked once more. David, the same son who opened the door before, opened to them. They killed him instantly on the spot. Then they ran into the rooms, and, without demanding or saying anything, killed in the corridor eighteen people, men and women. By accident my son Judah escaped; he was wounded in the hand and fell, and they apparently thought he was dead. My other boy, who hid under a bed, was killed afterwards, when they began to turn the rooms upside down, looking for more Jews. They found him and sent 15 bullets into him. This boy, named Hesia, was only thirteen years old. Among the slain were my wife, Lieba-Reizia, my daughter, aged 16, my son David, aged 18, and Boruch, aged 14; also ten persons of the Ostrovsky family and three strangers.

For his father: G. A. SHENDEROV.

VI. *Testimony of Isaac Khaimovich Trotzky*

Since Friday around four o'clock we had been hiding with our Russian landlady, but towards morning, being afraid, we all went into the cellar. There were 23 or 24 of us there, men, women, and children. All night long we remained there in peace. In the morning a servant came and said that they were going to search in the cellar, but that there was no reason for us to fear, since they were only searching for communists. A little while later four soldiers came and shouted: "Come out!" They had evidently been informed that we were hiding, for it is impossible to see from above what is going on in the cellar. We began to come out. My brother Benzion and his family went out first, then my nephew Zania Trotzky, after him Smylansky with his wife, daughter, and sister. Then Joseph Topoliansky with his wife and children, after him the barber Berman with his wife and child. The last were Volodarsky, myself, my wife and father. We had not had time to get upstairs when a shot rang out, we were enveloped in smoke, and the student Volodarsky, who went out ahead of us, rolled into the cellar. Then we did not go up, but hid in one of the apartments of the cellar, from which we heard the shooting. They killed all the men, after going over them all and after accepting ransom from them. After this one of the bandits came to the cellar and cried out: "Comrades, there must be Jews still in the cellar." His

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comrades responded to the cry and came down and began to search the cellar, lighting matches one after another. They went over two apartments, and came into the apartment where we sat, pressing close to one another—myself, my wife and father. One passed around the apartment with a match so close to me that it burned my face. "No one here." From nervous excitement we sat in the cellar more than an hour, motionless as stone. Then at last we heard the groans and cries of my nephew: "Uncle, help!" With difficulty we succeeded in finding a physician and took him to a hospital, where he died two days later.

ISAAC TROTZKY.

VII. *Testimony of the Midwife Bela Moshenskaia*

On Saturday, May 17, at half-past four A.M., the Moshensky family heard a knock on the front door. No one of the family answered the knock. After a few minutes they heard steps in the blind passage. About fifteen men rushed into the room, all armed with rifles and sabres, with cries of "Where are the men? Give us the men!" We answered: "There aren't any men." There were in the house old Moshensky, aged 72, his wife, two daughters and two small children. "Give us money." They were given all the money there was in cash, about five thousand. The bandits took the money and began to take away watches and to pick up articles of value. "Give us gold." The women swore that they had no gold, that they were poor people. "You lie, you Jew, you lie. Give us gold. Put him against the wall, against the wall." The old folks began to weep before them, to plead with them: "Dear friends, spare us, let us live, we have lived so many years, let us die in peace. Dear comrades, don't hurt us." In reply to this they struck the old woman on the head with a sabre, and she rolled over on the floor, bathed in blood; the old man they struck in the side with a sabre, and he fell on a chair dead. But this did not satisfy them. They rushed at the dead man and began to beat him up with gun-butts. "You lie, Jew, you are pretending." When the dead man's children began to wail, they rushed at them and began to beat them with gun-butts and sabres; by good luck none of them was seriously injured. The bandits took the things and departed. On the next day a bandit appeared. When he asked who lived there, he was told that the owner had been killed, his wife seriously wounded, and only one daughter was left. "Where is she then? Why is she hiding? Never mind,

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we'll kill them all, if not to-day then to-morrow, all to the very last."

Midwife B. MOSHENSKAIA.

VIII. *Testimony of G. Krasnov*

Saturday morning there came to us several armed men, led by the ataman Uvarov. They entered from the blind passage. In one of the apartments (belonging to neighbors) some soldiers arrested N. Krasnov and brought him to us. The family began to plead with Uvarov to let him go, to which Uvarov replied: "I am an intelligent man and shall do no harm to him. We shall simply verify some documents and let him go." The soldier conducting Krasnov, under the influence of the pleadings, began to waver, and turned to Uvarov: "Mr. Ataman, how about it?" "I said, take him along." At this time Uvarov, after a search and examination of another brother, a pharmacist, who was with difficulty saved by an acquaintance whom they took for a Christian, rested for several minutes and sat down at the table and drank some milk. They went out, taking Krasnov with them. They did not touch money or goods. Uvarov took Krasnov to the Executive Committee and there shot him with his own hand. This is narrated by the keeper of the courtyard of the Executive Committee. At the same time Fedorovsky brought in Garelik, Boguslavsky and Garnitzsky, and they also were shot at the same place. The keeper of the courtyard of the Executive Committee buried all four of them.

G. KRASNOV.

IX. *Testimony of G. Ukrainskaia*

On Saturday, May 17, at four A.M., a band of thirty men surrounded the house of those who were killed and began to knock at the doors, from the front gate and from the side towards the courtyard. The doors were opened. They started to search everyone and to take articles and money. Then they said to the old man: "Come along." They led him out to the front passage and shot him. From the other door they led out Brusilovsky, searched him, took all the things that he had on his person, and said to him: "Go in peace." But he had not had a chance to go two paces when they sent a bullet into his back, and he fell without a sound. Three hours later, bandits came to them again. The women who were left in the

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barn saw how the neighbors' servants were stealing their property. After a time they came out. The servants saw it and ran up to the bandits who were passing by, saying (in Ukrainian): "The Jewess saw us taking things; come and kill them, for if you go away they will put us in prison." The bandits rushed into the house looking for the women. Brusilovskaia ran into the garden; they ran after her. She started to plead with them: "Comrades, my husband has been killed; three orphans are left. I am in such a position—how can I hurt anyone? I beg you not to deprive my children of their mother." "They'll be all right, your Jew brats; shut up!" And they killed her. The bandits found Ukrainskaia at the wicket-gate, led her to a wall and started to load their guns. It turned out there were no more bullets. All but one went for more bullets. The remaining one waited for a time for his comrades. They apparently were detained somewhere. The bandit got tired of waiting, swore, and went away.

G. UKRAINSKAIA.

X. *Testimony of M. Narodnitzkaia*

At 5 P.M. on May 16 the gangs began to break into the houses in this court. They came and went, demanded money, and stole goods. They took the men's clothes off. Then all those who lived in this court went into the yard of the Provincial Hospital, which bordered on their court. They had not had time to get into the yard when the same bands began to appear there. Apparently some of the Russian neighbors told them that Jews were hiding here. L. Narodnitzky and his wife saw the superintendent of the hospital and two sisters coming out of the hospital. They ran to them and implored them to hide them. They refused. At this time several bandits came up to L. Narodnitzky: "Come along to the station." His wife implored them to let him go. They quieted her: "It's all right, don't be afraid. We will just verify his documents and let him go right away." His wife went with him. All the way she kept beseeching them: "Let us go; take what you like. We live right near here. Come along with us, we will give you all our money." They replied to her: "You may go, but we will verify his documents and then let him go." Thus they led us to the small bridge near the Polish cemetery. There another band was waiting for them. "We are bringing a communist," they cried to them. (The man had never belonged to any party.) The wretches understood what was in store for them and again began to implore them to let them go. They fell on their knees

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and swore that they had never belonged to any party. Then the bandits brushed aside the woman, shouting: "Shut up, if you don't want your eyes gouged out." The man they threw to the ground and killed him with shots. The woman began to cry terribly. They said to her: "There's no use in crying now, go along." She went, weeping and crying along the street. Some bands met her and beat her with gun-butts. They beat her head and face. She does not remember what happened afterwards. She came to in the Provincial Hospital; she does not remember whether she went there herself or was taken there.

MANIA NARODNITZKAIA.

XI. *Testimony of Abram Safian*

This happened on Friday, May 16, at half-past twelve at night. There was a knock at the door. I did not open. There were more violent knocks. "Who is there?" I asked. "Open; it is soldiers." I opened the door. A gang of fifteen men rushed in. "Give us money." I gave them my purse. "To the wall! Where is the rest of your money?" I pointed out the chest. Some ran to the chest, others went to the bedroom, where my sick father was lying. "What are you lying there for, old Jew?" My father began slowly to get up. One of the bandits struck him on the head with a sabre. "Don't strike him, he is sick, strike me instead." "Don't worry, your turn will come, too. Where is your shop? Show it to us" I showed them the shop. Some ran into the shop, others were busy with the cupboards; some were with my father, some in the shop. The door was open. I ran out and hid. I don't know what happened afterwards, but was told that they looked hard for me in the yard. They cut my father to pieces in the literal sense; we found him under the table in the kitchen.

XII. *Testimony of Gurevich about the Killing of Her Husband and Two Sons*

It happened on May 17 at 4 A.M. A gang ran into the yard with outcries and shots and began to knock at the door. My husband opened to them. They killed him on the spot. Then they killed my second son, Samuel. Then they went down into the cellar, where my older son Srul was. We began to implore him, and my boy, aged 15, took hold of the muzzle of the gun, begging the soldier not to shoot. He went away. Afterwards he came back, evidently under the influence of some one's direc-

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tions, and killed him, crying: "You are a communist; you want a commune." Then they plundered the house.

BUZIA GUREVICH.

XIII. *Testimony of M. Ukrainskaia*

Marusia Ukrainskaia, who is very like a Russian in appearance, was at the station all the time the Grigorievists were in Smela. On Friday, May 16, five bandits arrested a certain Tyverovsky, a relative of Ukrainskaia, and took him to the station. After some time Ukrainskaia also rushed to the station. There she passed for a Russian the whole time, and by this means succeeded in seeing much of interest. All the soldiers to the last man were drunk, and Ukrainskaia did not know whom to apply to. One of the railroad men advised her to apply to a sailor, who was in command of some band or other (this sailor afterwards shot forty people at the third verst). His name was Commander Mozzhukhin, and he asked Ukrainskaia what she wanted. She answered that among the prisoners in the car was a neighbor of hers and she was asking in his behalf. "Asking for a Jew! What good have they done you?" Ukrainskaia began to implore and to say that her neighbor was a fine man, that he was not involved in anything, etc., and begged that he be freed. "Yes, I can—I can shoot, and I can pardon. You know I hate Jews terribly, but I will fulfill your request; go and pick out your Jew." At this time at the station there was a great deal of shouting, laughter, noise and hubbub. This meant that they had brought in looted goods and the band was dividing them up. Among the gang Ukrainskaia recognized boys and girls from the gymnasium of Cherkassy, officers, and people who had social standing. All this assembly was dancing to the sound of a gramophone. Shouts, tumult, and the most unrestrained merriment . . .

M. Ukrainskaia, an inhabitant of Cherkassy, happened to be at the station of Smela, and shared with us her impressions of what she saw there.

XIV. *Testimony of One of the Participants in the Battle on the Left Flank*

On Thursday, May 15, at dawn, the Soviet forces left the city, and in view of the alarming situation on the front, towards evening all the party strength in the city was mobilized. Into the party ranks entered also, voluntarily, upon the suggestion of

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the operative staff, the workmen of several trade unions. It was intended to mobilize on the next day all the organizations in which workmen were taken into account; but they were not called to arms, because arms were not received in time. It should be observed that among these workmen there were, with very few exceptions, no Christians, because they obviously evaded it; so that the departure for the front of a workmen's division almost exclusively composed of Jews caused fresh comments among the population, which had already been sufficiently stirred up by black-hundred officers and pogromists.

The detachment of Cherkassy occupied on the left flank the extreme section of the flank, from the sugar-factory past the brick works in the direction towards the station. About 2 P.M. on Friday, May 16, the detachment, being in line with the detachments of Lokhvitz, Piriatin and others, went into action, and, having repulsed the attacks of the Grigorievist lines, drove the Grigorievists back to Belozeria. Of the negative aspects of the moment must be mentioned the absence of cartridges and arms. Many comrades started going without rifles, with nothing but revolvers, or even with nothing at all. Cartridges soon ran out. All these things had been brought up near the city in sufficient quantities, but the train was unable to get into the city. Further, connections were wholly destroyed; on the defeat of the second Soviet regiment, the commanding personnel of which went over to the Grigorievists, all technical facilities were seized.

All these and many other conditions brought it about that the right wing and after it the center wavered and fell back. Because there were no communications and the lines were interrupted, the retreat of the first part was not known on the left wing, and it held for two or three hours after the right wing had broken. Besides this, the more the lines of the left wing advanced against the Grigorievists, the less became the distance between the two lines; and there came a time when the enemy were clearly visible to the writer (at a distance of 100-150 *sazhens*). At this period the Grigorievists completely stopped firing and stood up at full length; they began to wave their swords, and it looked as if they were surrendering. In response to the cries of our red soldiers they scattered over the field and some of them surrendered, possibly with provocatory intent, because they immediately started a violent agitation among the red soldiers (the prisoners remained in the lines, since we were far from the city and there was no one to take them away). This agitation followed the definite theme that the war was between brothers, that there was no difference in their aims, that

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only the "Jews and communists" had spread rumors that Makhno was coming with a large army, etc. The agitation had success among the red soldiers, in spite of the protests of the class-conscious ones, and of the entire party and workers' division, which continued to fight. The ranks of the Extraordinary Committee, perceiving the desire of the enemy to cease firing, also rose and went to meet the Grigorievists, waving their swords and not firing. But the situation was still such that it seemed that the Grigorievists were going to surrender. They, however, let them come close up, and then opened furious fire from machine guns, etc. This threw confusion into the ranks of the Extraordinary Committee, the ranks broke up, and most of them were taken prisoners. And when the neighboring part of the front gave way, evidently the section of the party and workers' division was also surrounded. Almost all of them were taken prisoners, being surrounded by both infantry and cavalry scouts, except those who fell in battle. The rest were driven during the retreat to the bridge. The rear of the battlefield at the close of the battle was the territory of the sugar-factory, all the houses belonging to bourgeois workmen who worked in the factory. They all knew of the defeat of the Soviet forces before the retreat on the left wing. because, as I said, the Grigorievist forces had entered the city long before. Most of them were armed and fired upon the retreating soldiers on their way to the bridge across the Dnieper. Others collected in gangs and seized them as they withdrew from the position, and killed them on the spot with stones, or dragged them from their horses. Even boys and women took part. From the thresholds and from behind the corners of the houses they fired on the soldiers going along the road to the Dnieper. They killed not only Red soldiers, but all who looked like Jews. The Jews who were taken in the field were immediately shot; the Christians in large numbers went over to the Grigorievists. The rest of those who were taken prisoners spent the night on the battlefield, and in the morning were taken out and sent towards the city. On the way they were met by a detachment with an officer, who made the Christians go apart on one side, the Jews on the other. The Jews were all killed on the spot (at the corner of Sadovaya and Alexandrovskaya streets). The bodies, as well as those killed in the region of the factory, were mangled and mutilated.

At the same time several comrades who had hidden during the night, and who ventured to come out on Saturday to change their hiding-places, were killed. The bodies were mutilated. Crowds of soldiers searched all corners, and several times

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searched over the field-hospital stations in the region of the sugar-factory, looking for "Jews and communists." As I hid near the factory I heard some Grigorievist soldier-agitators and civilians going from house to house, collecting all the inhabitants and inviting them to the pogrom in town. Throngs of inhabitants were in the square; a great many workmen. Two days later similar agitators, with militiamen and armed soldiers, went around the streets of this region, going into all the houses, and called out the men, demanded a call to arms, and shouted that "We have beaten the Jews, but now we must all defend ourselves." Large military detachments, with the director of the factory at their head, were formed.

(Signature)

XV. *A Letter to the Editor of the "Cherkassy Izvestia."*

COMRADE EDITOR:

In order to make clear to the people and the workers the truth about the personality of Ataman UVAROV and his agents, do not refuse to print the following.

As is now at the present time known to all, Uvarov and his hereafter-mentioned agents have shown themselves provocators, and murderers of innocent people in the cities of Cherkassy, Chigirin, Medvedovsky and others. Besides this they have turned out to be thieves, who have stolen from the deceived and starving workers. Millions of the people's money in the treasury of Cherkassy, which ought to have gone to maintain the detachments, was seized, and almost half of the money received by Uvarov was stolen and appropriated by the following persons:

Ataman Uvarov, 500,000 rubles. Abramov, his chief of staff, 250,000 rubles. Nedelka, treasurer of the division, 150,000 rubles. Andrei Romanovsky, assistant to the treasurer, and his brother, 200,000 rubles. Vasili Iosifovich Gontkovsky, secretary of the detachment, 100,000 rubles. Adjutant Fedorovsky, 150,000 rubles. Ivan Iosifovich Gagarin and his son Kostia, 100,000 rubles. Vasili Ivanovich Oziran, 50,000 rubles. Grigori Ivanovich Shramenko, 50,000 rubles. Sergei Ivanovich Vasilievsky, 25,000 rubles. In all, about 1,600,000 rubles.

Here you see for whom and for what, comrades, we have spilled our blood, gone hungry, fed parasites;—so that a bunch of these bandits, thieves, murderers and pillagers might stuff their pockets and rob *you*—protecting themselves with your honorable name and your support. You, comrades, spilled your blood without a murmur, suffered from parasites, hunger and cold, thinking that you were suffering and fighting for the estab-

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lishment of order and legality, while in fact you were only helping the above-mentioned bandits and provocators to fill their pockets with your own, the people's, money, and helping them to plunder and kill perfectly innocent people, peaceful inhabitants.

When you read this letter, comrades, you will understand yourselves whom you followed; and your conscience will tell you what to do next. But in the first instance we must mercilessly reckon with the thieves referred to and take from them the people's money they stole. And for this purpose it is necessary to help with all your might the workers' and peasants' Soviet authorities to search for those thieves and mercilessly punish them in public, as they have deserved for deceiving and robbing you. When you read this do not imagine that it is written by some agitator who wants to blacken the name of your former government. No, it is written by your former comrade, who suffered with you, and you can verify all that I have written by your comrades whom you trust most of all, who were taken prisoners at Raigorod on the day of the battle. All this was made known at a meeting in their presence, together with the sixth regiment, and it was announced to all in the presence of your delegates, who had been sent to negotiate with the sixth regiment about joining them. There were present about forty of our prisoners, the whole third battalion of the regiment and your delegates.

Your former comrade of the 7th company,

P. BUKREIEV.

XVI. *A Letter to the Editor of the "Cherkassy Izvestia."*

COMRADE EDITOR:

I am sending herewith a list of persons who killed and robbed Jews and where they are at the present time, and also in part where the money they stole is; which list I beg you to deliver to the proper persons that they may go after these persons and take from them the people's money.

UVAROV—the money is at his mother-in-law's, in Cherkassy.

NEDELKA and the ROMANOVSKY brothers went to Nalesnoe, and from there to Kremenchug. Search must be made in both places. The money is partly with him, the rest, about 400,000 rubles, his wife brought from the Motrovsky monastery to Cherkassy and in all probability hid it in her dwelling.

GONTKOVSKY, Vasili Iosifovich, is himself hiding in Raigo-

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rod, with the teacher K., or if not there then he has gone to his father's in the village of Piliavo. His wife has the money in Cherkassy, or if she hasn't, then his sister M. Kerezhegin or his mother-in-law, who lives at Russko-Polianskaya street 68; in the house is a storeroom with a double hidden partition, where all stolen and pillaged goods are hidden. His sister and mother-in-law live opposite. He formerly served as a commissary official, where he also stole about 200,000 rubles. He bought a house all furnished at Ozeron in his wife's name.

FEDOROVSKY, if not yet arrested, is either at the house of his uncle Kaurov or at Dr. Chiprina's; the same also have his money and stolen goods.

GAGARIN and his son Kostia are in adjacent villages; it will be easy to find them, since he is traveling with his whole family, that is, his wife and children. His money is hidden in his own house in Cherkassy, where it should be searched for in the secret places of the house.

OZIRAN, Vasili Ivanovich; I do not know where he is hiding, but the money is at the house of his father, Ivan Terentiev Oziran, Alexandrovskaya II.

SHRAMENKO, Grigori Ivanovich; his money and stolen goods are located with Stepan Mikhailovich Vasiok, his brother Ivan Ivanovich Shramenko, and Feodosi Mikhailovich Borisenko or Borisenko's son-in-law Pechikin, together with whom he robbed the Zaritzkys; he is also hiding with the same.

VASILIEVSKY, Sergei Ivanovich; the money is with him or else with his son-in-law Rybakov, former presiding justice of the peace. He is hiding with the same; he has shaved off his mustache and beard, has put on eyeglasses, and is living with him under the name Ismailov. He plundered Jews in the company of Pratzenko Grigoriev; he lives corner of Bulvarnaya and Beloserskaya.

With Ilia Mikhailovich Lobzenko, Belozerskaya street, and Grigori Fedosievich Orovia, Kavkaskaya street (near the tower), they destroyed Zisin's strongbox, etc.

LANSKY sent the money with his wife to Cherkassy; he himself has gone over with others to the sixth regiment.

BONDAREV, Nazar Filimonov, robbed and killed Jews in Chigirin; I do not know where he is.

This is all I know at the present time about these robbers and thieves, both those who departed with Uvarov for Milastyr, and those who remained in Cherkassy after the looting.

P. BUKREIEV.

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Chigirin (Government of Kiev)

Testimony of Nison Meyerovich Milevsky, Bookkeeper of the Mutual Credit Society of Chigirin; Taken Down by Our Associate Maizlish; 6. VI., 1919

Chigirin is a cantonal capital in the government of Kiev. It is 35 versts from the railroad station Fundukeievka and 18 versts from the landing-place Buzhin (not far from Kremenchug). The inhabitants of Chigirin number about seventeen or eighteen thousand, of which five or six thousand are Jews. The population is mostly occupied with commerce and trade, partly with handicrafts. In manufactures the tanning industry is much developed here; there are twelve tanneries with about four or five hundred workmen. Of these twelve tanneries seven were in the hands of Jews. There were about a hundred to a hundred and fifty Jewish workmen in the tanneries. Up to the end of 1918 all the tanneries were working, and the owners got enough raw materials for production. Before the coming into power of the Directory (at the beginning of November, 1918) the Jewish proprietors of several tanneries left town, and their tanneries were municipalized by the city government, which named commissars for the tanneries and took charge of production and sales. The municipal government, however, was not able to manage production as successfully as the private enterprise of the owners, and the Jewish tanneries began to fall off, while the tanneries of non-Jews, which remained in the hands of the private owners, are working almost at full capacity.

The Jewish population of Chigirin is rather poor, and lived, as has been said, mostly by trade. Jewish social life, as in the typical Jewish provincial town, was not developed. The only political parties which appeared on the scene anywhere were the Zionists and the Bund. The only social organizations were the Talmud-Torah, a hospital and an impoverished library.

The years of war and revolution brought no very special changes in the life of the population of Chigirin. Of course, during war-time, speculation became widespread; some made money, but not in large proportions.

In general the Jewish and non-Jewish populations lived peacefully with each other. Signs of private anti-Semitism were not visible.

The Hetman's power fell in Chigirin at the beginning of November, 1918. The regime which succeeded it was the rebel detachment of Kotzyr, which arrived in Chigirin November 8, arrested the Sovereign Guard (the militia), removed some of

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the Hetman's officials, appointed political and military commissars, and established relations with the Directory, which was then in Bielaia Tserkov. Kotzyr was an Ukrainian, an agriculturist, born in the river-source village Subbotovo (eight versts from Chigirin). He was known as an old revolutionary who had spent 12 years in Siberia at hard labor for participation in the revolutionary movement of 1905. He enjoyed the sympathy of the surrounding and local population, which co-operated with him in overthrowing the power of the Hetman and the Germans, and in supporting the Ukrainian popular movement in the person of Petlura and the Directory.

On November 10 Tikhonenko, with a detachment, appeared in Chigirin, and declared himself also on the side of the Directory, and became a close associate of Kotzyr. Tikhonenko, born in the village of Kitaigorod (thirty versts from Chigirin), was well known to the people of Chigirin for his previous activities as a member of the Zemstvo governing board, and was known as an adherent of bolshevism.

The power of Kotzyr and Tikhonenko lasted all the time up to the pogrom, which was perpetrated by Grigorievist gangs (under Uvarov) who arrived at the end of May. Even during the period of the Directory Kotzyr and Tikhonenko began to incline to the side of the Soviet regime. When the Industrial Congress met in Kiev, there was sent as delegate from Chigirin, Braiko, who spoke for a resolution in bolshevist spirit. With the arrival of the Soviet regime, Kotzyr's detachment remained, and the military power continued in his hands.

Incidentally, all this time the political commissar was the Ukrainian Dzygar, who was sufficiently pliable to be able to hold his place as commissar under all regimes; under the Directory, under the bolsheviki, and also under the Grigorievists, and then again under the Soviet regime.

During all the time of Kotzyr's government no excesses of any sort occurred, and specifically none against Jews, With the arrival of the Soviet power part of Kotzyr's detachment left, and only a battalion commanded by a certain Leschenko remained. At first Leschenko was peaceable in his behavior, and the population felt no special constraints. But later requisitions began (mainly of the Jews) and searches. A contribution was imposed, which in the last analysis was paid only by the Jews, because the non-Jews were able to get themselves absolved from it.

Already in the beginning of May, with the attack of the Grigorievists, the peace of Chigirin was broken, and agitations con-

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stantly arose. On May 14 the bandit Ovcharenko arrived at the city with a small detachment, but his onset was quickly stopped. Leschenko, with his battalion, energetically took the field against him and drove him off. The Jewish population lived in disquietude, but still did not expect a pogrom.

On Monday, May 19, an incident occurred which greatly alarmed the population, and which seemed entirely incomprehensible to the people of Chigirin. It has remained inexplicable up to the present time.

On that day, May 19, on the usual day of the market-fair, the frightened population gathered only very languidly; and only after Leschenko had given assurance that he would permit no excesses, had brought a machine gun into the fair and had calmed everybody, did the people begin to collect at the fair and to engage in trade. But at that same time Leschenko with men from his detachment was going about the city to the dwellings of ten persons previously marked out, and took away five men and one woman, all Jews, and shot them.

After this occurrence the population was still more frightened and lived in constant terror.

Beginning with May 20 various gangs of Grigorievists began to appear. On the 21st Kudriavtzev (Uvarov's lieutenant) arrived, and on the 22nd "Uvarovists" probably from the region of Cherkassy. The Uvarovists behaved very well for the first few days, did not allow robberies or murders, and the whole population met them cordially. Leschenko's detachment had abandoned Chigirin on the 20th. On the days following this still other bands arrived, operating from a base at the town of Kholodny Yar (about 16 versts from Chigirin). On Sunday, May 25, there arrived from Tzybulevo a "Smeliansky" detachment which was already infected with the poison of anti-Semitism and pogrom agitation, and which immediately started the slogans of "Kill the Jews" and "Save Russia." On the same day pillaging began, and eleven Jews were killed. The robberies continued on Monday and Tuesday, and several more people were killed. On Wednesday, probably under pressure from the Soviet forces, the gang disappeared.

Town of Alexandrovka (Government of Kiev) 3,000 Inhabitants

Testimony of Yelisavetsky, Presented by Tzifrinovich

The pogrom began on May 15 and ended on May 22. All the inhabitants of the place suffered. The victims numbered 211

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killed and about 30 wounded, of whom many have since died, and some are still in danger of death. Eruptive typhus is raging in the town. It is impossible to get flour. The majority of the victims were small shop-keepers, who at present have no means of livelihood. The pogrom was perpetrated on the initiative of the Grigorievists, but the local population took part in it. There was violent anti-Semitic agitation. It was carried on by peasants, and by teachers of the local gymnasium, who went through the villages and said that the Jews wanted to usurp religion, that the Jews were communists, etc. The pogrom was ferocious in the degree of taunts and revilings of people. There were many cases of violation of women, who were then killed afterwards. In general not only young people, but also old men and children were killed. Whole families were killed. One family of 17 persons was wiped out completely.

(Signature)

Novo-Mirgorod (Government of Kherson)

Written June 20, 1919, from the Dictation of the Fiscal Rabbi S. Schwarz and the Shokhet F. Reznichenko

Novo-Mirgorod is a "supernumerary town" (*zashtatny*—town without a district) of the government of Kherson, canton of Yelisavetgrad, situated on the railroad. It has 12,000 inhabitants, of whom about 1,500 are Jews (300 families). Its occupations are handicrafts and petty commerce. There was no poverty. There were few speculators ("profiteers") among the Jews. In general, thrift was prominent, and it increased during the war. There had never been any pogroms before. The relations between the Christian and Jewish populations were good.

The Directory penetrated to Novo-Mirgorod in January, 1919. The Soviet regime replaced it approximately in April. Under the Directory a mobilization (draft) was declared, but the Jews did not answer the summons. Among the Hebrew youth there were rather many communists.

A verst from Mirgorod is Zlatopol, in the neighboring government of Kiev. There pogroms began as early as May 6, starting from local gangs; but on May 10 or 11 the Grigorievists arrived there. The number of Jewish families was as many as 1,100. Sixty Jews were killed and very many wounded. Under the influence of this the local peasants tried to start plundering, but the *volost* (district), that is, the Executive Committee, stopped the looting. But when the Grigorievist detachments arrived, May 17, they perpetrated a savage pogrom, ac-

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companied by murders and pillaging. Murders were fixed in advance as the main object, since graves for the expected corpses were dug in good season the day before in the Jewish cemetery, and lime was prepared for disinfection. More than a hundred people were killed. The local priest vainly went with a procession of the cross to the robbers, entreating them not to kill or rob. The number of the slain would have been incomparably higher, but the Executive Committee of the *volost* purposely arrested an enormous number of Jews with their families (up to 1,300 souls), and kept them for eight days in a house of detention, supplying them with food. This saved them from massacre. But their dwellings were stripped bare during this time by robbers, the doors broken in, and the windows smashed. There were no burnings, nor violations (of women). About May 22 a Soviet detachment under the command of Zhivoder arrived. The Grigorievists disappeared.

To the Head Mission of the Russian Red Cross Society in Ukraine

Note of Report from the Representatives of the Committee of Aid to the Pogrom-Sufferers in the City of Novo-Mirgorod, Government of Kherson: S. Schwarz and F. Reznichenko

On May 17 the Jewish community of our city suffered an extremely severe pogrom, which caused the death of over a hundred victims and the complete economic ruin of the city. Out of three hundred Jewish families, one or two escaped during the outbreak. Everything was taken—wares, money, valuables, and stores of provisions. The pogrom itself had an exceptionally savage character. On the day before the pogrom, graves were dug in the Jewish cemetery; lime was prepared; carts followed the murderers, upon which were loaded the bodies of the wounded before they were actually dead. As soon as a cart was full it started for the cemetery, where immediately both dead and living were buried. Lime was strewn in the graves, so that it was impossible to recognize many corpses when the graves were opened.

The consequences of the pogrom are frightful. About two hundred orphans are deprived of any sort of aid. There are sixty wounded, a part of whom are lying in a hospital which will have to close for lack of means. The rest of the population is starving. The peasants until very recently have scarcely been selling provisions to the Jews. We are getting aid from nowhere, since Novoukrainka, the only city that has helped us,

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is at present cut off from Novo-Mirgorod. The local regime is not affording help to the suffering population. The committee of aid which has been formed is also unable to relieve the condition of the starving, on account of the absence of means. In the meantime the condition of the sufferers becomes worse with every day. There is nothing to bind up the wounded with, there is no one to look after the orphans, there is nothing for the healthy to eat. Help is needed at once, and on an extensive scale. (Signature)

Alexandria (Government of Kherson)

Second Grigorievist Pogrom of June 24, 1919

Testimony of Nukhim Levin, Member of the Alexandria Militia Troop. July 8, 1919

After the first pogrom, perpetrated by Grigoriev on May 20, there was formed in Alexandria a workers' military troop at the Central Bureau of the trade unions, which was entered by 30 "military" members and 300 who had learned to shoot. The troop consisted almost exclusively of Jews, since Russians did not enter it. The Jews, however, entered it freely. In the synagogues it was proclaimed as the duty of every Jew to enter the troop, which thus represented the Jewish self-defense at the Central Bureau. There were close to 300 rifles.

On Friday, May 9, two weeks before the second pogrom, the 12th Moscow sharpshooters regiment burnt Grigoriev's own house beyond the embankment. Grigoriev is a native of the place. The burning was done by incendiary bombs to the sounds of the Internationale. The military troop took no part whatever in this act. Nevertheless provocatory rumors had it that Jews had burnt Grigoriev's house.

The 300 members of the troop were divided into four platoons, each of which was on duty for a night. The commander was a Jew; his assistant a Russian.

On June 23 the rumor spread that Grigoriev was coming again, and on the 24th he entered the town by night. In his detachment it is said there were about 800 men. Grigoriev himself, Tereschenko, and Gorbenko (of his staff), with their wives, rode horseback at the head. Of the troopers there were in all about forty effectives on guard. They sustained a four-hour fight with the Grigorievists. Two or three communists also took part in the fight. Eleven troopers fell in it.

The most of Grigoriev's detachment at once started to rob and kill Jews. Grigoriev himself was apparently against po-

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groms and murders. He rode around on horseback and stopped the pillaging. According to the account of Mikhail Chverkin, who had been stripped naked and was about to be killed, Grigoriev saved him from the hands of the murderers. A part of the troop after the battle withdrew to the village of Abramovka, where the peasants killed six or seven. The total number of the slain was 43 Jews (including 18 troopers). Among the slain were old men and women.

Grigoriev plundered the arsenal, the Executive Committee, and the treasury, where he is said to have taken three millions, and went on to Novaia Praga and Verbliushka, having remained in Alexandria only a few hours in all. He took his own dead and wounded with him. According to what the transport convoy said, there must have been about 300 such.

Grigoriev was a second-captain (*stabs-kapitan*), owning many forests in the region of Alexandria and Znamenka, where he hid with his wife and two children.

After the occurrences of June 24 the Jewish youth of Alexandria began to leave town, fearing the vengeance of Grigoriev, who, according to rumors, had got hold of a list of the troop. Among those who left was the author of this testimony Nukhim Levin. But nevertheless a new troop was formed.

TARASCHA (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Testimony of Goldfarb, written in Kiev, June 27, 1919

Tarascha is a cantonal capital of 20,000 inhabitants, of which 7,500 are Jews (500 families), 22 versts from the railroad at Olshanitz. The city was not rich; for instance at Passover 30,000 rubles were distributed to the poor. The relations with the local bourgeoisie were peaceful but they were, of course, anti-Semitic. In November, 1918, the region of Tarascha was the starting point of the uprising against the Hetman.

On June 16, 1919, the city experienced its fifth pogrom. They were caused by the band of Yatzenko, a native of the village of Kerdan, three versts from Tarascha. All around are vast, thick pine forests, where it is easy to hide. Yatzenko is 24 years old and completed the course of the two-class school in Tarascha. In March he declared himself for Petlura and immediately started an anti-Semitic agitation, saying that "the Jews are all communists, they defile our sacred edifices, turn them into stables." In the Executive Committee of Tarascha were many Jews, all local. The Extraordinary Committee had

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shot six local counter-revolutionaries not long before the June pogrom. Although there was not a single Jew in it (the Extraordinary Committee), the gang spread the report abroad that they had been killed by Jews, their tongues and ears cut off, etc., and that for these six slain, six thousand Jews ought to be demanded. When the city was taken they ordered the bodies disinterred.

This band, beginning in March, several times broke into the city and perpetrated pogroms, but they were comparatively trifling and were limited to pillaging and extortions. In May it was driven out by a Soviet detachment, after which the Soviet regime lasted about a month in Tarascha. But in the middle of June the band again approached the city in larger numbers (about 800 men). The garrison numbered not more than a hundred men and therefore withdrew. The band seized the town. It consisted of Yatzenko's men and some remnants of Grigorievists under Col. Nechai. Immediately plundering began and devastation, which lasted two days. The local bourgeoisie took no active part in this pillaging. A contribution of a million rubles was levied on the Jewish population. They succeeded in getting 300,000, and announced that if the rest were not furnished they would massacre everybody. At this point the sixth Soviet regiment arrived and the band departed. The Soviet regiment put a stop to the plundering of the city.

All the shops were smashed and plundered. The losses were more than ten millions. Two persons were killed.

Approximately on June 20 the rumor went around that the "villagers" ("village-workers") were again attacking the city. The Soviet regiment withdrew, and with it departed almost the whole Jewish population. Four thousand Jews went to the town of Rakitnoe. The rumor proved untrue, but not more than fifteen Jewish families remained in the city.

LEBEDIN (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Pogrom of May 5, 1919

Testimony of L. Dashevsky, Emissary of the Authorized Investigator Tzifrinovich

Lebedin is located several versts from Zlatopol, near the boundary of the government of Kherson. All the winter of 1918-19 the Jews of Lebedin suffered from the attacks of local bandits, who terrorized the Jewish population beyond all measure and very often indulged in pillaging. The frightened Jewish population hastened to leave Lebedin, and about sixty families

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left the place. Those who remained were chiefly Jewish paupers and the operatives of a sugar-factory; about forty or fifty families.

The pogrom took place on Monday, May 5. During the day before the Jews learned of the approach of the rebels, and began in large numbers to leave for Shpola, ten versts from Lebedin. The pogrom was perpetrated not by Grigorievists but by local bandits, who were egged on by the local intellectuals. On Monday morning the bandits broke into the office of the sugar-factory, drove out all Jewish employees and immediately replaced them with non-Jews. At the same time there began in the market-place in the center of the town a shooting in which four Jews fell. There were instances of torture and barbarities.

On the next day an armed force of bolshevists from Shpola went and collected the Hebrews who remained alive, and who were hiding in cellars, and took them away to Shpola, abandoning Lebedin to the will of the bandits. Now there is not a single Jew in Lebedin. The Jewish houses have been broken open and robbed bare. Some have been burned. The bandits, having no more Jews to rob, are killing rich peasants.

Direction of Sugar Production to the Kiev Provincial from the Station of Znamenka

From the Jewish Employees of the Refined Sugar Factory of Lebedin, Who Were Victims of the Pogrom in Lebedin and at the Factory

PETITION

On May 5 of this year the Jewish employees were informed by telephone that within 24 minutes not a single Jew must remain in the factory. Many fled from the factory to the nearest towns of Matusovo and Shpola. But before they got out of the region of the factory they were met with volleys of shots by bandits lying in wait near by, and four employees were killed on the spot.

From this time there began to operate here a small band of local bandits, who by their onslaughts and pillaging brought alarm and terror to the Jewish population. The local administration of the factory and the authorities took no steps to stop the pillaging and murders. The slaying was accompanied by cruel torments and violations. What the bandits could not take with them, they destroyed and burned. And then the wave of bloodshed poured into the territory of the factory even. The

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bandits began to execute their destructive, death-dealing work upon the Jewish laborers, who with blood and sweat had been earning their living at this factory for many years. And here, in the territory of the factory, a drunken rout began, accompanied by violence, murders, and destructive looting. This took place under the influence of anti-Semitic pogrom agitation, which had inflamed the passions of these monsters and infuriated bandits. We are the victims of this agitation: we, the Jews working in the factory—ruined, plundered, and beaten. We have been turned into beggars; we have no roof, no refuge; we are naked, barefooted; and yet we have been working all our lives; with hard toil we had gained everything we had, every trinket in our homes, every article, is the product of stubborn, long labor. And now, all that we have won by our honest, persistent toil, has been plundered and carried off by a drunken gang.

We apply to the Soviet government as the protector and guardian of the interests of the laborers; and our just prayer is that the losses inflicted upon us be replaced. This will be an act of humanity and justice in relation to us as laborers. We believe that this government, which is introducing into life the principle of justice and of defense of labor, which stands on guard over the interests of the workers, will pay due attention to our sad situation and will satisfy our just petition, since this is the petition of people who have worked all their lives. Among us there are those who have worked twenty to thirty years in this factory, and at this day have been driven from their settled abodes and find themselves with their families beggars in the street.

We are at present living in the neighboring town of Shpola; some have fled to Kiev. We have no possibility of going to Lebedin. We are living in the most terrible conditions. The administration of the factory refused to send us even provisions of the first necessity.

The lists of things plundered and the family situation of each one is appended herewith.

The delegates of the workers in the Refined Sugar Factory at Lebedin. (Signatures)

The Sugar-Factory of Sablino-Znamenka, Eight Versts from the Station of Znamenka

From the Statement of the Son-in-Law of the Former Owner of the Factory, Bernburg

In the region of the Sablino-Znamenka sugar-factory, eight versts from the railroad station of Znamenka, lived several

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hundred families of Jews and Gentiles, members of which were workmen and employees of the factory and thus supported their families. In general the entire population of this settlement was supported, so to speak, by the factory. The workmen and employees of the factory itself numbered about 300, and among this number were 52 Jews.

Before the end of the year 1918 the peasants of the village of Moshorino, about three versts from the factory, raised a revolt against the Germans and the Hetman, and, with the appearance of the Directory, adhered to it. At the head of the rebels was a certain Tkachenko.

When the Soviet forces approached, the peasants went over to their side. Then the revolters seized the factory and declared it the property of the peasants. A detachment of sixty men, with a commander at its head, was formed; it was quartered in the factory and formed its defense. All the employees for the time being remained in their places; the family of the owner, Bernburg, also remained at the factory.

At the beginning of May, 1919, traces of anti-Semitic agitation began to appear at the factory. The members of the guard, and also some of the employees of the factory, such as the manager, cashier, and others, took part in it. The slogan of the anti-Semitic agitation was the accusation that the Jews filled the best positions, and the like. The Jews who lived in the region of the factory had grounds for alarm and for expecting disorders. They applied several times to the local powers, that is, to that same guard which was itself the home of the anti-Semitic agitation, and asked that measures be taken against the occurrence of disorders in general and of anti-Jewish outbursts in particular. Each time they were promised that measures would be taken. Even on May 19 the commander of the guard, Moroshuk, calmed them and assured them that he would allow no uprisings or disorders.

At twelve o'clock midnight between May 19 and 20, shots were suddenly heard, and the members of the "guard," with perhaps some other elements, began shooting, and scattered over the settlements in the territory of the factory, crying, "Kill the Jews, save Russia" and the like; and, falling upon the Jews, they began to pillage and slay. In that night 42 Jewish employees were killed. Their property was plundered. Many of the members of the factory "guard" took part in the murders, so that in some cases it is possible to state definitely who killed whom.

On the next day the pillaging and killing continued, and seven

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more people were killed at the factory and on the road to it. Thus there were in all 49 human victims of the pogrom at the Sablino-Znamenka sugar-factory in May, 1919. Only two or three of the Jewish employees of the factory were uninjured, and also Bernburg's family, whom some threatened to massacre.

Town of Gorodische (Government of Kiev)

Pogrom of May 11-12, 1919

Communicated by the Authorized Investigator Deschinsky

The town of Gorodische is about 50 versts to the southwest of Cherkassy and forty versts west of Smela, on the railroad from Shpola to Fastov. Inhabitants, about 25,000; of these close to 3,500 Jews (800 families).

By the first day of the Jewish Passover it became known to the local Executive Committee, through its agents, that some sort of counter-revolutionary outbreak was being prepared, having as its object the seizing of power and the perpetration of a Jewish pogrom. The Executive Committee knew the names of the persons who had charge of this and who had arranged a meeting outside the city, at which it was agreed: 1. To plunder the Jews, but not to kill them; 2. To begin the pogrom after the giving of signals agreed upon, namely, the violent ringing of a church-bell and a bonfire.

The Executive Committee made no arrests, but strengthened the guard and personally went around by night and inspected the posts that were established. In a panic of alarm the Jewish population looked for a pogrom during the second day of the passover, but it did not take place. This was the situation in which the Jewish population had to remain all the time until the Grigorievists arrived.

On May 8 it became known in the town that Grigorievist bands had occupied Znamenka and were advancing on the line Bobrinsky to Tzvetkovo. On May 11 the situation was still more serious. On May 11 the Executive Committee summoned the Jewish bourgeoisie exclusively, and after maltreatment, such as beating, personally performed by the finance commissar, and firing at one of those arrested, a contribution of 95,000 rubles was paid in full. This was the second contribution levied after the first one of 250,000 rubles, which was paid almost exclusively by the Jewish population. Towards evening of the same day the Executive Committee, taking with it all papers and the detachment which it had with it, left the town. The commander of militia remained in town with his militiamen, having first

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agreed with the Executive Committee that the defense of the town against any outbreaks whatever should be entrusted to him.

On May 11 at 9 P.M., the militiamen who had remained to guard the town opened a violent fusillade with rifles on the main street. The first victim of it was L. Kahan. At the same time the ringing of the bell was heard. The pogromists flocked together. They set off a rocket (as signal) and plundered two shops, and then started to besiege the homes of rich Jews. All night long they raged. During this night L. Trigub, R. Sosnovskaia, and E. Dinerstein were killed.

On the morning of May 12 it became known that local Grigorievists had seized the power. At their head were Gritzai, a former officer, who, under the Central Rada, had served as ataman of the Cossacks and been ruler of the town; and Onischenko, former commissar at Mleievo village (seven or eight versts from Gorodische) under the Directory, and delegate of the inhabitants of Kiev at the industrial congress. On the same day the Jews paid to Gritzai 25,000 rubles and to the commander of militia 15,000, which was intended to pacify them and stop the pogrom. But the pogrom not only continued but became more violent. It is interesting to note that a local group of teachers and pupils in the gymnasium and the school of agricultural economics appeared as leaders of the pogrom. They not only inspired and led it, but themselves actively robbed and murdered.

Thus it continued until the 15th of May. On May 17 Soviet forces entered the town. The sum total of the pogrom: seven killed, three wounded, of them one mortally, and 135 houses wrecked. The losses were about three millions.

After all these horrors the Jewish population had to go through a second pogrom on May 31, at the hands of the 7th Sumsky regiment, which finished the plundering of the Jewish population. In this new pogrom it is characteristic that: 1. Jewish Red soldiers of the 7th regiment took active part in it; 2. Not only were people robbed in their houses, but they were stripped in the streets and in the synagogues; 3. The attack was perpetrated on Saturday.

APPENDIX 1. *List of Victims Who Perished During the Raid of Grigorievist Bands in the Villages near Gorodische*

Village of Khlystunovka, 7 versts from Gorodische:
Killed, L. Bylevsky, 55 years old, small trader, with three sons.
Four Jews in all killed.

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Village of Viazovok, 12 versts from Gorodische:

Killed, Kh. Rabinovich, 24 years, inhabitant of the village of Svinarka. Was visiting in Viazovok.

APPENDIX 2. *Proclamation of Commissar Onischenko, May 12*
Town of Gorodische, Government of Kiev

All the Jewish population are ordered to hand in all weapons by 8 P.M. Disobedience to this order will be judged by laws of wartime.

COMMISSAR ONISCHENKO.

May 12, 1919. Original in Ukrainian language.

APPENDIX 3. *Proclamation of Commissar Onischenko, May 15*
Town of Gorodische

I order all Jewish shops to be opened at once.

COMMISSAR ONISCHENKO.

May 15, 1919. Original in Ukrainian language.

VILLAGE OF ORLOVETZ (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

On May 12, towards evening, three horsemen rode into the village from Smela (they were inhabitants of Orlovetz) with cries of "Kill the Jews," "Save Russia." The local Executive Committee arrested them, but in an hour or two they were released, and, together with a gang of peasants who joined them, started to wreck Jewish shops. On May 13 the plunderers attacked Jewish houses. Now all the Russian population came to their aid. Everything was carried off in carts. When the houses were completely stripped bare, and when by all manner of extortion even their money savings had been collected from the Jews, then they started to destroy the houses and shops completely. The shutters, doors, windows, iron from the roofs, etc., were taken out. They hunted for money in the most determined way, tore up the floors, dug up the earth in the barns, cellars and yards, broke open ovens. And even now it is still going on, only a more quiet pillaging; everything is removed. The summation of the pogrom is two killed, one wounded, sixty houses and 25 shops in all plundered.

The village of Orlovetz is situated about 50 versts to the southwest of Cherkassy, about 35 versts to the west of Smela, several versts from Gorodische, on the railroad from Shpola to Fastov. About 16,500 inhabitants, among them about 350-400 Jews (60 families).

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Town of Stavische (Government of Kiev)

Pogrom of June 5-15, 1919

Testimony of a Refugee, Taken Down by S. Y. Maizlish

The town of Stavische, canton of Tarascha, government of Kiev, is located 30 versts from Tarascha. It has approximately fifteen to eighteen thousand inhabitants; approximately 1,000 Jewish families.

Early in 1919 there was organized in the town a detachment under the leadership of a certain Zemnevsky, who supported the Soviet regime. This detachment was small, about forty to fifty men, and it preserved order in the town. Later, when the Grigorievist uprising occurred, the detachment departed for Tarascha.

Approximately on June 5 there arrived at Stavische from the town of Gobuslav a band which had formerly operated in Kaneva (probably Grigorievists); they called themselves "White Guards." They began to plunder, and killed four Jews. According to accounts of eye-witnesses, many land-owners, students, and priests were among the members of the band, and it was precisely these that openly called themselves "White Guards." When the band arrived it herded together all the Jews in the synagogue, accused them of being bolsheviks and communists, and demanded that they surrender their weapons and pay a contribution of 400,000 rubles. Entreaties and exhortations were of no avail, and after long agonies they collected among the Jewish population 357,000 rubles and handed it over, through the Rabbi, to the head of the detachment. The Rabbi remarked as he handed it over that the money was taken from poor people; the head of the detachment "showed mercy" and handed back seven thousand. The gang stayed in the town about seven or eight days, during which robberies and murders continued. Two more Jews were killed. Moreover, two non-Jewish communists were also killed. Then a part of the gang departed for Tarascha, where the Soviet troops defeated them and drove them away. Then, approximately on June 16, they returned to Stavische and began to pillage again, and killed 22 people. In all about forty Jews were killed. On the next day the 6th Soviet regiment arrived in town. The "Grigorievists" naturally retreated and disappeared. The soldiers of the 6th regiment also indulged in some plundering. But the 6th Soviet regiment only remained one day in all and on the next (approximately June 18) left Stavische. The town remained entirely unguarded, and the Jews had grounds to fear new attacks of Grigorievist gangs. The greater part of the Jewish

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population abandoned their property to the will of fate, arose and left for Bielaia Tserkov, which is about fifty versts from Stavische. At twelve versts from the town the fleeing Jews were held up by a detachment of the 6th Soviet regiment, which perpetrated some robberies and wanted to turn them back to Stavische. Some scattered through the villages and towns (e.g., Volodarka, canton of Skvira), but about seven or eight hundred of them arrived at Bielaia Tserkov. Here a committee of aid was organized for the refugees from Stavische, who spent about a week in Bielaia Tserkov. When some reassuring tidings were received from Stavische, the committee of aid hired carts and took the refugees home.

Town of Zlatopol (Government of Kiev)

Pogrom of May 2-8, 1919

I. *Testimony of the Physician Joseph Benjaminovich Isaacson, July* 21

Zlatopol is a town in the government of Kiev, canton of Chigirin, a verst and a half from Novo-Mirgorod and the border of the government of Kherson. It has 15,000 inhabitants, of whom ten or twelve thousand are Jews. The chief occupations are small handicrafts and commerce. During the war and the revolution speculation throve. Previously the town was considered very poor, but later it began to be considered decidedly rich; there was no poverty at all. This was true of the Christian population as well as the Jewish. There was no open anti-Semitism visible, but the Christians lived a separate life from the Jews.

From the time of the fall of the Hetman's power, and the appearance of the Petlurist regime, and afterwards of the Soviet regime, the town constantly was visited by various detachments and gangs, which seized the power, levied contributions, and sometimes pillaged and took away weapons. There came the gangs of Kotzyr, Lopata, and Yastrensky, in general each with about sixty to eighty men, not more than a hundred. There was a militia and a home guard in the town, and latterly even a self-defense guard, but they all ran away at the first shots, and the gangs would penetrate into the town without resistance.

When the Soviet regime was established, the local population discovered with amazement that Jews were at the head of many of its institutions. This led to the accusation that all Jews were responsible for the disorganization of life, and anti-Semi-

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tism increased. At the same time there arose among the surrounding peasantry an opposition and a rebellious movement against the communistic Soviet regime. In the neighboring village of Listopadovo (two versts from Zlatopol) the peasants were armed, and threats came from there against the town. The holiday of May 1 was the occasion for the pogrom. The local intellectuals (young students and gymnasium boys) wanted to parade with the Ukrainian flag. But the Executive Committee would not allow it. The May-day manifestation took place; many Jews, artisans and apprentices, took part. The day passed without disturbance, but on the next day there appeared armed groups from the direction of Listopadovo, which opened fire and entered the town. Some of the Jewish inhabitants hurriedly fled to Novo-Mirgorod; the rest hid in cellars and garrets. They began to shoot all the Jews they met, and on the next day began a general pogrom and pillaging, which lasted a whole week. The Executive Committee and all officials, without difference of nationality, had already fled in the morning (May 2). About sixty Jews were killed. They set fire to the whole market square and to several houses, expecting that the whole town would burn up. But fortunately there came a rain so heavy that the other houses were saved. The local bourgeoisie and part of the intellectuals took part in the pogrom and the looting. The pogrom stopped "of itself," since everything was looted and all the inhabitants had fled to Novo-Mirgorod. After about a week the inhabitants began to return. There remained in town the head of Kotzyr's band, who had set up a government, in the expectation that Grigoriev's uprising would succeed. When a pogrom broke out later in Novo-Mirgorod (May 17), the pogrom was repeated also in Zlatopol on the same day. With the suppression of Grigoriev's uprising Kotzyr disappeared from Zlatopol. The narrator is an inhabitant of Zlatopol, where he practised medicine. He also escaped to Novo-Mirgorod, and on his return found his entire apartment, his chemical-biological laboratory, and all his instruments, plundered. Certain instruments were found on the premises of the local hospital, from which he infers that the hospital staff took part in the pillaging.

II. *Extract from Report on the Town of Zlatopol by the Instructor of the Government of Kiev, Comrade Romsen*

INFORMATIONAL PART

Until the revolutionary overturn, Zlatopol had not been touched by any pogrom outbreaks, even in the year 1905, when

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a wave of pogroms broke out all around. It did not reach Zlatopol; and this was not accidental. As far as can be explained, these relations with the peasantry were based on mutual confidence and solidarity, and with the intellectuals there existed a bond based on culture and enlightenment. But the revolution broke out, and the population triumphantly reacted to that joyous sound. The Jewish inhabitants also took open part in the festivity. Soon the local intellectuals and the nearby landowners, seeing before them dangerous rivalry in the persons of capable and intelligent Jewish workers, united with the ruined landowners. They stood in opposition to the changes that were being carried out. They adopted the usual methods, playing upon the ignorance of the peasant masses, inflaming them with various calumnies. They said the revolution, speculation, high prices, everything was the handiwork of the Jews, and the only way out was repression. The agitation grew, and the village teacher in the country, and the priest and the intellectuals in the town, at markets, at peasant gatherings, in the co-operatives—everywhere the work went on. And soon its harvest appeared in the form of individual outbreaks of looting of wares belonging to shopkeepers and Jews.

Petlura appeared on the political horizon, and gave free rein to the chauvinistic feelings of that crowd with its mad thirst for Jewish blood. Then came bands under the flag of the slogans of the bolsheviks, mainly from Chigirin; under the pretext of searches they systematically terrorized the Jewish population. The band of Yastrensky, and then that of Lopata established arbitrary regimes, always solely in regard to the Jewish inhabitants. The local League of Labor, composed of representatives of the trade unions of the town, declared itself an Executive Committee; but they were not able to accomplish anything owing to absence of connections with the central power. Only in February, when the Soviet regime was growing stronger, was a Soviet elected here, into which honorable and conscientious people entered. About April 2 there arrived 80 of Lopata's men, occupied the Soviet, tore down the portraits of Lenin and Trotzky ,and tried to start a pogrom; but the Soviet entirely forestalled this outbreak, and called for 120 men from Yelisavetgrad, who after killing 40 of Lopata's men took the rest prisoners (40 men). Lopata got away, but promised to be avenged on the "Jew Soviet." But the Soviet at this time sent two delegates to Kiev to solicit the separation of Zlatopol into an independent unit, unconnected with Chigirin, which was a nest of bandits and counter-revolutionaries.

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At this time, having misgivings as to the weakness of the government over the canton, the local and *volost* Executive Committees quarreled; and the local intellectuals decided to make use of this moment in unison with Lopata, Kotzyr and other bandits from Chigirin. They sent their agitators through the towns and villages calling people to an open uprising against the Jews. Upon a designated signal fifteen villages were to take up this crusade. There was needed only an external occasion, which was not slow in presenting itself. This was the day of the international holiday, May 1. When the procession under red flags began, there suddenly appeared the Ukrainian national flag, which was to figure in the first ranks. The authorities declared that it was an international holiday, and that consequently international flags had to be in the first position. The flag was removed. On the next day the sound of the warning bell rang out, rifle-shots were fired, and the bloody feast began. The first day yielded modest results, several innocent victims and complete destruction of their property. On the third of May they carried out the wares from the shops, accompanying it by incessant shooting.

But the systematic pogrom began only on Sunday the fourth. On that day both the year-old child, and the eighty-year-old man, both the workman and the factory-owner, were alike found guilty of bolshevism and mercilessly shot. Of course cases of violation of girls were not lacking. The result was 69 killed and 300 wounded.

TABLE I

By age	No. of persons
15	6
20	5
25	4
30	6
35	2
40	2
45	7
50	9
55	9
Unrecorded	19
—	—
Total	69

TABLE II

By categories	No. of persons
Breadwinners	5
Cabmen	3
Undefined professions	21
Artisans	10
Liberal professions	5
Servants	5
Petty tradesmen	11
Unknown	9
—	—
Total	69

Of the wounded I did not succeed in getting statements by categories.

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The burning of the plundered homes and shops lasted about three weeks. They stole everything, beginning with pokers and wooden spoons and ending with pianos. Nails were taken out of the walls, doors and window-frames were removed, the window-glass was taken from the frames. They took the last blind nag from a pauper water-carrier. The result:

No. of houses in Zlatopol before pogrom.....	1100
No. of houses burned.....	15
No. of stores before pogrom.....	285
No. of stores burned.....	275
Homes wrecked	1065
Homes remaining undestroyed.....	20
Stores remaining undestroyed.....	10

The wares and property were carried away by thousands of carts. From the Artisans' Loan and Savings Association alone they took out 130 poods of butter, 9,000 poods of wheat, and 30,000 poods of sugar. It is curious that in some way or other a part of these goods came into the hands of the Russian co-operatives, and are to this day being sold, without a return being made to the owners. There have been cases of the seizure by a Russian co-operative of the Jewish co-operative's premises; for the latter is still active. The public hospital robbed drug-stores and has not yet made any returns. The approximate results of calculations covering only one quarter of the population that remains show the following picture of losses of property:

Categories	No. of families	Extent of losses
Merchants and factory-owners	62	9,062,100
Small tradesmen	146	4,476,700
Artisans	296	9,849,000
Liberal professions	47	2,688,800
Servants	50	1,494,000
Undefined occupations	84	2,540,400
Total	685	30,111,000

To complete all this horror famine was added, since the peasants were forbidden to export their products under pain of most severe punishment, and the stricken population was condemned to drag out its existence for the course of seven weeks without bread and without any assistance from outside. Of the government there was no trace. Both the Soviet and the trade unions

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had scattered at the moment of the pogrom. At last a detachment of Zhivoder's brigade of sharpshooters arrived at the station, and occupied the place after a brief exchange of shots. He issued an order about bearing arms, but the order had no effect. Zhivoder soon departed, and with him half the population dragged themselves away—all who could in any way get away anywhere; to such an extent had horror mastered them. There remained almost no one but beggars, among whom famine typhus began to rage. The public hospital refused to take the sufferers. Gradually the peasantry began to sober down, asking themselves where was that malicious Jewish speculation?—before the pogrom a box of matches cost a ruble and a half, while after the pogrom the robbers sold them for ten and twelve rubles; and so with all wares. Peasants began to appear in the market, in many cases expressing sympathy and trying to justify themselves, saying that it was not their fault, but that the landowners and intellectuals had deceived them. They began to bring in bread, and relations in a way became smoothed out. On June 20 a punitive detachment from the third army arrived, under the command of Zinkov, and began trials, but in the majority of cases not with the right persons; while the flagrant hooligans and robbers whom they succeeded in arresting were let off with a fine of ten to fifteen thousand. They took away the stolen goods, but gave back almost none to the naked and barefooted population, but took it all to the station and loaded it on their own cars. So it went on for about eight days. No one was in the least concerned to establish a government and a local punitive detachment; on the contrary, the militia's last three rifles were taken away. In such circumstances the punitive detachment decided to leave this unhappy town; and together with the detachment all the rest of the inhabitants started out, but they were thrown out of the cars. The detachment departed, and the population, seized with terror, remained in expectation of death and a repetition of the nightmare, since the peasants, the bandits, and the intellectuals were much ruffled after the trials conducted by Zinkov. It's the Jews, they said, that brought in this Jew detachment (the commander, Zinkov, was a Jew). On that night of evil memory I arrived at the station, and found a picture of frozen horror like that of a struggling trapped animal. When they found that I had come as an instructor to show them aid, they advised me to depart at once by the return train, for they were actually all there at the station and were preparing to leave. But I decided to remain as long as there were even a few families there. Towards

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morning the rumor went around that the bandits killed by the punitive expedition were going to be exhumed; and since the graves were at the station, the whole population was in danger. And, however, hard as it was, we had to apply to those who in one way or another, whether by their passive attitude or by active work, had perpetrated the pogroms, and had to ask them for help, assuring them that if it were repeated the punitive detachment would again take vengeance on innocent intellectuals.

At last, we succeeded in persuading the president of the trade unions at Novo-Mirgorod to send a guard of three men to the station, after entreating him to organize a home guard in general, and giving him 5,000 rubles for the expense. When the train came some hundreds of people in all left; the rest wandered back home.

When I came in touch with realities, my first help was devoted to buying a number of rifles for self-protection from the bandits. I telegraphed in all directions, to Kiev, Odessa, Yelisavetgrad, asked for a detachment or at least for weapons for self-protection; but have not yet received an answer. In the meetings old men, women and children cried with one voice: "We want nothing, we are hungry and barefoot, but instead of bread give us protection, give us arms." And up to the present day nothing has been done in this respect. Every day almost there are murders and robberies. In the name of those 250 Jewish volunteers who entered the Red Army, they demand that at least the possibility be afforded to their fathers and mothers to arm themselves, that they may at least die an honorable death. This is the single desire of all; if they must die, let it be not in a garret, but with arms in their hands.

III. *To the Commission for Furnishing Aid to Persons Who Have Suffered from the Counter-Revolution (Central Section of Aid to Victims of Pogroms): Note of Report of the Members of the Zlatopol Executive Committee*

The pogrom in Zlatopol began on May 3 and continued almost uninterruptedly during the space of four weeks. Two months before the pogrom the Executive Committee knew that if special measures were not taken, a pogrom in Zlatopol was unavoidable. All the guerrilla detachments of the canton of Chigirin, when they arrived at Zlatopol or passed by Zlatopol, introduced a special anti-Semitic atmosphere. In this respect the detachment commanded by Lopata was especially distinguished. He openly agitated in the *volost* assemblies and in the villages, and

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roused the peasants to pogroms. This was early in April, 1919. Lopata with his detachment from Chigirin went to Lebedin, and thence via the villages of Lipianko, Turlo and others headed for Zlatopol. Even before his arrival peasants from the villages came to us in the Executive Committee and reported that Lopata in his speeches at the assemblies was urging them to pogroms. Upon Lopata's arrival in Zlatopol, on April 5, or a few days earlier, the air of the place reeked with pogrom sentiment. Lopata did not conceal his views and openly declared before the Executive Committee that the Jews ought to be cut down. Then the Executive Committee had to summon an armed detachment from Yelisavetgrad to prevent a massacre; and Lopata's detachment was destroyed. The Executive Committee had recourse to this extreme measure only when several members of the committee had been arrested, and when Lopata declared a state of siege in the town and demanded that within 24 hours the population pay the arrears of national taxes reckoned against them. In his order on this subject he stated that failure to pay the arrears in the time allotted would result in repressive measures even to the point of bombarding the place. After this incident a delegation went to Kiev to report. From Kiev an extraordinary prosecutor was sent to Zlatopol, who collected a mass of documentary evidence implicating Lopata, the members of the Chigirin Extraordinary Commission, and others. The prosecutor left Zlatopol on April 23, and stated that he was going to Kiev for a detachment, and that he would go with the detachment to Chigirin and would take all measures to put a stop to the criminal activities of the Chigirin "workers" and to clear the whole canton of Chigirin of bandits. But from that time the Executive Committee has received no information as to the results of the investigation, while it is reliably known that Lopata and the others are at liberty in Chigirin to this very day. Two days after the beginning of the pogrom in Zlatopol, on May 4, a detachment arrived there from Chigirin under the command of Kotzyr the younger, but this detachment only served to make the pogrom more violent, since the bandits felt complete impunity and even support from the soldiers and the commander of the detachment. Of the activities of these gentry details are set forth in the report of A. Khromchenko. At present the situation in the town is tragic. The Jewish population is literally dying of hunger. The whole population is left without any means—both the merchants, who were well-to-do before the pogrom, and the artisans, who have lost their instruments and materials. Famine typhus is raging in the town. The Executive

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Committee considers that the sum of 300,000 rubles, released by the governmental section for furnishing aid to Zlatopol, is entirely insufficient, since with present high prices such a sum can only serve for very temporary aid, and it is far from possible by such means to render assistance to the artisans, to get them the instruments of production and to provide for the collective shops. It is necessary also to consider that the Jewish Loan and Savings Association, and the co-operative "Self-aid," which supplied the Jewish poor people with their supplies of provisions, have been left without means and until now have not begun to function. These enterprises served eight thousand of the Jewish population, and this population cannot get along without them. They must be subsidized extensively in order that they may begin to operate again. It is also necessary to organize the issuance to the population of long-time loans without interest, in order that they may again engage in their occupations, and not be turned into chronic beggars.

In conclusion we solicit for Zlatopol a sum of several million rubles. Only in that case can it be hoped that in time the population will be able to get out of its tragic situation.

President of the Executive Committee (Signature).
Assistant to the President (Signature).

MATUSOVO (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Pogrom of May 13-14, 1919

Communication of Kümmelman

Matusovo is a town in the canton of Cherkassy with a population of seven or eight thousand, of which 160 to 180 families are Jewish. There is a sugar-factory with 200 local workers. The Jewish population of Matusovo lived almost entirely by petty trade. It was not very thrifty and remained in the same condition throughout the whole period of the war, and in contrast to other places did not engage in speculation and did not get rich. In political matters the Jewish population had no interest in politics or party divisions. The relations between Jews and Christians were in general satisfactory, although isolated clashes had sometimes taken place. With the last change of government the relations between the two parts of the population changed sharply for the worse. The peasants of the region around Matusovo regarded the new regime with great suspicion; they considered it as something accidental and not to be taken seriously, almost as foreign as the regime of the

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Germans. This suspicion towards the new regime was artificially stimulated in the peasant masses by the local intellectuals, who from the first day were in opposition to the new regime. The local Ukrainian intellectuals, in the persons of the postmaster Kulik, the seminarist Masig, the teachers Palega, Garnitzsky, Zimnitzsky and others, carried on open agitation against the Soviet rule; and their chief trump in this game was the national question. "The government of Petlura," the postmaster Kulik would explain to the peasants, "is our real, native Ukrainian government, but the government of the bolsheviki is a Jew government." The teacher Palega assured the peasants: "In Cherkassy I visited the commissariat of education, and what did I see there? Nothing but Jews; the whole commissariat is full of them."

In the very first days of the new government, by order of the Soviet guerrilla detachment which passed through in pursuit of Petlura, there was formed in Matusovo a revolutionary committee, which, however, did not decide a single question without an assembly. After three weeks the revolutionary committee was succeeded by an Executive Committee, but it was little different from the revolutionary committee; the same make-up, the same influence, the same "assembly" form of government, and finally the same negative attitude towards the Jewish portion of the population—which was sharply manifested more than once (the cases of Leschinsky, Kholkovsky, Babitsky, the taking away of portions of land from Jews who had received them in 1918, etc.)

Several days before the pogrom the Executive Committee received from Shpola a provocatory document with the signature of a commissar of distinctly Jewish name (I think Goldstein), whose contents were as follows: that the churches should be sealed and the church furniture and fixtures brought to Shpola. The rumor of this "document" quickly spread among the peasants, and through them also among the Jews, who interpreted it as a signal for a pogrom. Two or three days later, on May 10, certain horsemen brought to Matusovo Grigoriev's manifesto ("Universal"), which was made public on that same day by the secretary of the Executive Committee, Kesser, before a special assembly called for that purpose. Whether he really read this from the manifesto or whether it was his own invention, at any rate Kesser declared that an order had been received to destroy all Jews. The ground for such inventions was prepared to this extent, that the peasants saw nothing improbable in such an order, believed in it fully, and talked about it to the Jews they

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knew, some with malicious joy, some with sympathy. On the same day the Jews observed that Borodiansky, who had lived most among the peasants and best knew their activities and frame of mind, left the place with all his family. All these facts, together with many others, convinced the Jews of Matusovo that the same catastrophe which the Jews of Lebedin, Zlatopol and other places had recently experienced was approaching them. Continuing to hope up to the last minute, though hoping rather for a miracle than for any definite help, some Jews on the day before the pogrom wanted to send their families and some of their things to Shpola, near by; but they met with the definite opposition of the militia. This still more increased the feeling of alarm, which grew with every minute.

On the night of Monday, May 12, at 12.30, the pogrom began. That evening the Jews had begun to hide, some in barns of peasant-acquaintances, some in ravines and gardens. In the house of the smith Srul Kapustiansky there collected a considerable group of the more well-to-do Jews, who thought that here, as in Zlatopol, the poor and artisans would not be disturbed. But this expectation proved unreliable. Perhaps just because a considerable number of Jews were concentrated there, the bandits went thither first of all. About 11.30 at night a band of 25 men knocked at the house. The owner ran to the garret and thence began to cry for help. In reply he heard someone compassionately inquiring from below what the matter was. Kapustiansky was convinced that the bandits had departed and that he was now dealing with people of good intentions. He came down from the garret and opened the door to them. "Stand still!" cried one of the bandits, rushing in. Kapustiansky recognized among the bandits an acquaintance of his, and begged him to take his part, calling him by name. "Aha, you've recognized me, you damned Jew. Well, then, take that!" And he killed him with a shot. At the shot his wife sprang forth with their three-months' child, but the same fate met them, too. Having finished with the Kapustianskys, the bandits rushed on into the house with wild cries: "Jewish wretches, how long are you going to keep ruling over us?" and opened an irregular fusillade among the people hiding in the house. As a result, only four of the sixteen people who were in the house escaped.

On the next day, Tuesday the 13th, the Executive Committee called an assembly to decide the question of disposal of the bodies of the 12 Jews killed. The assembly decided to have certain peasants bury them near the synagogue. (There was no

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Jewish cemetery in Matusovo and the dead were usually carried to Shpola to be buried.) The Jews, who had almost all scattered by this time, somehow learned about this assembly and apparently laid hopes upon it. A certain girl, Aniuta Axelfeld, ran to the assembly and began to weep and entreat them to intervene, declaring that robbers had just attacked her house. But the assembly not only decisively refused to do anything, but even remained entirely uninterested when right there before their eyes a militiaman began to beat the girl. The girl started to run away, but the militiaman Sheremet ran after her, caught her in the prince's park and shot her. At this time, having decided about the bodies, the assembly proceeded to "current questions." The postmaster Kulik made known a telephone message which he alleged he had received to the effect that the communists were marching on Matusovo on account of the killing of the Jews. Kesser informed the assembly to the same effect. The drift of the information was that the communists and Jews had declared war on the peasants, and the latter, therefore, must kill all the Jews as quickly as possible. With this object the assembly decided to arm to the fullest extent, so as to resist both the invading communists and the attacking Jews. With this object a military troop of forty men was organized then and there, into which the most flagrant bandits entered, the two brothers Krasota, Sheremet, the ex-commander of militia Kikidanetz, and others. The assembly decided to bring its decisions to the attention of the other villages which composed the *volost* (district) of Matusovo, and to propose to them that they, too, organize their military troops on the pattern of Matusovo, for active warfare with the Jews and communists. The military troop immediately left the place to ward off the imaginary attack of the Jews, and in the country they happened upon a group of 26 Jews with a Rabbi at their head. These were killed to a man. On the same day fifteen other people were killed in various places.

On the next day, May 14, an assembly was called again. This time two teachers appeared, Prisovosky and Bubnov, who decided to come energetically to the defense of the Jews, pointing out that the power of the Jews was already gone and only poor wretches remained. At first they were not allowed to speak; the other teachers, their own colleagues, attacked them, threatening them with chastisement. But by this time the peasants had had time to sober down somewhat. They were now convinced that all the tales of Jewish attacks were nothing but pure inventions of Kulik, Kesser, Masin and others.

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The eight or ten Jews who remained in the town (the others who had not been killed had fled to Shpola) were brought to the *volost* headquarters, and thence to Nukhim Mokievsky's barn, where they were kept under guard. The arrival of Soviet forces freed them.

At the present time only a single family remained living in Matusovo, that of Borko Borodiansky, which adopted the orthodox religion after the pogrom. For this the peasants allowed them to remain in Matusovo, returned a pair of horses stolen from them during the pogrom, some of their other stolen property, their parcel of land, etc.

ROTMISTROVKA (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Pogrom of May 13-14, 1919

From the Materials of the Authorized Investigator I. G. Tzifrinovich

In the chain of Jewish pogroms which took place in Ukraine, the pogrom in Rotmistrovka is one of the most conspicuous links.

Rotmistrovka is on the road from Shpola to Cherkassy, 18 versts from Smela, 7 versts from the railroad station of Vladimirovka, on the line Fastov-Znamenka. The town counts a population of 350 Jewish families, the majority of whom lived in good circumstances, being materially provided for, thanks to the position which the town occupies in the commerce between Smela and Cherkassy, on the one hand, and the towns lying beyond it on the other hand.

The population was always on good terms with the local peasant population, dwelling near the town. The local peasantry was always considered pacific. No disorders of any kind had ever occurred in Rotmistrovka—neither specifically Jewish nor any other. It is a characteristic fact that after the October revolution, when the peasants in the neighboring villages plundered estates, our peasants remained passive on account of the fear that they might suffer for it afterwards. Owing to this the greater part of the Jewish population became permeated with the conviction that they would have no pogrom. This conviction was not shaken even when rumors began to arrive from the neighboring towns and villages about the Jewish pogroms which were going on there. And this was the principal reason why the town was so utterly destroyed—not a single chair or piece of pottery being left.

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The start of the pogrom may be considered the attack on the owner of a mill, which occurred on Saturday, May 10, and during which two Jewish members of the night watch were killed. It became clear that the bandits now felt that there was no government and that killing Jews was no great sin. This incident produced great alarm among the Jewish population, and fear began to spring up among them, which increased on the next day, when the pogrom in Smela became known, and the overthrow of the existing regime by Grigoriev, and his manifesto ("Universal"), which was being read before the peasants. In the evening a committee of the poorer classes began to make searches preparatory to requisitions, which no longer had the character of earlier searches, but became more malicious. The searches continued on the next day, too, and in general it was felt that the atmosphere was getting more tense all the time. Nevertheless the confidence of the Jewish population was still great enough so that life continued to flow along almost normally.

On Monday, May 12, at night a band of 50 men arrived, among them not a few locals. On Tuesday morning the pogrom began. The local peasants took part in it. Later peasants from the nearby villages also collected, and the pogrom was in full swing. Murders, however, did not take place by day. Only towards night, perceiving their complete impunity, the bandits committed their first murder—of a father and son, after they had bought their freedom. In the early part of the night they began to set on fire houses and shops, and the whole population broke and ran to hide, everyone wherever he could. Many Jews, as is the custom, rushed to the cemetery, which is outside the city, and digging themselves in between the graves, expected death any minute, as it threatened them with every shot and tongue of flame. So it went on for about eight hours, when the bandits really did arrive. After hysterical, heart-rending cries the Jews succeeded in ransoming themselves with money and everything they had with them. We were ordered not to go away before several hours should have passed, and only later were we driven forth to put out the conflagration. There we saw before us a terrible spectacle of plundered, burning, empty houses. There and then began to peer out, as if out of a mouse-hole, faces that were beaten unmercifully, full of mortal terror, and we began to hear of frightful, barbarous things. Everyone hurried to his own house, and those who found the four walls bare, the windows and frames broken, feathers strewn about, etc., were lucky, for many, very many found only mountains

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of ashes and the bodies of their dear ones in rivers of blood. Two were burnt after having first been shot and then hung.

But no one had time to look around before another gang arrived, and seized whatever anyone had left. Then the entire population was driven into a prayer-house, where 1,200 people, men, women, and children, jammed into a single heap, lived through endless hours of mortal terror. There was a moment when they actually had bombs in their hands to blow up the prayer-house, and it was only by a miracle that the Jews succeeded in saving themselves with a ransom. No small amount of mortal terror did the population live through, and for the space of eight days after this no one ventured to go out of the yard where the prayer-house was (it belonged to a well-known Rabbi of Rotmistrovka). If anyone, owing to want and hunger, did venture to go out into the village to get anything, he went with uncertain footsteps, trembling every minute. Several days later, in fact, after the pogrom, when a boy of sixteen, Brunstein, went out to look for his family, who had hidden, he was wounded. And when the local peasants, thinking him dead, told the family so that they might come and get him, no one dared to go. Later when his brother ran to him, the peasants, seeing that he was still alive, shot him to death. For several days the dead and wounded lay about before the Jews made up their minds to collect them under the protection of a local militiaman. Almost all the slain were stripped naked; some, according to what eyewitnesses say, were stripped on the second and third day after they had been murdered, by local peasants, who went around looking to see if anything had been left.

The following fact is also worthy of note. In one house a father and son were shot. The father was afterwards hung, and all this was done before the eyes of the wife and mother. The mother implored them to kill her, too, but they would not, and when she began to scream, they drove her from the house. In one house, after taking every thing out of the house, the bandits stood up the entire family, which consisted of four persons (the father of 65 years, mother of the same age, a son of 30 and daughter of 28), stood them up to be shot, beginning with the daughter, as revenge on the parents. The son out of fright fell down beside his sister, and they thought he was dead. Later, when he went out of the house, he saw the bandits coming to make sure that he was dead, because they remembered that they had fired only at the father, mother and sister.

A third fact worthy of attention is this. A woman (the wife

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of the local Rabbi) ran out of the city with her children. On the way she was wounded in the leg. Her son, aged 14, seeing that her blood was flowing, asked some passing peasants to help her. One of them volunteered to take her to a neighboring village, and going up to her ran her through with a pike. Her children, a boy of 14 and an infant of five, he wounded with the pike. Many such facts might be enumerated. There are two others which are worthy of being recorded. A mother and several children, trying to hide, remained in a forest. Hearing firing, the mother, fearing that they would be discovered because of the cries of her two-months-old baby, strangled him with her own hands. An old mother with her daughter and five children (the oldest twelve and the youngest half a year) were running away to hide. On the road all were killed. (The children of three years and a year and a half had their heads crushed.) The youngest infant, of half a year, they left there. The next day he died of hunger.

Town of Smela (Government of Kiev)

Pogrom of May 14-15, 1919

I. *Testimony of Moishe Sumsky, Merchant, 52 Years Old*

I and several other Jews hid in a Russian's garret. Several armed men came in and asked whether there weren't Jews there. That moment a baby began to cry in the garret, and this gave us away. A fearful scene began. Wild cries resounded: "Come here, comrades, here is where the Jew-communists are hiding. Come down! To the wall!" We were searched, and everything we had taken from us. It was awful. The women and children raised the most terrible cries. They drew us up to shoot us, and our Russian protector with us. With great difficulty we succeeded in saving our lives. They left the Russian householder alone only because he was not the owner of the house.

(Signature)

II. *Testimony of Hannah Pavletzsky, 38 Years Old, Merchant*

On Sunday, May 18, after all the ways of leaving the city had been cut off (the soldiers met those who tried to leave with pointed rifles), we crept through the fence to a Russian neighbor's garret. Besides our family there were about 15 other people there—men, women and children. About 9 A.M. we heard noises and the cry: "Haven't you some Jews here?" We

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all got scared and one began to go down from the garret. Immediately a man in military uniform ran up, fired twice, and cried: "Come here, comrades, you see where the Jew-communists are firing on us from." In answer to his summons there gathered about ten armed men in military uniforms and shouted: "Come down, come down, you communists, Jewish dogs, give up your weapons." And they immediately began to throw us down from the garret. When we came down we were carefully searched, and all our money and clothes taken from us. Someone gave the command: "All to the wall." The children who were with us raised a scream and began to cry hysterically. Then they separated the women from the men. The latter, including also the Russian householder, were taken to the commandant of the station Bobrinsky. The wife and daughter of the householder swore that not one of us had a weapon, and that they had admitted us to their house because we lived peacefully and amicably together. Finally the Russian householder was freed because it was not his own house. And we Jews were freed because on one of us was found a document showing that he worked in the mines.

(Signature)

III. *Testimony of Krasnopolsky, Aged* 36

On the morning of May 11 I heard firing at the door. Bullets were coming through the window. We swiftly left the house and went into our own garden. After a few hours I saw through a crack in the fence that Mazariuk, a former student, now a militiaman, was organizing a band of pupils of the middle schools; he went with them into the neighboring yard, dug up fifteen rifles there, and then went to report that Jews were hiding where they lived, and afterwards started pillaging with the entire gang.

IV. *Testimony of Chernikhov, Aged* 24

On Sunday, May 11, at noon, the Grigorievists came to our house, conducted a search, and finding on one of us a Zionistic document with the *mogen dovid* (Shield of David), began to yell that the owner of this document was a genuine communist and stood him against the wall. When it was explained to them that this was not a communist document, they took the goods and clothing and departed. After two hours they returned again to look for the "communist," but he was no longer there.

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V. *Testimony of Fastovsky*

On May 14, at twelve midnight, there came to our house four armed men in military uniforms, who demanded weapons, searched us, and beat us terribly. My husband gave them a thousand rubles and they left the house and ordered them to go along. They took my husband and three sons with them. Half an hour later the youngest son came running back and asked for another thousand rubles. He hastily explained that they had been terribly tormented along the road. His father besought them: "Let me live for the sake of my little children." The reply was: "Shut up, Jew." They took them to the river, stripped them naked, and began to beat them with gun-butts. When the father couldn't speak from pain, he cried: "I must have a thousand rubles more; take them, but let us live." When the boy arrived with the money, he found his father and two brothers lying dead in pools of blood.

VI. *Testimony of Gersh Kazakevich, Aged* 56, *Baker*

From May 10 to 18 there were about a hundred people hiding from the pogrom in his dwelling. All that time the owner's son kept walking up and down in peasant's garb, guarding the place. The bands that passed took him for a peasant and asked: "Where is the headquarters of the Jew-communists here?" He replied to this that the Jews had already been plundered. On Thursday, the 15th, in the evening, bandits surrounded the house and demanded that he give the Jews up to them, but he insisted that there were no Jews there. They departed. On the next day, May 16, they came again, surrounded the house, and demanded that the Jews be surrendered; if not, they would shoot the son. The latter was compelled to hide. They broke into the house, and seized five Jews, whom they beat terribly and took away to the railway train.

VII. *Testimony of David Meyer Goldstein*

On Saturday, May 17, 1919, at 6 A.M., bandits broke into the house of Aria Levitzsky, found several people there, and demanded money from them. The first to be killed was the teacher of the Talmud-Torah, who had no money. The second victim was Feiga Zhukialianskaia, an old woman of 72; she begged to take the place of the young people. They then collected 1,300 rubles from the witness, and afterwards left the house. As soon as the armed bandits left the dwelling, a crowd of peasant men

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and women with sacks and baskets broke in and divided everything they found in the house among themselves.

Those who remained thought that the presence of the corpses would frighten off the peasants and save them from further torments. In reality it was still worse. Every new band, on seeing the corpses, became convinced that here the Jews had defended themselves with weapons in their hands, and demanded of the living that they give up their weapons, and stood them up against the wall with the vilest abuse. All day long we kept ransoming ourselves with money.

(Signature)

ALEXANDROVKA-FUNDUKEIEVKA (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Pogrom of May 18-20, 1919

Report on the Pogrom and Bloody Massacre Which Took Place in the Town of Alexandrovka, Government of Kiev (Station of Fundukeievka)

The pogrom and the murders began May 18. A squadron of Ataman Grigoriev's detachment stopped at the station of Fundukeievka. A group of fifteen or twenty armed men went to the town "to look for communists." The bold procedure of Comrade Vnikhrist at the station, and of Comrade K. Zhadon, who met them on the bridge with a white flag in his hand, so as to avert a disaster, were of no avail; both nearly paid with their lives. According to the words of several eyewitnesses, the Grigorievists were guided by one of the local intellectuals. Comrade Zhadon can confirm this statement.

They began the devastation with the first houses, in regular order. Immediately behind them trailed bands of local pillagers. Almost nothing was left in the dwellings. With the first shots all the population of the outskirts rushed in a panic into the center of town. From some dwellings they did not have time to flee, and fell victims of the bandits in their own homes, five in one family, two in another; two were killed on the street. The dead proved to be exclusively people who had been sick. With that day began a continuous series of looting, devastation, and barbarous murders. The authorities did nothing. On the night of the 15th they plundered several homes and killed one man; he recognized the robbers and called one by name. Heartrending cries for help were heard, but there was no source from which help could be expected. The population was terror-stricken; most of them had given up living in their homes, abandoning everything to fate.

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The fatal days for the Jewish population of the town were the 19th and 20th of May. On May 18 one of the assistants of Grigoriev by telephone from Tzybuliev warned the commander of the local detachment, Comrade Shostnik, that he was sending a cavalry detachment with the object of rooting out the communists. Though Comrade Shostnik says he assured him that there were no communists in the town, it had no effect on "the protector of the Soviet power without communes." At eleven o'clock on the 19th, after a short bombardment with cannon and machine guns, the first horsemen appeared and began to fire at close range, "to take them at sight," as they expressed it. There were heard cries, shrieks, groans of the wounded and dying, mingled with fierce commands of "Give us money," the sound of broken glass, and the crash of shattered doors and shutters. They robbed and murdered without mercy. The number of the murderers increased all the time; other local robbers appeared again, at whose hands more fell than at the Grigorievists'.

They hunted the people out and killed them in orchards, gardens, houses, garrets, cellars, rubbish-pits; they killed old men, middle-aged, and young women, and babes at the breast. No mercy was shown anywhere to anyone. The Russian intellectuals were passive at the very best, allowing no one to hide in their houses, with very rare exceptions. There appeared a band of bag-carriers, mostly of the town and the neighboring villages, who cleaned out the dwellings, not disdaining anything, even little pots.

On the night of the 20th, exclusively local thieves plundered and killed—in one home eight people, next door to the building of the Executive Committee of the *volost* (district); in another, in the outskirts, thirteen or fourteen people. Life in the town stopped; living corpses moved about; all the houses were broken open, with smashed doors, and shutters torn off, and windows broken. Inside the homes was the most frightful chaos. Furniture was everywhere upset, and broken up, all papers were strewn about on the floor. In some places, where the pillows and feather-beds had not been stolen, the pillow-slips had been taken off and the feathers scattered about; and on the following days even these wretched relics were carried off in bags. Exactly the same scene of murder and destruction was repeated on May 31, again by the Grigorievists with the energetic participation of local people. In these two days alone there were more than 160 victims. After the 21st murders stopped, since Soviet forces arrived; but the visiting of houses continued, for

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even some of the troops who had arrived did not restrain themselves from that sin. Complete quiet had not even yet been restored. The town presents a painful picture. The windows and doors of most of the houses are boarded up, the inhabitants are taking refuge several families in one dwelling; want is acute; there are no clothes, under or outer, shoes, glass, or many other of the most necessary things. Many have fled, destined for hunger and privation in strange parts.

The third attack of the Grigorievists took place in June. They took advantage of a temporary departure of the Soviet forces. As after May 21, all the Jewish population was herded together in the yard of the Executive Committee of the *volost*, and there robbed man by man. From some they even took off their last jackets, cloaks, boots and shoes. Besides all this they imposed a contribution of 75,000 rubles. The tortured and terrorized population for lack of means had to borrow several thousand rubles from the Russian credit association to save their lives. On the outside of the walls and doors of the Jewish inhabitants crosses were depicted with chalk, and saints' images were set up in the windows. Thus were the bloody massacres and pogroms prepared and carried out in Alexandrovka and neighboring places. We are informed that in the town of Medvedovka the surrounding peasants went even farther; they took apart and carried away the houses and other buildings belonging to the Jews, and none of the fleeing population dares to return and interfere with the destruction of the dwellings built by bitter toil. More than 500 dwellings have been destroyed, with a population of 3,200 to 3,300 people.

SHPOLA (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Pogrom of May 27, 1919

Testimony of Krasniansky, Taken Down by Maizlish, August 8

The town of Shpola is a railroad station in the Zvenigorod canton.

The pogrom was perpetrated by bands of neighboring peasants (from Lebedin and Listopadovo), going under the flag of Grigoriev. A band of about 150 to 200 men appeared on Monday evening, May 26, and went around to the synagogues, and commanded all the men to go to the station. Close to 1,000 Jews obeyed without question and collected at the station. There they separated out the old men and declared that they were going to shoot them. When cries and entreaties arose, the bandits stated

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that they would let them live if they would get them a certain quantity of provisions and money (sugar, tea, flour, etc.). Two hours time-limit was set. A commission was chosen which started to collect the provisions. But firing began at the station of Tzvetkovo (12 versts from Shpola), and the gang got frightened and left.

On the next morning (Tuesday, May 27), a reconnoitring party came, and, finding that there was no one in the town, informed the gang of the fact. They immediately appeared and began to loot. The population, in a panic, scattered and hid. All the Jewish dwellings and some shops were plundered (at the beginning of the year there had been a great fire in Shpola and almost all the stores were burned). They took away goods, clothing, and underclothes, and spoiled and destroyed what was left. On the same day fourteen were killed, mostly by firearms, some accidentally, by stray bullets. The local peasants at first hid the Jews, but then began to say that they were afraid themselves. They took no part in the pillaging. Crosses were placed on the doors of non-Jewish dwellings. In the evening Soviet forces arrived and forced out the bandits.

Three weeks after the first pogrom a detachment of Grigorievists with yellow flags passed by Shpola, and about twelve men entered the town, looted (valuables, watches, and money; they didn't stay long enough to get much) for several hours, and barbarously killed three. One fourteen-year-old girl was violated. She was operated on in the hospital, but died. Later it was said that these bandits who entered the town were disarmed by their own commanders.

KREMENCHUG AND KRIUKOV (GOVERNMENT OF POLTAVA)

Pogrom of May 12-14, 1919

From [the newspaper] "Kom. Fon," No. 1

The pogrom was organized by Grigorievists and began on Monday, May 12. First the Grigorievists occupied Kriukov (a suburb of Kremenchug), and made it their first business to plunder the Jews of that place. On the night of May 12 began their entry into Kremenchug. As soon as they broke into the town they surrounded Jewish houses under pretext of making searches and taking everything that came to their hands. On this day, May 13, there were also cases of murders. The principal bacchanalia began on May 14. By this time a Committee

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of Community Safety had had time to organize. On the 15th the Committee formed a guard of Russian workmen, which succeeded in stopping the pogrom. On Monday, May 21, a bolshevist detachment entered Kremenchug. During the time of the pogrom in the city there were 21 people killed. Besides this, the Grigorievist gang at the time of their departure massacred an entire Jewish family of five persons in Kriukov. While they were withdrawing towards the station the Kobeliak Grigorievists killed all the Jews they met.

Kamenka (Government of Kiev)

Kamenka is a town in the canton of Chigirin. It has about six thousand inhabitants; about 540 Jewish families. The pogrom was perpetrated by the Grigorievists in the middle of May, approximately May 14-20. There were 76 Jews killed (62 men and 14 women).

District of Uman

(Uman, Dubovo, Ladyzhenka, Golovanevsk)

From Report of Authorized Investigator I. S. Braudo, of July 10, 1919

I think that the conditions in Uman and its canton are sufficiently explained in my preceding letters and telegrams. I will add only that I returned to-day—I slipped away from a trip through the canton. I was in the small town of Dubovo, twenty versts from Uman. The pogrom and massacre which have lasted there more than a month and a half have been so exceptional in their character and degree of ferocity, so rich in "pogrom-creativeness" and initiative, that one is inclined to believe that Dubovo is an unhappy exception in the records of pogroms in recent days. In a few days I shall communicate the chronological course of events and details, together with lists of the tortured and wounded. In Dubovo I succeeded in opening a feeding station for furnishing food (flour, potatoes, millet, and meat) to 280 people, among them 134 children. Under the present monstrous conditions there, it is impossible to furnish any other help. And at the present moment it is not certain what is happening to the Jewish population of Dubovo. I left the place hastily, since eight versts away in the direction of Golovanevsk some gang or other had again appeared and gone on the rampage.

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Peasant cabmen returning to Dubovo report that they were stopped on the road to Golovanevsk by bandits, who took out the Jewish passengers and bade the peasants turn back and drive the horses fast, not looking around. A Christian inhabitant of the town, a man with an excellent past record, has been taken into the service as manager of the feeding station in Dubovo, and the Jews have entire confidence in him as to the work of assistance. The local Jews are so frightened and exhausted that not one of them would consent to manage the station, in spite of the dire need. There is no governmental victualling organ there. The provisions must be bought at market prices, which are arbitrary and capricious and change almost from hour to hour.

From Dubovo I intended to go to Golovanevsk, which is 25 versts from there. Golovanevsk, thanks to its exemplarily organized, self-denying, and excellently armed Jewish self-defense, has become the center in which the refugees of the whole district take refuge. There are more than 3,000 refugees there. The want is terrible. When I was in Dubovo, Golovanevsk was surrounded by rebels. Willy-nilly, I had to postpone my visit until the next "breathing-spell." In general, moving from place to place in the district involves great danger Around the cities and towns are gangs, rebel bands, groups, crowds, mere peasant-agriculturists with pitchforks and scythes, with various watchwords, with all sorts of demands, or without these flimsy excuses; all of them beat, torture and mutilate Jews. They count many village policemen their ringleaders. Almost all of these bear nicknames taken from popular stories or from criminal novels.

TALNOIE must also not be passed by without assistance. It is only 45 versts thither by cart; but the trip is dangerous. You have to go by train, and I am informed that the road has now been mended. I expect to go to-morrow or the next day. I fear, and I think not without reason, that the occurrences in Talnoie caused "spatters" [similar occurrences in the neighborhood] and that this locality has its Dubovo, Ladyzhenka, Kristinovka and the like.

In UMAN quiet has been established; the 8th and 1st Soviet regiments have left town. When I returned from Dubovo I did not know the place. The shutters, doors, and some shops were open; no firing was audible, and you saw no murdered gray-haired, long-skirted "communist"-Jews. In the city there is an international regiment, under revolutionary discipline. You can move freely through the town up to ten o'clock at night. It

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is only during the last two days that it has been possible to work calmly, reflectively.

The remainder of the report is devoted to the practical work in Uman and its district.

UMAN

Pogrom of May 12-14, 1919

I. *Testiminy of the Student B. Z. Rabinovich, Taken Down by S. Y. Maizlish*

In the region of Uman and its canton the rebel detachments of Klimenko, Tiutiunik, and Popov were operating. The pogrom, which took place May 13-14, 1919, was perpetrated by Klimenko's bands, which were joined by a part of the city bourgeoisie and various criminal elements. The rebels with Klimenko at their head occupied Uman on Monday, May 12, on which day and on the following days, Tuesday and Wednesday, they perpetrated looting and murders in colossal proportions. They stayed about ten days, and on May 22, under pressure from Soviet forces, left Uman. The course of events before and during the pogrom appears in the following aspect.

The Soviet regime was established in Uman March 11. The young Jews of Uman took an active part in the communistic movement in general and in the organization of the organs of the Soviet regime in particular. At the head of the Executive organs was the Jew Buhl; a decided majority of the commissariats and other higher offices was occupied by Jews. The Jewish element in considerable proportions was installed in all possible institutions and offices. From the very beginning of the establishment of the Soviet regime in Uman the preponderance of Jews everywhere struck one forcibly. And from various quarters there began to spread criticism and expressions of extreme disapproval regarding the "Jewish oppression." Anti-Semitic attitudes arose, and flare-ups, which later led to active operations, in connection with measures adopted by the Soviet regime regarding provisions and other matters which touched the interests of the peasants.

The surrounding peasants became violently dissatisfied and antagonists of the Soviet rule. This secret dissatisfaction soon began to appear on the surface, and they gradually poured into the organization of the rebel detachments with the object of moving on Uman and overthrowing the bolshevist regime.

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The first swallow on the rebel horizon was the Ukrainian left social-revolutionary, S. Shtogrin. Himself a native of Uman, having studied in the Uman horticultural school, Shtogrin was a prominent political worker and was popular as a protector of the interests of the peasants. Shtogrin demanded that the Left Ukrainian Social-revolutionaries be allowed places in the Executive Committee, and that the Soviet and the Executive Committee be reorganized generally in such a way that the peasant element should be put in a majority. Having accomplished nothing, Shtogrin made himself the leader of the rebels and began to agitate against the Soviet regime and to prepare for an open uprising. But this agitation was not only anti-Soviet, but also anti-Jewish. The government began to oppose Shtogrin, arrested him and shot him. When he was examined in the Extraordinary Committee, accusations were also brought against him that he was carrying on an anti-Semitic agitation, and he was asked if he didn't understand that this might lead to a Jewish pogrom. Shtogrin declared that it was true that he was urging the peasants to a pogrom, "for," said he, "it was impossible to rouse the peasants in any other way."

After the shooting of Shtogrin the wave of rebellion grew more violent. The peasants of nearly all the surrounding villages arose and under Klimenko's leadership approached the city. It was known all the time that the rebels were all about the city, but it was not expected that they would attack the city itself. Meanwhile the Soviet regime called an assembly of peasants, which from its very first steps took up opposition to the existing government and carried a resolution demanding a reorganization of the Soviet and the Executive Committee and a change of all previous policies. The government replied to this by dispersing the assembly. This occurred on Sunday, May 11. The dispersal of the assembly served as the spark which lighted all the inflammable material that had been heaped up. On Monday, May 12, in the morning, the rebels entered the city, and on the same day the pogrom began. The city was abandoned by the bolsheviki without resistance, although the numbers of the rebels were considerably less than the numbers of the effective Soviet detachment in Uman. The pogrom, as was said, lasted through the 12th, 13th, and 14th of May. The looting was not of an intensive nature; few things were stolen, and furniture was not destroyed. They took away mainly money and valuables, and searched everywhere for weapons. The material losses, according to the inhabitants, were relatively small, perhaps a million in all, whereas, as the people of Uman say, the

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8th Soviet regiment (which arrived afterwards) stole incomparably more—up in the tens of millions.

Separate groups and whole bands of rebels went around from house to house making searches, hunting for weapons, with the watchword: "Give us the Jew-Communists," and at the same time looted and killed. It must be said that among the peasant rebels, there were very many quiet and well-behaved persons, who, when they searched, did not harm anyone, and even reassured the people. Much greater zeal was shown in the pogrom by local bourgeois, and other elements which adhered to the rebels for the sake of pillaging and making money. The killings in the overwhelming majority of cases were of the character of shootings. In rare instances disfigurements took place, and murders that were more outspoken in barbarity.

Although they were searching for communists, Christian communists were not touched. For instance, bandits came into a certain yard searching for one Kutzin, who had once had a work-shop and was now serving in the department of manufactures of the Soviet People's Economy, but who had nothing in common with the communists. They were looking for him because a Russian neighbor had indicated him as a communist. But he was not found. Hereupon someone said that the treasurer of the Extraordinary Committee, named Pavlov, lived there. "Is he a Jew?" immediately asked the bandits. When they received the answer, "No, he's a Russian," they waved their hands and said: "Then we don't want him."

During the pogrom there were scenes and episodes not devoid of interest. The student R. was being dragged off to be shot; they demanded of him: "Give us two revolvers," and no arguments or entreaties of his parents availed. Along with him they seized two other young men, neighbors, and took them away. Suddenly one of the latter fell in a swoon, and there was a pause in the procession; the bandits left them in peace and were on the point of going away. But in a short time they came back after the student R. Finding that he had not fled during the interruption, and that he was ready to go with them, they said in astonishment: "Why, he didn't run away!" and left him in peace.

Women in general were spared, and if among the slain there were about twenty per cent of the female sex, this is explained by the fact that they killed such women as tried to save their husbands, brothers, etc., and clung to the bandits with entreaties and cries.

In the courtyard of Kahan's house were shot nine men and

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one pregnant young woman (Zhuravskaia-Kushnir), who was fired upon in the abdomen. This woman rushed to save her husband, and fell, struck down by the bullet. The slayers immediately began to express regret that they had fired upon this beautiful young woman, and even tried to save her; they proposed to her mother to take her to the hospital and have her treated. One in particular was overwhelmed by the voluntary and heroic death of this woman. In many houses which he entered in the further attacks, he gloomily and regretfully said (in Ukrainian): "Ah, we killed a Jewess in the Kahan house; how she looked at me before she died—I shall never, never forget the eyes of that Jewess."

It is hard to determine the exact number of the slain, for the dead were collected by non-Jews and buried in one common grave. Interesting was the superstitious fear of their victims manifested by the pogromists. They began to bury the dead on Wednesday, May 14. The Jews were not yet venturing to go out of the houses; murders were still going on in the city. The authorities took the initiative in the matter of removing the corpses. Several days later, when the Jews were allowed to appear on the streets, the relatives of the dead went to the cemetery to open the common grave and transfer the bodies to separate graves. But a throng of bourgeois (mostly participants in the pogrom) blocked the way and declared that they would not let them go to the cemetery and disturb the corpses. They openly explained their conduct by fear of their victims. "You can't disturb them, or they will be angry and avenge themselves on us," they said. The Jews had to return to the city without accomplishing anything; and the grave remained unopened. It is believed that the number of the killed was three to four hundred.

There were many cases of Jews whom Christians concealed in their homes. For instance a priest named Nikolsky, well-known as a black-hundreder, also concealed Jews and helped them. But in general the average Russian intellectuals were hostile in their attitude and refused refuge. Many were very content with the pogrom and among some parts of the population there was even exultation. This cannot at all be said regarding the Ukrainians, that is the nationalistically inclined Ukrainian population of Uman, who behaved themselves very well and sympathetically to the Jews. As one native of Uman said, "The Ukrainians of Uman are in this respect above all praise."

Some days after the pogrom some one circulated the rumor

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that the Jews had poisoned the water at the tank-house, and that they were giving out poisoned water. Even such persons as Nagorny, the director of the female gymnasium, circulated this rumor. It was necessary to name a commission of physicians, which published a proclamation to the inhabitants saying that the water was drinkable.

On Friday, May 16, the teachers of religion in the educational institutions published an address to the Christian population, adjuring them not to shed any more Jewish blood and to stop the pogrom.

Two cases are known of the killing of Christians. The sailor Straigorodsky was killed. He had been in the habit of traveling around at the head of a detachment through the villages, establishing "Kombeds" (Committees of the Poor), quelling the peasants, levying requisitions, and in general strengthening the Soviet rule. There was personal animosity against him. Davidenko (pseudonym Chalai) was also killed.

The rebels remained about ten days in Uman. They organized a government in the city, issued a newspaper and published proclamations. Under pressure from Soviet forces the rebels left Uman and scattered about the surrounding country. Now the Soviet regime in Uman is organized on different principles. The majority of the places in the Executive Committee are left to the peasants; many of the demands previously presented by the representatives of the rebels have been satisfied. The number of Jews in responsible positions is now notably less.

II. *Report of an Assembly of Party Workers and People in Public Life in the City of Uman, called by the Regional Director of the Head Mission of the Russian Society of the Red Cross, on the Question of the Course and Proportions of Local Pogroms*

At the assembly Comrade Kh. D. Proskurovsky read the following statement:

UMAN is a cantonal capital in the government of Kiev, with a population of approximately sixty to sixty-five thousand. Of these, in approximate figures, thirty-five to forty thousand are Jews, twenty to twenty-two thousand Ukrainians and Russians, and about three thousand Poles. The Jews constitute an overwhelming majority of the population, occupying the central streets and having entirely surrounded the central district, except for some small streets where live the well-to-do Polish inhabitants, the Ukrainian-Russian officialdom, and in general

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the local so-called Christian aristocracy. The suburbs are settled in an overwhelming majority by petty bourgeois. The jewish population of Uman lived principally by small handicrafts and trade. The percentage of the liberal professions was rather large: physicians, lawyers, midwives, surgeons, etc.; middlemen in various commercial operations, so-called brokers, especially numerous those dealing in grain and various food-products; but there was also a considerable percentage of people living by harder labor; draymen, porters, water-carriers, sawyers, common laborers, etc. The larger part of the Jewish population lived in poverty and want. Exceptional were some tens of wealthy men, hundreds of men of means, a thousand or two of people in moderate circumstances, who had more or less constant earnings. The Ukrainians and Russians supplied the officials and employees in all state institutions; they were the ruling, governing class. The mass of Christians lived in the suburbs; their occupations were largely (1) traffic in food products and provisions, (2) production and sale of leather wares, (3) service (house-porters, domestic servants, firemen, policemen, wardens, etc.), work in the factories and workshops, and in the building trades, as pavers, plasterers, etc. The most of them owned property in the suburbs of the city: small houses, barns, small gardens, etc. The Polish population was the best provided for in the city, and consisted of landowners, professors, managers of estates, directors of sugar factories, the higher and lower personnel of agricultural-economic undertakings and factories, lawyers, physicians, officials, employees of the Polish unions and institutions, and some working at lower forms of service. During the war years the population greatly increased, as a result of the influx of refugees, migration from the villages to the city, and the natural increase of population. Mutual interrelations had really never been good, especially since 1902-03, the beginning of the persecution of the Jews for their "revolutionary ideas," and the events of October, 1905, when a mob in Uman, with the sympathy of the Christian officialdom and clergy, perpetrated a Jewish pogrom, in which three Jews fell victims, and the property of the Jewish inhabitants was partly plundered. The years from 1905 to 1917 were years of "bad peace" and ill-concealed antagonism in the Christian population against the Jews. The war of 1914 redoubled this antagonism, and the Jewish population felt that in the completion of the war and in the demobilization great misfortunes would appear for it. The revolution of 1917 at first tended to better relations, but later the general aggravation of the economic situation, the struggle

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for power, the international conflict, the separation of Ukraine from Russia, etc., gradually made worse and more difficult the position of the Jewish population, which invariably suffered severely, without regard to which elements conquered or met defeat. (See Appendix 1.) The transfer of power from the Hetman to the Directory had no good effects in Uman. The Jewish masses sympathized with the change, but they began to observe, in the course of time, a suspicious attitude towards themselves, and instances of malevolence, oppression, persecution, and at last downright baiting. The authorities explained this (if they explained it at all) by saying that among the bolsheviks—if not the local ones, then the ones at a distance—the majority were Jews. The attitude towards the Jews on the part of all the authorities in the last days of the Directory was full of hate, desire to "avenge," to oppress, etc. (See Appendix 2.) The Gaidamaks tormented the Jews on the streets, beat them, plundered them with the most complete impunity. There were isolated cases of murders in the city and massacres in the surrounding places (*e.g.* in Kristinovka, where about five Jews were cut down and thrown in the way of a train). One Jew the Gaidamaks arrested on the street on some invented pretext, and took him to the barracks, where they tortured him to death, breaking his arms and legs, and threw him naked into the sewer. In general, during the last days, the Jewish population was in a constant nightmare of baiting and in fear of an open attack and massacre on the part of the Gaidamaks. But through the efforts of local men in public life and agents of the Council, among whom were many Christians, and by the payment of a contribution (out of three millions imposed more than a million and a half was paid), they succeeded in averting a pogrom and massacre.

On March 11, by night, under pressure of the approaching Soviet guerrilla detachments, the forces of the Directory evacuated Uman, departing for Kristinovka, the nearest junction-station on the railroad. A military organization consisting principally of young Jews immediately took upon itself the guarding of the town. It had organized illegally during the last month of the regime of the Directory. On the morning of March 12 the Soviet guerrilla detachments entered the town, putting an end to the nightmare-like situation of the Jewish inhabitants, who had been fearing a massacre. However, immediately upon the entrance into the city of the guerrilla forces, there began pillaging of the population (mostly Jews), in which both the prisoners whom the guerrilla forces had released from prison,

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and these forces themselves participated. The robberies continued for two or three days and then quieted down, with the departure of that detachment and its replacement by another more disciplined one, parts of which kept guard along with the city formation. On March 17 the Soviet detachment and the Soviet organs fled from Uman under pressure from the Gaidamaks, who had broken through the front and who entered Uman to the number of 100. The Jewish population had a terrible panic, expecting inevitable ruin (see Appendix 3). However, the Councilmen, mostly Ukrainians, succeeded in dissuading the commander of the Gaidamak detachment, Diachenko, from his intention. Besides, the situation was saved by the contribution of a large number of boots, clothing, and some other valuables.

On March 22 the Soviet guerrilla detachment, which had taken Uman in the first place, again entered the city. Again, and in still larger measure, pillaging of the inhabitants was resumed, mostly of the Jews,—performed by the guerrilla soldiers, among whom were many professional thieves, robbers, and other criminals well known in Uman, who had got out of prison and entered this regiment (the 8th Ukrainian Soviet regiment). However, there was no personal violence. Upon this followed a period of comparative quiet, when the plundering detachments departed and the city remained under the protection of the local guards. The lives of the Jewish inhabitants were out of danger for a period of a month or a month and a half. The Soviet regime imposed upon the city a contribution of fifteen millions and a requisition of clothing, and a number of very considerable other requisitions, which were mostly not paid. Some of the rich and thrifty Jewish inhabitants were arrested, some were set at various public works (sweeping the streets, etc.). This time marked the beginning of pronounced anti-Soviet agitation, carried on by its foes among the Christian population, mostly the Ukrainian-Russian officialdom, the clergy and bourgeoisie of the suburbs. The chief motives of this agitation were anti-Semitic. Thus, for example, among the backward and ignorant masses rumors were spread to the effect that all the power belonged to the Jews, that they had closed orthodox churches and turned them into stables, that the bolsheviki were almost or quite exclusively Jews, that they were robbing the petty bourgeois of their property, and a series of provocatory and deceitful reports, rumors and inventions. At the same time the city witnessed an increase in the cost of living and unemployment, and the general economic crisis grew worse. The actions of the bolsheviki, among whom were many narrow and ignorant people, the work

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of the Extraordinary Committee, the confiscations, requisitions, and a number of over-harsh measures affecting various departments of life, all these disconcerted and angered the ignorant mass of the suburban bourgeoisie, which had always been a willing instrument in the hands of the local clergy, the officialdom, and the military and commercial elements. Such was the situation in the city. In the country there was going on an organization of an uprising against the Soviet regime, carried on by the agents of the Directory and by peasants and country intellectuals in general, who, for one reason or another, were discontented with the Soviet government. At the same time in the ranks of the Uman garrison and the Extraordinary Committee's detachment an agitation was carried on by Ukrainian Left Social Revolutionaries, using anti-Semitism as their chief motive. The heads of this agitation were the Ukrainian Left Social Revolutionaries Shtogrin and Klimenko. In the middle of April they raised an armed revolt of the garrison, arrested the Executive Committee, replaced the Jews, forced out the military commissar of the government (*gubernia*), a Jew, and the military commandant, and disarmed a company of (military) instructors which was loyal to the Soviet. However, disorganization began within their own ranks. A punitive detachment came from Vinnitza and disarmed the entire garrison, and re-established order. Shtogrin was arrested, but escaped, and fled with Klimenko into the country, where by their agitation they soon set all the country districts of the region of Uman against the Soviet regime. The principal card of this agitation was invariably the argument that the power over the people had been seized by "strangers," "newcomers," and more precisely, Jews. The Soviet detachments began to go out into the villages to "pacify" them, which exasperated the peasants against them still more. Early in May one of the punitive Soviet detachments captured Shtogrin, the leader of the rebels, in a fight. He was shot along with others at Uman. This infuriated the peasants, since Shtogrin and all those who were executed were very well known to all. The rebellions became constant in the district, and it began to be evident that the weak Soviet detachment would not be able to cope with the numerous armed rebels. The local organs of government applied to their superiors for help, but the latter were not in a position to help with the considerable military forces that were needed. Around the tenth of May Grigoriev's uprising began, and the rebels of the Uman district immediately adhered to it, when they received the well-known anti-Semitic manifesto ("Universal") of Grigoriev. At this time the rebel-

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lious and anti-Soviet, and likewise anti-Semitic, feelings in the villages and the city reached tremendous proportions. (Appendix 4.) The local Soviet detachments, few in numbers and partly disorganized, proved unable to withstand the attack of the rebels, who surrounded Uman in a ring. After some fighting they abandoned the town, taking with them the Soviet institutions and almost all the Soviet workers. The train left on the morning of May 12, before the eyes of the rebels who had taken their positions there, and who fired on the train as it left from a distance of some paces. Immediately upon the departure of the train with the Soviet garrison, the rebels rushed into the defenseless town from all roads leading to it. (Appendix 5.) The principal crowd of them entered from the direction of the station about 11 A.M., May 12. The rebels, mostly on horseback, and firing uninterruptedly, rushed to the locations of the Soviet military institutions, the Executive Committee, etc., where they cut the telephone lines, and seized weapons, if any were found. The Jewish population in a panic hid in their houses, garrets, and cellars. Many found refuge with acquaintances among the Christian intellectuals, thanks to which they escaped being robbed, beaten or murdered. As many as twenty or thirty cases are known of Christians who concealed Jews and actively or passively took their part. There were about five cases in which Christians, with danger to themselves, took the part of Jews and saved them from ruin or death. Finding no "communists" in the public institutions where they looked for them, the peasants who entered first began to rush into private dwellings, mainly of Jews, asking for "communists." The most of the eyewitnesses declare that in these dwellings where the village peasants appeared they only hunted for arms and "communists," not pillaging or killing anyone. This was, however, only up to four or five o'clock on May 12. By that time the local petty bourgeois from the suburbs had had time to arm themselves, with arms which had partly been previously hidden, partly just procured. They joined the rebels; and also thieves, robbers, and murderers, who had taken the opportunity to escape from prison and were enjoying freedom. These elements had always been anti-Semitic and quite inclined to plunder Jewish property. By their participation in the uprising they immediately changed the whole aspect of what had happened before their interference, that is before 5 o'clock. The Christian officials, clergy, former officers, and all the enemies of the Jews were not slow in carrying on a violent anti-Semitic agitation among the peasants, bourgeoisie, and criminals; and under this influence

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the behavior of the crowds which had entered the city, towards the Jews, changed sharply for the worse. Nevertheless the genuine village peasantry spilled less blood than the others, and among them there were occasionally found protectors of the innocent. Finally, many Jews bought their lives from the peasants with money. The cutting down and shooting was mostly done by gypsies, who had come in with the rebels, by petty bourgeois of the city, living in the suburbs, and by criminals; also by peasants from the village of Starye Babany, of which Shtogrin was a native—Shtogrin who had been shot for organizing military and peasant uprisings against the Soviet regime. The usual picture of pillaging and killing was as follows. Separate bands scattered over the city and visited dwellings in bunches, searching and inspecting people and documents, looking for weapons and communists. Except for the cases in which the searches were conducted by rebels with principles, or by direction of the rebel authorities, the searches invariably ended in open looting and carrying off of the Jews' property and various goods, with beatings and murders. In some cases the havoc began with the declaration that they had come to look for "communists" and weapons; in others, with the accusation that communists and others were hidden on the premises. In the majority of cases the bandits rushed in, demanding money, and torturing and killing before or after getting the money. In some instances the bandits, guided by local criminals, went directly to the homes (well known to the latter) of rich and well-to-do Jews, where without any pretext or with a provocatory pretext they plundered and murdered. In many places the bandits "planted" weapons, which resulted in the payment to them of large money ransoms, or caused the shooting of all who were found in the dwelling (see Appendix 6). On the first day the number of Jews killed amounted to between 30 and 60 people. In the evening the pogrom and the murders quieted down. The Jewish men arrested in their homes, numbering close to a hundred, were taken away to the quarters of the Extraordinary Committee, which the rebels had seized; some to headquarters or to prison. On the morning of the next day (the 13th) Proclamation No. 1 was issued in the city, signed by Klimenko as "Chief in Command of the Insurgent Troops of the region of Uman." In this it was declared that the Jewish power was overthrown, and the insurgents were called upon not to serve "Jewish agents and provocators." In the morning the pogrom flared up again with renewed force, with arrests of Jewish men, and shooting of them with orders and without orders, in solitude in their

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homes, or in groups outside the city. All day long were heard the sounds of isolated shots and volleys, killing Jews, and the sound of church-bells in the city and the suburbs. On the third day of the massacre, under the leadership of the orthodox clergy of the city, there took place a procession with banners, in which the worshippers passed by bodies of Jews freshly shot or slain with the sword. The pogrom and massacre continued all day, and a hundred to a hundred and fifty Jews were killed. At this time the insurgent government was being formed, with a military staff and headquarters, and a series of proclamations and appeals to the population were issued. In the second proclamation it was again stated that "the Jewish power is overthrown." In the evening the pogrom and massacre quieted down; the bodies of the tortured victims remained lying where death had overtaken them. All the Jewish inhabitants that could do so hid and spent the night in cellars, garrets, barns and pits, or in Christian homes, wherever the owner admitted them. The pogrom and massacre began again on the morning of May 14, and the system of plundering and shooting continued to be practised as on the preceding days. On this day another 150 people or thereabouts were killed. In the evening of the same day the massacre stopped and was not again renewed during the stay of the rebels in the city. (Appendix 7.) The pogrom also stopped as a mass manifestation but numerous individual cases of looting continued throughout the entire time of their stay. On the third and fourth days Klimenko, ataman of the rebels, granted permission to the Jews to bury the dead. At the same time, by his orders, the rebels began to drive the Jews to collect the corpses of the slain, in the houses and on the streets. The bodies were thrown into carts and carried to the Jewish cemetery, where they were buried in three great common ditches. The Jews were not allowed to dig individual graves; they were ordered to lay them away quickly in the common ditches. When the herded Jews, among whom were many fathers, mothers, wives, brothers, sisters, and children of the dead, were digging the graves, weeping, the rebels laughed at them and made fun of them in every way, taunted them, would not allow the women to cry, and threatened them with their weapons. Groups of rebels, passing by the cemetery, and seeing the burial, started singing merry songs. However, some Christians, especially women, wept at the sight of the enormous pile of corpses. The total number of Jews slain amounted to approximately 300 to 400 people, including men from the age of 18 to 95, and women, and children under 18. Special attention is called to the numer-

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ous cases of the killing of entire families, for example, of the four members of the Tkachuk family (Zagorodnaya St.); two sons and son-in-law Ruthauser; father, two sons, and son-in-law Dergun; husband and wife Vygodman; father and two sons Golikhov; son, nephew, and two grandsons Faitelson, and many others. There was the case of the murder of the entire family of Nukhim Bogdanis, in which were an old man of 95, his son-in-law, daughter, grandson, and great-grandson. There were cases of deliberate torture and barbarous maltreatment, as, *e.g.*, the cutting off of hands, feet, ears, nose, breasts of women, etc. (Appendix 7a.)

All the bodies were found naked or half naked. On Great Fountain Street in the Poliak house there was a case where the bandits killed the husband and father of a woman who tried to shield them with her own body. She herself was thereby wounded in the breast with a bullet. This woman was pregnant and on the next day brought forth a child, while on the floor of the dwelling lay the bodies of three slain, including her husband and father. A certain number of cases of violations of women were recorded, of which exact information cannot be given. A large number of cases are reported where in one half of a house, inhabited by Jews, havoc and murder reigned, while the inhabitants of the other half, Christians, continued to live peacefully, after hanging crosses on their walls and placing saints' images in the windows. (Appendix 8.) At the same time, in the opinion of most of the victimized Jews, it was sometimes enough that a Christian should merely give assurance that he knew the Jews in question to be decent and honorable people, and the bandits would not harm anyone. A number of cases are recorded in which conscientious Christians concealed Jews in their homes or interceded for them, and thereby saved them from ruin and death. On the Torgovaya Street a Christian Fofitzer, saved a whole street by his interference; while in other cases officials and "intellectuals" looked with perfect unconcern upon scenes of destruction and murder of Jews living next door to them, and made no attempts whatever to intervene or speak so much as a word in defense. On the contrary, in some cases there were exhibitions of malicious joy, of closing the doors upon people entreating protection (Appendix 10) or of direct incitement against their Jewish neighbors (Appendix 11). Out of a number of cases of complete moral depravity it is worth while to quote the following, which are completely verified:

Beyond Krasny Krest, in the fields, five Jews were shot, one of whom, an old man with white beard, was not killed at once, but

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lay a long time in acute agony. This attracted the attention of the Christian children of the neighborhood, who collected and began to stone him to death.—Not far from there the bandits also shot a certain Jew, who fell dead. They nevertheless picked him up and fastened his body to the fence, with cords, and then for a long time amused themselves with firing at this human target.—The bodies of many Jews slain have not even yet been brought to light, since many were buried by the bandits in the places where they were shot—outside the town, in ravines, fields, pits, etc. A week after the pogrom, twenty-eight bodies which had been insufficiently interred somewhere not far from Uman were uncovered; they lay near the road, and dogs began to attack them. Some of the bourgeoisie, fearing infection, stationed guards there, who drove the dogs away from the Jewish corpses with sticks. (Appendix 12.) The massacre was suspended towards evening on May 14, and the next day the insurgent newspaper printed appeals to the population, saying that the perpetration of pogroms was inadmissible, that it was a disgrace to the cause of freedom, etc. Proclamations were also printed of the Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, and likewise orders from Klimenko, threatening to shoot those who incited to further pogroms. The agitation against pogroms and their inciter, whom the rebel newspaper identified as a certain local priest (Nikolsky) and the local tsarist officials, was carried on by it very zealously. The same newspaper was eager to show that those responsible for the pogrom were only the petty bourgeois of the city, the inhabitants of the suburb Lysaia Gora, and the offscourings of the town, but not the insurgent peasants. (Appendix 13.)

With the end of the massacre and of pillaging *en masse*, the situation of the Jewish population improved only relatively. Hounding and persecution of them in very many ways did not cease all the time that the rebels were on the ground. The most oppressive persecution of all was the refusal of the peasants and the town merchants to sell anything whatsoever, and especially foodstuffs. Bread immediately rose from three rubles to twelve or fifteen rubles per pound. The rebel peasants said that they would starve the Jews to death. The suburbanites and the bourgeois living near the city kept urging the peasants not to sell the Jews anything; they themselves bought the peasants' products for a song and sold them at profiteers' prices. They also spread rumors that the Jews had poisoned wells, etc., and so made the peasants afraid to go to markets and bring their products there. The malice against the Jews expressed itself

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in this way, that the breadstuffs which they occasionally bought from good peasants were taken away from them, and they were at the same time beaten and arrested. Very many such cases are recorded. There were cases where people refused to sell bread at the markets to Christian women who looked like Jews.

At the same time some of Klimenko's staff and of the rebels were angry at him because he forbade further pogroms and massacre of the Jews, and openly accused him of having "sold out to the Jews." At the assembly of villages which was called by the rebels the control passed into the hands not of the Left Social Revolutionaries, to which Klimenko was reckoned, but of the partizans of the Directory, such as Doroshenko, Novak and others. At the assembly many Ukrainians delivered speeches against the pogrom and in defense of the Jews, and the assembly received and listened to a Jewish delegation which presented itself. Under the influence of these speeches, the assembly took a stand against the pogrom and in opposition to the town bourgeoisie, clergy, and officialdom, which classes were represented by the speakers at the assembly as the sole inciters to the pogrom. In the opinion of the speakers, the peasantry had taken no part whatever in the pogrom and the massacre, exception being made of individual cases of provocatory agitation by town black-hundreders, who had nothing in common with the objects of the peasant uprising. Out of the considerable number of Jews killed there has not been shown to be a single communist. Two communists were killed without trial or order, but both of them were Ukrainian Christians—Makar Davidenko and Anani Straigorodsky. At the same time it was reliably known that the communist Krasny, an Ukrainian, president of the Uman Executive Committee, who was sick abed, was visited several times by the leaders of the uprising (the commander in chief Klimenko, the former cantonal commissar of the Directory, Novak, and others), who talked with him peacefully and protected him from the possibility of attacks on his life, in spite of the fact that Krasny had not abandoned his communistic views. On the other hand there were cases of renegades, cases in which well-known Soviet officials and a certain number of private workmen who had gone with the Soviet regime went over to the side of the rebels, the Extraordinary Committee, and the Directory. To do this all that was needed was, as they put it in Uman, to "turn the visor"; the rebels entered Uman with the visors of their caps turned backward, wearing them thus as a rebel mark.

The rebels remained in Uman from May 12 to May 21 inclus-

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ive. In spite of the fact that this regime in its latter days promised order, guaranteeing that more violence against the Jewish population would not be tolerated, nevertheless the Jews, crushed and overwhelmed by what they had experienced, remained in their homes and did not venture on the streets. All orders and demands of the authorities to open the stores and take up regular life again had no effect at all, and the city had a painful, benumbed aspect. The streets were depopulated; even the Christians did not go abroad.

The rebel staff organized troops, which it sent partly in the direction of the railroad junctions of Vapniarka, Tzvetkovo and Kasatin, where the rebels seized a series of stations. The rebel newspaper *Visti* ("News") every day reported victories, including the taking of Kiev, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, and other points in Ukraine. Nevertheless, the warlike frame of mind of the rebels in Uman subsided, and many peasants of the canton scattered to their homes, taking their arms with them, and also removing to the country in their carts goods stolen during the pogrom from Jewish homes and wares stolen from the stores. Some of the peasants considered their task completed after the three-days' Jewish pogrom, and were unwilling to fight beyond the borders of their own canton. A number were horrified that so much innocent blood had been shed, which even their leaders spoke about after the pogrom, and went home because they expected no good results from such actions. Uncertainty and alarm seized the rebels, especially in the last days, when Soviet detachments took the offensive along all the lines of the railroad to recover the points seized by the rebels, and began to press on them. The Jewish population again lived through days of panic, fearing that the rebels, compelled to abandon Uman, would signalize their departure by repeating the bloody occurrences which had taken place.

Along with this, the sad reminiscences of the Jewish inhabitants were refreshed by the news-reports which daily reached them of the pogroms and massacres of the Jewish populations of the villages and towns of the whole canton of Uman. In truth, simultaneously with the massacre and pogrom in Uman, the pogroms were occurring throughout the region. Everywhere where Jews lived they were plundered and killed; and the percentage of Jews killed and ruined in the villages and towns was invariably higher than the percentage of Jewish victims in the city. The picture of the pogroms and massacres was of the same sort almost everywhere: looting, beating, killing on an enormous scale, violation of women, etc. So it happened in the

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villages of Ladyzhenka, Dubovo, Ivanka, Buk, Talnoie, and everywhere where any Jews lived. The principal part in the pogroms and massacres was played by rebel bands which roamed about the canton. However, in many places, along with peasants of other villages, a part was played in the pogroms and massacres by peasants living in the same villages, often neighbors who had known them for decades and observed the life of these industrious Jews, almost every one of whom had always lived in poverty and want. The Jews who remained alive fled from their settled habitations wherever their feet carried them, over roads blocked by rebels, whereby many perished on the way, and their bodies are not yet recovered. Some fled to Uman, where they sought refuge among the poor folk of the city, in synagogues, under the open sky, etc. In many villages and towns the pogroms and massacres were repeated more than once, each time the rebels passed through.

On the evening of May 21 artillery fire was heard from the direction of the line of the railroad, and bombs began to fall not far from the city. As was afterwards learned, this firing came from the guns of the armored train of the Soviet detachment which was attacking Uman. All night long the battle continued between the Soviet detachment and the rebels in the region near Uman. It ended with the defeat, surrender and flight of the rebels. On the morning of May 22 the Soviet detachment, consisting principally of the 7th Soviet Infantry, entered Uman. With it the members of the Executive Committee returned to town, and the majority of the Soviet workmen. The guns of the armored train fired on some of the nearby environs of Uman, where it was suspected that bands of rebels were collecting. The Soviet transport automobiles, loaded with Red soldiers, went around town, establishing order and quieting the frightened population, which was afraid to go out of the houses.

However, with the arrival of the Soviet troops in Uman the disorganized life of the city was not restored. Even on the first day of their arrival several cases were recorded in which armed men broke into private houses and apartments, mostly of Jews, and stole property. However, measures were taken against this at once, which reduced the number of cases of looting in the succeeding days. But after several days the 7th Soviet regiment was called away from Uman and in its place the 8th Soviet Ukrainian regiment arrived, which had been in Uman twice before, in the month of March. Immediately, from the very first day of this regiment's arrival, endless pillag-

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ing of the population began in the city, carried on *en masse,* mainly among the Jews. In some places and on some days it assumed the character of an outright pogrom. Armed men with red ribbons, and red scarfs and belts, mounted on horses decked in red ribbons, with whips, revolvers, sabres, rifles, and in many instances even with machine guns, rushed into homes, and, starting with or without a pretext, sacked and robbed the whole of the property, demanding money and taking away all valuables. (Appendix 14.) The whole population of the city declares that among the looters were professional thieves and criminals, who had mostly served sentences in prison, in chain-gangs, and at hard labor, and who enrolled in the 8th Soviet regiment as volunteers. The robbery and plunder of the people's property, accompanied in many cases by beatings, maltreatment, and even torture, and in four or five cases by murder, did not stop up to the last day of the presence of the 8th regiment in Uman, July 3. (Appendix 15.) In the course of more than six weeks the entire population of Uman, especially the Jewish, was in the power of organized and well-armed detachments of bandits and pogromists, with whom the higher military authorities could not cope. Many homes of both Jewish and Christian inhabitants were plundered several times, and literally everything that was in them was taken out, including pillows, bed-covers, and even dirty linen. No protection, with very insignificant exceptions, was afforded the inhabitants by anyone. There were, to be sure, some ten cases of shooting of bandits, but they were mostly bandits of the second order of dangerousness, not belonging to the membership of the 8th regiment. The chief organizers of pogroms remained quite unpunished, though very well known to the higher powers, who were powerless to take any measures against them through fear of arousing opposition and resentment among the large armed groups of their fellows. Moreover the frame of mind of very many of the soldiers of the 8th regiment was distinctly anti-Semitic, and cases of furnishing protection to Jews aroused in them resentment and anger at both the protectors and the protected. (Appendix 17.) Therefore the struggle with banditry, in so far as it was carried on at all, was limited to the repeated issuance of printed orders in which bandits were threatened with shooting on the spot, and to occasional repressive measures against bandits of minor importance. Evidently conscious of their security from punishment, the bandits performed tens and hundreds of acts of violence, which, in their way, surpassed the horrors of the pogrom. Thus, for instance, cases are recorded in which

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the bandits, in broad daylight, on the street, in the presence of many armed men, stripped private persons naked, both men and women, violating the latter almost on the street, in the sight of passers-by, who were powerless to do anything. (Appendix 16.) Beatings, lootings, drunken scandals, maltreatments, and shootings became the most ordinary events, at which no one even lodged complaints. Armed men, decorated with huge red scarfs and ribbons, would stop the Jews who at rare intervals went through the streets, with the question, "Are you a Jew?" and when convinced of the fact either from the reply or from their own impressions, would beat them half to death with whips. Hostility to Jews and anti-Semitism was the most marked characteristic of the majority of the armed men in red scarfs and ribbons. They constantly threatened to "cut the throats of all the Jews" and became enraged at contact with anyone who had any dealings with Jews. Thus cases are on record of armed men in red ribbons who refused to buy seeds of poor Christian women whom they suspected of being Jewesses, and who refused to give alms to a beggar-boy suspected of being a Jew. At the same time a rather large number of Jewish volunteers was in the 8th regiment, part of whom consisted of local criminals, Jewish thieves, who, if they did not themselves plunder, directed attention to the rich booty of the dwellings of the well-to-do inhabitants of Uman, which they knew very well. (Appendix 18.) The above-mentioned facts indicate that all commercial and productive life, and any other life in the city, was completely paralyzed in the town and the canton. Foodstuffs rose in price incredibly, because the peasants did not bring any in, since they risked violence from two directions—on the part of the rebels in the country, and on the part of the bandits who robbed the peasants in the city.

The stores and workshops, in spite of all orders, remained closed for two months, and the streets even by day were painfully vacant. By 5 P.M. only armed men were visible on the streets, mostly drunk, riding over the sidewalks, making the air resound with drunken songs, obscenities, and shots in the air. All this took place, for that matter, all day long.

The Jewish population of the city, beggared and deprived of the little property that remained after the pogrom of the rebels, frequently left without breadwinners (killed in the pogrom) and without any means of subsistence, terrorized by the anti-Semitically-inclined gangs in red ribbons, on the one hand, and the unceasing danger of a new attack of the rebels on the other, lived through indescribably fearful days of nightmare. In the

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eyes of many life became something of no great importance. They longed only for any sort of relief from the bandits who tormented them—whether rebels, unionists, or any others. The passionate longing for relief produced a number of fantastic, imaginary facts, such as a treaty between the Entente and Germany regarding the protection of the remaining Jews in Ukraine, and also the report that some sort of Jewish-American detachment was moving to the aid of the perishing Jews of Ukraine, and was to arrive in Uman on a definitely named date. The awful longing for relief from this insufferable position, at any price whatever, became universal. But relief, in the shape of the arrival of another Soviet detachment, did not come until the first days of July, in spite of repeated entreaties and categorical demands from the representatives of the Uman government, presented by letter and verbally by delegates to Kiev. The change could not take place on account of the critical situation on the front both within and without Ukraine, and also because, for the war against the rebels of Uman, the military authorities had deliberately reserved the 8th regiment, which was considered a strong fighting unit. And it is indeed true that in defending the city from the rebels, who all this time kept forming groups in the canton and repeatedly tried to take Uman again, the 8th regiment showed itself a fighting force dangerous to the rebels. In several fights it completely destroyed the detachments of the atamans Tiutiunik, Popov, and Klimenko, and seized all their arms and articles of outfit and equipment. A second occupation of Uman by the rebels, which might have been possible under other circumstances, and might have been accompanied by a repetition of the first pogrom, was excluded by the presence of the 8th regiment.

In the first days of July there arrived in Uman the first Ukrainian Soviet regiment, a cavalry regiment under the command of Gribenko, which remained in Uman five days. Two days after the arrival of the first regiment, the 8th regiment left Uman for Nikolaiev. Immediately the looting and violence ceased almost completely. As regards the attitude of the first cavalry regiment to the Jewish population, it is proper to say that while it was in general very much better than that of the 8th regiment, it was also in some instances malevolent. Thus, for instance, on Stolypinskaya, Zagorodnaya, and other neighboring streets, which adjoined the soldiers' quarters, armed men on horseback would plunder the apartments and beat up passers-by, declaring at the same time that they were against "Jews and communists." According to the testimony of Talabaniuk,

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a member of the Executive Committee who was sent as organizer and agitator to the villages of Verkhniachka and Dobrov, a detachment of cavalrymen of the first regiment rode into those villages for some reason or other and committed a number of disorderly acts against the peasants, demanding, among other things, that they surrender "Jews and communists." In one of the villages they almost killed a Jewish girl because in their opinion she "upset the men" by her beauty. In general, however, the first cavalry regiment, consisting as it did mainly of Ukrainian guerrilla fighters, and though undoubtedly inclined, like the 8th Soviet regiment, to be very hostile to the Jewish population, showed itself in no way especially aggressive during the time of its short stay in Uman, except for the series of cases noted.

The regiment departed from Uman for Poltava on July 5. It was replaced by the 4th Soviet international regiment, consisting of Hungarians, Chinese, Germans, Jews, and Great Russians. In the person of this regiment the population of Uman for the first time beheld a disciplined Soviet military force, which neither robbed nor murdered anyone for national or class reasons. The whole population of the city seemed to come to life after two months of incessant horrors. The stores immediately opened, people began to appear on the streets, maltreatment because of Jewish extraction was ended, drunken riding over the sidewalks and shooting in the air and at people was seen no more. The life of the city, which had been paralyzed for two months, began to right itself, finding expression in efforts gradually to start some sprouts of commercial, manufactural, and other activities, such as were permitted by the conditions of the times. In any case it is proper to make clear that with the arrival of the 4th Soviet international regiment, the general position of the Jewish population markedly improved, especially in the sense that it was possible to go out into the streets without fear and attend to one's work, when there was any. Now the Jewish and laboring population of Uman is freed from the constant attacks on life, honor, and property, which lasted two months; but it needs much effort and aid on a wide scale to heal the grievous wounds inflicted upon it in economic respects by the pogrom, through the killings of hundreds of breadwinners and through incessant pillaging for two months.

After listening to the report, the assembly unanimously indorsed what Comrade Proskurovsky had set forth, but after an exchange of opinions found it necessary to add the following appendices:

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Appendices

1. The first wave of anti-Semitism began to be felt afresh during the time of the formation and existence of the First Central Rada. Attacks on the Jews were then a constant element in the procedure of the Ukrainian intellectuals, the leaders of the whole Ukrainian national movement. This was the condition also in Uman. Afterwards the local priest Nikolsky played a rôle in arousing and increasing hatred and malice against the Jewish population. He had a great influence upon the orthodox population, the bourgeoisie of the surroundings, and the officialdom of the city. During Kerensky's regime he conducted a violent monarchical and anti-Semitic campaign, for which he was banished from Uman to Kiev. This circumstance very nearly caused a pogrom in the city, since the bourgeoisie conceived the design of preventing the priest Nikolsky from leaving town by force; and in a short time he was brought back to Uman at the request of the representatives of the Jewish population. An undercurrent of resentment and hatred against the Jews continued to exist in the Christian population.

2. The garrison commandant in Uman, under the Directory, was a former Austrian prisoner of war and Galician emigré, Col. Dobriansky, a bitter Ukrainian nationalist, who never ceased to persecute the Jews in every way he could. He appointed a separate mobilization for Jews, Poles, and Russians, and the Jews were exposed to particularly and unendurably humiliating conditions. Later he organized man-hunts of the male population, principally Jewish. When the Council protested against such actions, Dobriansky replied with abuse and threats that he would settle with the protesters and the Jews both together. Approximately similar was the attitude towards the Jews of the military commissar, the local Ukrainian Col. Dereschuk, who imposed on the city a contribution of three millions, for the needs of the Ukrainian army. The collection of this was accompanied by a series of anti-Semitic manifestations on the part of Dereschuk and the Ukrainian garrison, inflamed by him, with whose anger and punishment he constantly threatened the Jewish population.

3. Two days after the departure of the Soviet forces, on March 20, about a hundred Gaidamaks entered the city under command of Captain Diachenko, who had distinguished himself by leading a massacre of Jews in the town of Teplik, where about three hundred Jews were massacred. When he entered Uman, Diachenko declared that he would show no mercy to the

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Jewish population and cynically bragged of his participation in the massacre of Teplik. The city escaped from a pogrom and possible atrocities by the payment of a contribution in kind—shoes, garments, etc., and also money.

4. The convention of the villages of the Uman district, summoned by the Executive Committee of Uman, which opened at the outbreak of the rebel movement, on March 11, clearly reflected these fundamental inclinations, stubbornly and half-concealedly refusing to enter into the necessary contact with the Soviet authorities. On its part the Executive Committee also assumed a no less sharp tone in dealing with the assembly. After the attempts of some communist speakers, among them some Jews, to incline the assembly to their side, had ended in failure, the Executive Committee declared the assembly closed. This was considered by the villagers as a challenge and only increased the anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet rebellious feelings.

5. The first wave of the rebels consisted of village peasants of very different ages, beginning with striplings and ending with bearded old men. Many were armed with scythes, rakes, or simply long white staves. The larger part were armed with rifles, revolvers of the most varied sorts, swords, sabres, etc. On the whole the first movement of the mob into the city gave the impression of a triumphant movement of village peasants who had conquered the city.

6. In many cases the plundering, beating and killing were motivated as revenge for the "pacification" of uprisings by the Jews and for the general seizure of power of which they were accused. When looting, torturing and shooting, the black-hundred and pogromist portion of the rebels constantly declared, "All that is to make up for Buhl" (the name of the Jewish military commissar), or "Fisch" (the commander of a separate detachment—a Jew), or "Kulik" (a well-known Jewish communist of local extraction).

7. The end of the pogrom and massacre upon the expiration of the period of three days is explained by many in different ways; but there is no doubt that the limit was put upon the pogrom and massacre partly under the influence of the requests and arguments of various Ukrainian and Jewish delegations, which waited upon the leaders of the rebels.

7a. It should be recorded that the pogromists committed special atrocities when they were drunk—when they became absolute beasts, and paid no attention to arguments or entreaties or anything.

8. One case (unique, to be sure) is known in which a Jew

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placed a saint's image in the window of his dwelling, having borrowed it from a Christian neighbor. The home of this Jew was not touched by the rebels, whereas they entered the other apartments in the same courtyard and behaved quite as usual.

9. Of which the following may be noted: I. Vrachinsky, L. Zbanovsky, Alexeiev, Khokhol, Slobodianik, Dr. Kramarenko.

10. Peikhel.

11. Mention should also be made of the attitude of the Polish population to everything that fell to the lot of the Jews during these months. Behaving externally correctly and constantly emphasizing their "neutrality," the Poles for the most part refused to give the slightest help to the perishing Jewish population. With very rare individual exceptions, the Poles did not admit the Jews to their homes, hid no one, and, on the contrary, in many cases expressed malicious joy at what was taking place. Although there are no evidences of physical participation in the pogrom and massacre on the part of individual Poles, it must nevertheless be said that in general the attitude of the Poles to the Jewish population during this period was clearly malevolent, though this was poorly concealed under a mask of "neutrality."

12. The corpses of two Jewish brothers were found thrown out in some garden or other in one of the environs of the city. It is known that they were killed by a petty bourgeois or peasant, who promised to hide them from the pogromists, but afterwards fell on them unawares in their sleep, and robbed and murdered both, throwing their bodies into some one else's garden.

13. At the same time, however, the rebel authorities lost no chance to annoy the Jewish population in an organized way. Thus, for instance, the Jews were ordered to "surrender their weapons" in the course of four hours from the moment of publication of the order; and if they failed to obey the order they were threatened with popular anger, etc.

14. Especially characteristic is the proclamation of the garrison commander of the 8th Soviet regiment, Col. Iliesh, to the effect that all inhabitants of the city should keep the doors of their dwellings open and should not fear the entry of Red soldiers, whereas in the same proclamation he advised the Red soldiers not to enter dwellings or visit each other later than 9 P.M.

15. Of cases of murder, especially ghastly is the murder of the wife of the watchmaker Lirmann in the attack on his dwelling. When his wife raised a cry for help, she was shot on the spot by Red soldiers.

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16. A naked Red soldier, in broad daylight, on Nizhe-Nikolaievskaya Street, after bathing in a bath-house, attacked a 55-year-old woman who was passing and violated her.

17. The clear fact of anti-Semitism on the part of the 8th Soviet regiment is proved by the complete demobilization of the detachment of Urbailis and Piontkovsky, into which many local Jewish workmen had entered. Almost the whole detachment, together with its commanders, was compelled to flee to Kiev for safety. While the 1st cavalry regiment was in Uman, there was an attempt on the part of the cavalrymen to disarm by night some Jewish soldiers of a Skvira regiment, quartered in Uman.

18. It is quite comprehensible that under such conditions it was wholly out of the question to organize any regular plan of punishment of that part of the pogromists which remained as before among the inhabitants of the outskirts of the city, or to search out the goods they had stolen and hidden and return them to the suffering poor folk. Some steps in that direction taken during the first days of the return of the Soviet regime were soon completely abandoned. Thus many instigators of the pogrom and massacre, and direct participants therein, who themselves were prepared for repressive measures, found it possible to cover their tracks and hide the stolen property in good shape, while remaining entirely unpunished.

What is set forth in this report and its appendices is confirmed by the signatures:

(Signatures.)

III. *Testimony of Mania Benievna Zhuravskaia, Student, Aged 22*

When the rebels entered the city on May 12, on the first day at 5 P.M. they surrounded the Kahan house on Kievskaya St., in which our apartment is located. When the first shots resounded, the frightened inhabitants of the house gathered in our apartment, and thus many people came together with us—men, women, and children. We all hid in the back room. After firing on the house they knocked at the door of our apartment. We immediately opened the door, and many rebels entered with rifles in their hands, the visors of their caps turned back.

Their first question was: "Are there any bolsheviki here?" Then they asked if we had any weapons. When we answered both questions in the negative, they let out a volley of market-place invective on us, in which the following expressions predominated: "It's impossible that Jews should not have weapons,

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we know you Jews, we know your Jewish machinations." They turned their first attention to a man who lived in our house, Berkovetz, an employee of a bank, and began to insist that he was a commissar. They took him into a separate room and began to beat him unmercifully. They made the same accusation against almost every man in our apartment, calling him either a commissar or a communist, and adding: "We will show you a commune." Then they demanded that all of us—men, women and children—should vacate the apartment and go down into the yard. On the way many of us were beaten, no distinction being made between men and women, adults and children. In the courtyard they ordered us all to stand "against the wall," but then changed the order and ordered the women and children to go apart, while the men had to remain "against the wall." When we, feeling something evil was coming, began to entreat them to take from us everything they liked, to take our money, the rebels, refusing all our entreaties, gave the command: "One, two, three," and fired a volley, killing our relatives and acquaintances almost before our eyes. The slain included my brother Misha, aged 18; Berkovetz, aged 35; Litvak, aged 68; Handelsmann, aged 60; a physician, aged 52; Handelsmann's son, a gymnasium student, aged 17, and an old man of 70. My father was also made to stand against the wall, but was only wounded by a bullet, and escaped to the barn without the notice of the rebels, where he spent some time in concealment. When the rebels found him there, he succeeded in persuading them to spare him, having convinced them that he was not a communist. My brother-in-law Kushnir, my sister's husband, was also placed against the wall, and escaped accidentally only because in the group of the corpses he also was thought to be dead. After shooting all the men in our house, the rebels commanded all of us women to go to the cellar to sleep, beating us with gun-butts the while. As I learned afterwards, this same gang went to our neighbors, Russians, and, after finding that they were Russians, began to boast of their murders. One of them said: "I have avenged to some extent the death of my brother Shtogrin; I killed a lot of people in the Kahan house."

All night long in our apartment upstairs the pillaging of our property continued. At eleven at night my father, who we supposed was killed, came to us. He told us how he had been found in the barn, how he had been led through the apartment and forced to open up all chests and boxes, and how the plundering of the apartment and the destruction of our goods were going on. Early in the morning, on May 13, we began to wonder

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how we could get our wounded, my sister and brother-in-law, to the hospital. Someone reported it in the city, and thence came two Christian workmen from Kushmir's factory, who brought hospital people. On the road cries were heard: "We won't let Jews be saved!" and with great difficulty we got to the hospital, abandoning our apartment to the will of fate. As was afterwards discovered, the rebels threw two bombs into Vitis's apartment, causing a fire in that apartment. We heard that the rebels accused us, the inhabitants of that house, of having hidden dynamite there. For two weeks we did not return home. Among the wounded who died was Sura Handelsmann, wife of Handelsmann who was shot, and whose family was thus totally destroyed.

M. ZHURAVSKAIA.

July 21, 1919.

IV. *Testimony of Joseph Isaakovich Polonsky, Mechanical Engineer, Aged 29*

On May 12, when the rebels entered the city, I was in the apartment of the dentist Schultz, in Dr. Bravermann's house on Sadovaya Street. During the course of the entire day rebels kept coming into our apartment on the pretext of looking for weapons. Among the searchers it was often noticeable that intellectuals participated, such as teachers, etc. Many of them, who knew Schultz personally, told the rebels that in this apartment there certainly were no weapons, and they went away. Thus May 12 passed for us without any complications. Towards evening we, with Dr. Bravermann, began to consider how we should spend the night, in view of the persistent rumors in town that during the night of the 12th of May a St. Bartholomew's eve would be perpetrated. On Dr. Bravermann's suggestion we decided to spend the night in the garret. At midnight I, Dr. Bravermann's family, the family of the dentist Schultz, and the family of the shoemaker Schumann, who lived in the same house, went up into the garret, taking up after us the ladder by which we had climbed up. We spent the night quietly. On the next day at 6 A.M., May 13, Dr. Bravermann got down from the garret to see what was happening in his apartment. He did not return to us again. As was discovered afterwards, Dr. Bravermann was shot by rebels who were in his apartment, and who evidently had been waiting since the night for the owners of the apartment. Half an hour after Dr. Bravermann left us, by the same ladder by which the doctor

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had gone down, there came up to us in the garret a number of rebels, clothed in soldiers' garments, in caps with the visors turned back (a distinguishing mark of the rebels). Two of them loaded guns and commanded the women and children to go down from the garret, while the men were to stay. We men, who were left, namely myself, the shoemaker Schumann, the dentist Schultz and his son, a student, Mikhail, decided that the shoemaker Schumann and I should go forward and have an explanation with the rebels. When we came out of the corner and began to say that we would furnish documents, two of the rebels pointed the barrels of their guns at us. At this time the dentist Schultz and his son cried: "We surrender." Then, without warning, came the shots. The shoemaker and I were wounded in the legs. I fell covered with blood. Then the group of rebels left the garret. I did not lose consciousness. and I began to argue with Schultz and his son that they should go down from the garret, to avoid a second coming of the rebels. They obeyed me and went down. Not until three or four hours after we were wounded did there come a rebel officer, with several men, to us in the garret, and at his direction the shoemaker and I were let down by ropes. Towards evening I was carried to the Red Cross Hospital on a stretcher. On the way we were often stopped and the sanitaries were asked whom they were carrying. They replied, a wounded Pole. Almost at the very entrance to the Red Cross Hospital some rebel stopped our bearers and in a threatening tone demanded whom the sanitaries were carrying; and his finger rested on the trigger of his revolver. The sanitaries, realizing that my life depended literally on their answer, kept their heads and replied that they were carrying a man sick of a dangerous, contagious disease, and that if the questioner approached nearer to the stretcher, he, too, would catch it. This answer had its effect and the rebel went away. As it turned out, I was wounded by a tearing bullet. My right leg was amputated. At present I must still remain three weeks in the hospital; I am beginning to learn to use crutches. The shoemaker Schumann who was also taken to the hospital, died there after an operation for amputation of a leg.

J. POLONSKY.

July 20, 1919.

V. *Testimony of Fenia Polischuk, Student, 23 Years*

On May 12, when the rebels entered the city, we were in our own apartment in the Kahan house on Kievskaya Street. Through

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a window opening on the street I saw that at about noon groups of rebels began to appear on the street, pursuing passers-by, principally Jews. One of the rebels, a young fellow, catching sight of a young Jewish girl going along the street, ran after her, holding an open knife in his hands. Having caught up with her, he struck her with the knife in the face, and then waited for a good chance to get her in the side. The girl fell. What happened to her afterwards I do not know, because I was unable to endure the sight and left the window. I saw that the composition of the rebels was very different, beginning with striplings and ending with gray-bearded peasants. I saw hardly any intelligent faces. Until 5 P.M. no one came into our apartment. But at that time our house was surrounded by rebels on all sides and exposed to a furious fire from rifles. Not knowing the reason for the shooting, I rushed to the telephone and asked the commandant for help, to which I received the answer: "So long as it is insurgents firing, there is no reason for alarm." And the further answer was made: "Bolsheviks have settled in your house," and then, "Ring up the commander of the eight villages." As was found out afterwards, the firing on the house was due to the fact that in one of its wings the bolshevist department of dwelling-requisitions had been located. Not long after I received these unsatisfactory replies, I and all my household heard heart-rending shrieks and groans of both men and women from our courtyard. Then we heard some street-corner cursing, the sound of blows, and loud and at the same time nervous cries of one of the dwellers in our house, an employee of the Russian Commercial Products Bank, Berkhovetz, who was afterwards found to have been killed. He kept crying: "Take me to the director of the bank, I am a Russian, he will tell you that I am no commissar, that I had no part . . ." At that moment rang out the command: "One, two, three!" mingled with sounds of the song "Little Apple." In fact the command itself was spoken to the tune of the "Little Apple." A volley resounded, and the cries of people were heard. I again rushed to the telephone and began to beg for help from the commandant, telling as well as I could all we had heard, and all that was going on in our courtyard. The commandant replied: "I will come in person." But till 9 P.M. no one came. The cries and shots continued all the time. Only at 9 P.M. someone knocked at our door. I immediately opened and saw the staircase full of rebels. I invited them into the room, saying: "Come in, all." But one of them, apparently a superior, asked me if we had not rung up the commandant,

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and receiving an affirmative answer, ordered the rebels not to come in, but choosing two of them, entered our apartment. I remember clearly that the hands of the two soldiers who entered with the superior were bloody. They were both far from sober. Then they searched the apartment, looking for any weapons we might have hidden. After a fruitless search, they said to us: "Well, now you can sleep in peace." And the superior added: "This apartment is mine," and they let no one else into our apartment the whole night, whereas people kept constantly coming, pillaging and killing in all the other apartments. When the searchers left they said, indicating the other apartments: "There are the bolsheviki, there we have business." What this "business" consisted of was made clear the next day, when it turned out that seven Jewish men had been shot in Zhuravsky's apartment.

F. POLISCHUK.

July 21, 1919.

TOWN OF DUBOVO (GOVERNMENT OF KIEV)

Pogrom of May 13, 1919

I. ***Report of An Assembly of Party Workers and Persons in Public Life in the Town of Dubovo, called by the Regional Director of the Head Mission of the Russian Society of the Red Cross, on the question of the occurrences of the Pogrom which took place in the Town of Dubovo. After an exchange of opinions the following was established:***

The town of Dubovo is located eighteen versts from Uman. Communication with the city is carried on by horses, with the help of *balagulas* (country carriages). The composition of the population is as follows: Jews, more than 300 families (somewhat over 1,000 people); Christians, three times this number. Most of the peasants are possesed of land. The occupations of the peasants, in addition to agriculture, were limited to swine-raising, and only in recent times, when the food crisis became acute in the city, did the peasants begin to act as "sackers." The Jews were divided as to occupational groups between artisans (ten per cent) and dealers in grain products and proprietors of peasant-ware supply shops (ninety per cent).

The mutual relations between the Jewish and Christian inhabitants had been of the most friendly character. Thus, the year 1905, which was a year of pogroms in that region, passed for

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the town of Dubovo without any excesses at all. Likewise excellent was the attitude of the local intellectuals—the town priest, the school teachers, the postmaster, etc. The drafts during the years of war also passed off successfully for the town. The great change of Feb. 27, 1917, strengthened still more the friendly relations between the Jewish and Christian inhabitants. The period of the regime of the Central Rada was not distinguished by any incidents which indicated national antagonisms. It was only after the overthrow of the Rada by the Germans and the establishment of the "hetmanhood," attended by the German punitive detachments for extracting grain from the villages, that a sort of dull resentment towards the Jews began to be observed. The village gossips talked about some kind of specially close relations between the Jews and the Germans. But even these rumors did not assume an ominous character for the Jewish population, because the peasants blamed most of all the local Christian mill-renters for the calling in of the Germans. The withdrawal of the Germans from the boundaries of Ukraine and the firm establishment of Petlura's regime were signalized in the town by the passage of the government into the hands of the Ukrainian republican authorities. And although during this period certain occurrences of an anti-Semitic character were observed, in the way of accusations that the Jews had indirectly participated in the Hetman's punitive expeditions, they were not of a sharp and definite character.

The peasants of the neighborhood mostly entered the ranks of Petlura's army. The withdrawal of the Petlurists and the beginning of the bolshevist power expressed itself in the formation of a committee in the town. At the start of this regime, a "Kombed" (Committee of the Poor) was formed; afterwards, with the participation of the sailor Zarachinsky (an old acquaintance to the town of Dubovo, who, during the Hetman's regime, had been hiding in Odessa), steps were taken to organize an Executive Committee. Five Jews entered this Committee, one a workman, four proprietors in the town. The tasks of the Executive Committee at first were centered on the organization of a Tribunal. At the same time a convention of Red soldiers, workmen, and village delegates was called by the Executive Committee for the 10th of May in the city of Uman. The Executive Committee of Dubovo was dissolved on this same day, May 10. One of the delegates to Uman returned to Dubovo on May 11 and reported the closing of the convention. The atmosphere began to become decidedly tense.

Against the background of the life of Dubovo and the suc-

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ceeding events there began to stand out sharply a modest figure, not noticed up to that time—a young man of twenty-two, Markel Okhrimovich Brishka, a teacher of elementary branches, who had entry into many Jewish homes in his capacity as teacher. In his convictions Brishka was a violent advocate of Ukrainian independence. Having been a prisoner in Austria, he brought back from captivity and cherished his Ukrainian chauvinistic sympathies. Whenever and wherever he could he talked about Ukrainian independence, but under the bolsheviki limited himself to the modest rôle of arranging Ukrainian pageants. Among the Jews he had acquaintances and some friends. Learning that after the closing of the convention events of some sort were pending, he went to Uman on Monday, May 12, and on the morning of May 13 returned to Dubovo. From this day really begins the unhappy time for the Jewish population of the town. Upon his return from Uman Brishka called a meeting of the Executive Committee of Dubovo, invited all the Jewish members of the Committee to leave their places, and locked himself up with the president and vice-president of the Committee (Christians), with whom he had a long secret conversation. In personal conversation with a member of the Committee with whom he was acquainted, Moisei Schwarzmann, Brishka stated that he had returned from Uman with instructions that the Jews should be removed from power. At the same time he communicated some rumors of the most provocatory character, to the effect that the Commissar of Education, in fixing the duties in the educational department, positively demanded a knowledge of the Jewish language, even of Christians, without which no positions could be secured. Then he summoned the members of the Executive Committee and announced to them that henceforth the Committee's title was changed to the Village Rada (Council). Brishka also proposed that a man be sent to Uman for proof of his authority. Meanwhile during the whole day, May 13, cartridges were constantly being brought from Uman to Dubovo; and towards evening events took a really threatening turn. The population of the town, frightened by the sound of the first shots, hid in cellars, garrets, and other hiding-places. The rebel peasants of the surrounding villages of Korzhevoie, Oksanina, etc., armed with rifles, clubs, and some with axes, scattered over the place visiting the Jewish dwellings. In that fearful night no one was spared. Money-ransom did not help. The criminal element of the rebels was especially rampant, the former convicts; Kiril Cherniuk, a peasant of the village of Korzhevoie, Martin Zba-

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zhevsky, a dangerous burglar, and Vasily Bobyl, a peasant of the village of Korzhevoie. These persons, with only axes in their hands, made way with the victims. In this night eleven persons were killed, among them two women and several children.

In all the houses the rebels looked for "communists" and demanded money. On the morning of May 14 the peasants of the viliage of Korzhevoie began to disperse to their homes, and happening to come upon some of the inhabitants of the town on the way, started pursuing and killing them. Seventeen fell dead in the fields, which with those previously killed makes 28 persons. Six of the wounded died. Thus the number of victims of the first "May" uprising was exactly 34 persons. On the same day, May 14, local Jewish inhabitants asked Brishka to call an assembly and explain to the rebels that they ought not to kill. Brishka consented, saying that he himself had not gone out killing, that it had happened "of itself." Meanwhile, however, the above-mentioned bandits, Kiril Cherniuk, Zbazhevsky, and Bobyl, kept becoming more and more insolent. They refused to obey Brishka and demanded on their own account a contribution of 10,000 rubles from the population. An especially tragic impression is made by Cherniuk's murder of a girl Sonia, whom he cut in pieces with an ax. Brishka, moved on the one hand by the entreaties of the population, and on the other hand disheartened by the disobedience of the bandits, declared that he would make way with them. And in fact he postponed market-day, which was to take place on May 16, and made every effort to apprehend the bandits. Cherniuk and Zbazhevsky were caught by him and shot in the center of the town. This punishment stopped the spreading terrors. After this, comparative quiet reigned. Brishka declared himself commander of the detachment. The power remained in his hands for about two weeks. Then on May 31 the power of the rebels in Uman passed over to the bolsheviki. Ataman Klimenko, forced out of Uman, approached the town of Dubovo with his detachment on May 31. On this day the detachment of Shevchenko, Klimenko's subordinate, occupied the village of Korzhevoie. It numbered a hundred men, well armed, with one cannon. On June 1 Klimenko with ten or fifteen rebels entered the town. The rebels scattered to the houses of Jews and under pretext of searching for arms forced payments of money. Klimenko himself summoned a delegation of Jews, consisting of five men. According to what the delegate Schwarzmann reports, Klimenko declared: "I am a bolshevik, but I am against a commune. All looters will be shot by me." The conversation took place in

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the presence of many peasants. Many of them expressed themselves as having nothing against the Jews. Klimenko produced a very good impression on the delegation by his appearance. Thus, especially significant were his words: "The Jews are at one with us; there must be no killing." While Klimenko was himself expressing these "liberal" ideas, his detachment, though small in numbers, continued to cause considerable devastation in the dwellings, looting many of them. On the evening of the same day, June 1, Klimenko departed with his detachment to the village of Babanka, eight versts from Dubovo. Two days later, on the 3rd, a telephone message from Klimenko, in Babanka, came to the local committee to the effect that a detachment was marching on Dubovo and that it was necessary to meet it and offer resistance. The meeting replied that they had not the strength to do so. And in fact towards evening there arrived a scouting party of a new champion, of an unhappy sort for Dubovo, a certain Koziakov. As described by those who saw him, Koziakov was a man of about 30, of intelligent appearance, wearing sometimes velvet and sometimes a sailor's costume, with a red star. According to some reports he came from Odessa with a detachment split off from Grigoriev. He spoke only Russian. According to testimony he was born in the village of Mankovka. Koziakov's detachment was decorated with red ribbons. Koziakov also summoned to himself a delegation of Jews. His appearance produced a terrible panic in the population. Since his summons of a delegation was extremely insistent, a delegation was constituted with great difficulty, of two men—Schwarzmann and Deichmann. Before the delegation stood the detachment of a hundred men, wearing sailor caps, with red ribbons around them. The detachment had a machine gun. Some of them were mounted. Koziakov presented a demand for a contribution of 25,000 rubles, a pood and a half of sturgeon, and oats for the horses. The contribution was gathered by the above-named delegation and paid in full. Not devoid of interest is the following characteristic incident, which occurred when the money was paid. One of the delegates before paying the money wanted to bargain a little and perhaps get a little back. Koziakov was furious and in reply presented an ultimatum, that the Jews should leave town in the course of an hour. After that the delegates succeeded only with great difficulty in inducing Koziakov to accept the levy. He counted the money carefully, and when it was found that there were 24.550 rubles, he demanded that the remaining 450 rubles should be furnished without fail. When the contribution

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was forthcoming, the detachment was ordered "not to touch the people." The people, however, were informed in a proclamation that Dubovo was under martial law. The proclamation was signed by Koziakov, the commander of the detachment. It is worth noting that on the black bands of the Koziakov detachment were stamped in gold the words: "Peace to huts, war to palaces." On the morning of June 4 Koziakov's detachment left Dubovo. Some time later there resounded from the direction of Babanka, Klimenko's headquarters, an artillery bombardment of the town of Dubovo, with the object of catching Koziakov's gang. Brishka appeared unexpectedly, and succeeded in disarming the Koziakovists. Koziakov himself was taken prisoner, but, as we shall see later, succeeded in escaping from captivity and continued to organize bands.

Some days later a bold attack was made on Dubovo by the former Hetman's spy Bezhelitzsky, who collected 15,000 rubles from several people. After Bezhelitzsky's departure Koziakov unexpectedly appeared again, but was opposed by Brishka. Finally Koziakov went away. On June 7th the town of Dubovo was exposed to a half-farcical attack of an alleged 4th Soviet regiment. The farcical character is inferable from the fact that the detachment brought Brishka with it, claiming to have disarmed him. A contribution of 20,000 rubles, said by the commander to be for the purpose of "fighting the bandits," was demanded of the population. In provocatory style, only "Jew-communists" were called upon to pay. In the end a contribution of 8,000 rubles was taken (the original written receipt for this money is herewith attached), and Brishka, fully armed, rode away with the detachment. It was only too clear that the trick was Brishka's work.

Until June 17 comparative quiet ensued. But fate was preparing a most cruel blow, though short in duration, for the already sufficiently tormented, nerve-racked, worn-out Jewish population; a blow from the united bands of the experienced masters of pogroms, Koziakov, Smirnov, Shevchenko, and Popov. The visitation lasted only two hours, but two hours of torment and affliction which made all the previous experiences of Dubovo's inhabitants seem pale. Yet if anyone had stood at the gates of the town during this time, it would have seemed to him that the town was enjoying a marvelous peace. Secretly, quietly, and at the same time expeditiously, the young braves of Popov did their work. They cut to pieces five human bodies exclusively with sabres. A stern sentence was imposed upon the one soldier who fired a gun. Secretly, quietly, and

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inaudibly those unspeakable crimes were performed in the cellar floor of the local Jew Feldman's house.

The detachment of Koziakov and Popov consisted of a cavalry squadron of a hundred men and 400 infantry. It had machine guns and nearly 200 empty wagons, destined for carrying off Jewish goods and chattels. And we must do justice to these choice heroes of Popov; they cleaned up the houses completely. They kept to the regulations laid upon them, not to kill women, and to kill men at the word of command. They killed old-men "communists," standing with one foot in the grave, and fresh youths, almost children. At the doors of the cellar-floor of the house of D. Feldman, which they called headquarters, stood two executioners, a Moldavian and a Russian, with sabres in their hands, right at the entrance. When a victim (a Jewish "communist") was brought up, he was stood with his face to the entrance and invited to go down to the lower story. But hardly had the victim set foot on the first step when the executioners standing behind set their arms in motion, and the curved sabres, stained purple with the blood of preceding victims, mutilated the living body, and not infrequently cut the head off entirely. The victim then fell below to the ground, covered with blood, on top of the bloody human bodies strewn all around and the fragments of dismembered bodies.

In the two hours of the massacre fifteen people were killed, an uncounted number mutilated, and eight seriously wounded. At 2 P.M. a trumpet sounded to call the troops together, and with songs the detachments of Popov and Koziakov, accompanied by peasants from the village of Nebelievka, by the detachment of Podvysoky, consisting of Moldavians, and by many persons of intellectual appearance, left the town, leaving new widows and orphans, having performed new exploits of torture upon the innocent, and having violated many, many Jewish girls. June 17 is the last terrible pogrom in the review of occurrences down to July 9, 1919.

The facts set forth in this report are confirmed by the signatures:

(Signatures)

II. *Testimony of Haskell Duvidovich Filverk, Aged* 33, *Dealer in Manufactures*

On June 17, when Popov's gang entered our town, my brother-in-law and I were at home. Through the window we saw that two soldiers were approaching us. My brother-in-law ran to

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lock the door, while I jumped out of the window to flee across the yard. I had time to see that one soldier rushed into the room. When I crawled through the window the other soldier very soon caught me. He had a knife in one hand and a bare sabre in the other. He began to curse, and then added: "There, you communists, there, Buhl, there, Kulik!" As he said this he kept striking me blows with the knife. He demanded that I go to the "field headquarters," and took me there. The headquarters was located in Feldman's house. Many soldiers were standing there. When I was brought in I saw no other Jews. The soldiers when they saw me began to beat me. At this time a gentleman dressed as an officer arrived; he was of middle stature, well built, red-cheeked, apparently 35 or 36 years of age. He began to give orders and commands. All commands he gave in the Russian language. As far as I could make out from what the soldiers said, this officer was Popov himself. In my presence he named two soldiers as executioners. One of these soldiers was a Moldavian, the other a Russian. In my presence, too, he explained to the soldiers: "Don't touch women, but cut down men." And he explained how they were to cut them down at the word of command: "One—raise sabres; two—lean over; three—strike." Then I was led into the cellar. When I went down with the executioners, I saw the first three bodies, which lay there. As was afterwards discovered, they were inhabitants of our town—Getzel Partigul, aged 70; Shaia Deigman, aged 35, and his son, aged 16. Near Getzel Partigul lay his hand, which had been cut off. The executioners picked up the hand and showed it to me, saying: "You see?" When I saw, and when I heard the command, I realized that a like fate was in store for me. I began to beg the executioners to shoot me, to which I received the reply: "Bullets are expensive." Then they ordered me to stand with face to the cellar, and at the word of command struck me on the head with a sabre. I lost consciousness and fell down below. I do not remember how I was carried out from the cellar. Now I am in the Jewish hospital at Uman.

HASKELL FILVERK.

July 10, 1919.

III. *Testimony of Hai-Sura Israelevna Rabinovich, Aged 40, Wife of a Smith, Illiterate*

By a strange chance, our house for a long time did not attract the attention of the robber bands which raged and con-

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stantly kept killing and looting in our town. I went through almost a month of seclusion at home, with tightly closed shutters, listening sharply for every sound. After June 10 comparative quiet began to reign in the town. On June 17 two soldiers came into my house, who looked over my rooms and said that I should not go out anywhere but stay quietly at home. With these words they left. After some time, at about 12 noon, two other soldiers came, and two empty carts followed them. They at once began to make themselves at home. They began to gather in everything they saw, whether it was locked up or not. All the things were loaded quietly and in a business-like way on the carts which had come with them. Thus were stolen, among other things, all my table service, knives and forks, pillow-covers, even my old and half-worn-out market-basket. The earrings were taken out of my girl's ears, the rings torn off my fingers. When there was no longer anything left to steal in the room, the soldiers demanded matches and candles of me. Lighting candles, they went with me to the garret. All the things that I had hidden there they also took. I cannot omit to mention the following. There was in my house along with the soldiers, and afterwards many people in town saw her, a young woman, who spoke Jewish fluently. She kept talking in Jewish with me all the time they were searching in the garret, telling me not to be afraid, that they would not kill me. The soldiers obeyed her without question and did as she told them. In the garret she also said to me in Jewish: "You had better give them everything, or else what happened to me will happen to you, too. I was taken away by force." Whether she spoke the truth, whether she really was a Jewess, or some servant-girl who had learned Jewish from serving in Jewish families, I do not know. I have nothing more to add.

(Signature)

July 9, 1919.

IV. *Testimony of Iosel Ekhil Solodovnik, Aged* 50, *Proprietor of a Drugstore, Literate*

When the detachment of Popov and Koziakov came into our town on June 17, at 12 noon, one of the detachments entered my store and demanded the surrender of various goods, eau de cologne and other things. Another one joined him, and a boy of about 14 from the detachment. When I handed over the wares, they began to demand money. When I satisfied them with that also, they demanded that I, my son Ikhil, aged 30,

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my son Gershel, aged 22, and my wife should go with them to headquarters. In spite of all my entreaties, and my offers of money, we were taken off towards the headquarters. A violent rainstorm came up, and at the suggestion of our convoy we went back to my store. Then new pressure began and demands for money, and finally one of them, pointing with his finger at my elder son Ikhil-Idel, declared: 'I will kill that communist." Anticipating disaster, I cried: "Kill me!" to which I received the answer: "First I will kill him, and then you." And I had no chance to think before he struck my son a blow on the head with his bare sabre.

UMAN

Pogrom of July 29, 1919

From the (newspaper) "Kom. Fon.," No. 56, *of August* 6

On Sunday, July 27, it became known that a part of the Petlurist regular army, under the command of Pavlovsky, had united with the bandits of Volyntz-Kazakov and Sokolovsky, and that both together were advancing on the station Kristinovka. On Monday, July 28, a band under the leadership of Volyntz began to shell the station. More than four hundred bombs fell. However, thanks to the disciplined part of the small Soviet force, the attack was stopped. The band retreated ten versts from Kristinovka to the station Sevastianovka, cutting the railroad line Kristinovka-Kasatin. But on the same day a part of the band broke into Uman. On Tuesday, July 29, the band encircled the city. In the city there was a small group of poorly armed and hastily mobilized local workmen. who tried to stop the attack of the bandits, but without success. The command lost its head and by its actions increased the panic of the population. The group was compelled to leave the city and retreat to Kristinovka because a band of thirty Gaidamaks under the command of Sokolovsky and Kozakov burst into the city and immediately started massacring Jews. A delegation from the former Council went to the Ataman Sokolovsky and asked him to stop the massacre. Sokolovsky announced to the delegation that they had declared a red terror against all Jews, and that they must put it into execution. The band was joined by all sorts of scum from the suburbs of the city, and a most frightful bacchanalia began. They went from one Jewish house to another,

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stole the last remnants of property, violated women, and slaughtered men, women and children. Thus they carried on for four hours. One hundred and fifty-four people were massacred. Soon 80 regular Red soldiers and an armored train arrived from Kristinovka and drove out the bandits. On the same evening a Revolutionary Committee was organized, which took steps for hunting out bandits in the suburbs. Extensive investigations were carried out, resulting in the discovery of a large group of traitors, among them three Jews, who were in relations with the attacking band. It should be noted that the peasants of the surrounding villages did not support the bandits.

Station of Potoshi (Near Uman)

(From the Same Correspondence)

On July 31 Sokolovsky's band arrived at the station of Potoshi, on the line Kristinovka-Tzvetkovo, and stopped a passenger train, separated the men from the women, shot all Jews and Soviet employees, and violated the women. Then some cavalry arrived, who tortured the survivors for four hours. They took away in carts everything that was on the train. Only on the arrival of the Soviet armored train did the execution stop, and the band dispersed.

Region of Uman. Town of Talnoie (Government of Kiev)

Pogrom of May 13, 1919

Testimony of the Student Avrum Schwarzmann, Taken Down by Maizlish

Talnoie is a town in the canton of Uman, on the railroad line Tzvetkovo-Kristinovka, four versts from Uman. Its inhabitants number 15,000; about 8,000 Jews. Early in February the withdrawal of the Petlurist forces began to the line Znamenka-Tzvetkovo-Kristinovka. Under the Directory, with the permission of the authorities, a Jewish Night Watch, with 15 or 20 rifles, had been formed. On February 8 an attack occurred on the Jewish post, which was disarmed, robbed and beaten. Two days later four squadrons arrived in Talnoie. The soldiers went into the town and before the eyes of the whole population entered the houses of Jews and carried out all the property and took it to the station. After this there were

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incessant attacks and looting. The militia was powerless. A company of guards came to keep order, and the Jewish population assumed the responsibility of feeding and clothing it. But the guard itself took part in the looting. The town suffered especially from the third Gaidamak cavalry regiment, which incessantly terrorized the Jewish population. Owing to the arrival of the Zvenigorod regiment under the command of Pavlovsky, there were no human lives lost in the town; there were only beatings and robberies.

Early in March the bolsheviki took Zvenigorod, but Talnoie at this time still remained in the hands of the Petlurists. The situation on the front was shifting for about two weeks. Approximately on March 19 Talnoie was taken by the 8th Soviet regiment, which also started looting. Two weeks later (after another capture by the Petlurists of Teplik) the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Uman and Kristinovka began in the direction of Talnoie. On the way many bandits joined the Soviet forces, and for three days plundering in Talnoie did not cease. A part of the Chigirin regiment was stationed here. At the same time the local Revolutionary Committee, in which four out of twelve members were Jews, imposed a contribution of three million rubles on the local bourgeoisie. Requisitions of goods and wares which had escaped the looting were made upon the Jewish population. For non-payment of the contribution the bourgeois were arrested; of these 90 per cent were Jews.

After some time the Chigirin detachment disarmed the Revolutionary Committee and the detachment of the Extraordinary Committee, with cries of "Away with the Jewish regime!" Soon the weapons were returned to the Russian members of the detachment and the Revolutionary Committee was re-established, but Jews no longer occupied prominent places.

On May 7th a peasants' assembly was held, at which the local officers, dissatisfied with the registration of officers and also with the actions of the Revolutionary Committee, with cries of "Away with the Soviet regime, away with the Jews, away with Trotzky," demanded an explanation of the president of the Revolutionary Committee concerning the registration that had been ordered and concerning the lack of articles of prime necessity. On the next day the president of the Extraordinary Committee, Gross, appeared with a detachment to give the explanations, and the assembly asked him to hand over all weapons to a new militia, which was chosen on the spot. Former officers were placed at the head of it, who took a number of rifles away from the detachment. An irregular firing began. The peasants

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of the assembly dispersed. The ringleaders (Polischuk, Zakhary Oleinik, and others) in the same night rode into the surrounding villages, collected the peasants by the ringing of bells, and told them fabulous inventions of this sort, that the Jews in Talnoie were plundering the church, killing Christians, etc., and that they had had difficulty in escaping from there. This served as the start for a pogrom. On May 13 the rebels began to approach Talnoie under the leadership of former officers and thugs of Talnoie. The Soviet detachment fled. A proclamation was posted that all Jews must hand in their weapons within 24 hours. There was another proclamation that all militiamen should remain in their places, except Jews. A former associate of the Central Rada, Arseni Melnichenko, was named as commandant of the town. No small part in the rebel movement was played by the Ukrainian Left Social Revolutionaries, at the head of whom was Karpov, inspector of the fourth class of the city schools. On May 14 the commandant called an assembly of Jews, at which there appeared and spoke a delegate from the Petlurist army, a representative of the "Greens," and a representative of the local command, Vasili Krivenky. The substance of their speeches was that all communists were Jews, that a commune was injurious to the peasants, and that the Jews must be ordered to give up three machine guns and one mine-thrower. Dr. Vilenkis, Volynetz and Schwarzmann answered them, that all weapons had long since been collected by the preceding regimes. But this did not convince them. A commission of ten Jews was chosen to take part in searches of the Jewish population. After the searches the Jews were driven out on the "Konnaia Torgovitza" (Horse-market Square), and immediately allowed to return home. Next day the same thing was repeated; they rounded up the Jews and demanded the surrender of weapons and of all communists. A list of communists was presented. At the same time the rebels surrounded Jewish dwellings and looted and killed. There were 15 people killed, and about 50 wounded.

The rebels held out until the month of July. An order for mobilization was issued, in which nothing was said of Jews. All the stores of grain which the preceding regime had collected, and all food products, were divided exclusively among Christians. An agitation was carried on that the peasants should sell nothing to the Jews. A convention of peasants was held, at which an Executive Committee was elected.

In the first half of July a scouting party of Klimenko arrived, which killed one Jew and wounded one. At an assembly of

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Jews Klimenko demanded 400 suits of underclothing, several score of shoes, 15,000 cigarettes a day, etc. The Jews furnished the latter. Eight days later Tiutiunik's detachment arrived in Talnoie. There were attempts at looting, but the soldiers of Klimenko stopped them, saying: "The Jews have given us so much that it is not worth while to kill them." Then the bands departed, and a period without a government ensued in Talnoie.

Town of Emilchino (Government of Volhynia)

Pogrom of April 10, 1919

Testimony of Vera Borisovna Rosenstein

The town of Emilchino, canton of Novograd-Volynsk, is 15 versts from the station of Yablontzy, Korosten-Shepetovsky branch of the Podolia railroad. Population, four or five thousand; 2,000 or 2,500 Jews. Before the war a large number of German colonists lived in the town itself and round about it; at the outbreak of the war they were transported to eastern governments. An insignificant number of the colonists returned in the year 1918 and settled in their former places. The relations between Jews and Christians had long been good, free from any tension. The Jewish population, economically very backward, in political respects was, especially the younger generation, strongly imbued with Zionistic and Hebraistic spirit. The Christian population was rather well-to-do, and lived always in great friendliness with the Jews. The same attitude, which stood out in specially sharp relief at the time of the pogrom, was observed also on the part of the local Christian intellectuals —the priest and the teachers in the local schools.

On April 9 at 12 midnight there appeared in the town a detachment of five or six hundred Petlurist cavalry, going, as was afterwards learned, from Olevsk to Novograd-Volynsk. First of all they broke up the Jewish "Night Patrol." A Jewish "patrol" is a regular phenomenon in this part of Ukraine. It was first organized after the overthrow of the Hetman, and consisted of 30 Jews. The absence of a strong and definite government and the appearance ever since then of internal dissensions caused the Jewish population to see the necessity of providing for their own defense, or at least the appearance of it. This guard from its very beginning had no weapons, by the wish of the Jewish population itself, and remained in this condition during the whole period of its existence. Besides this Jewish bourgeois patrol, there was an armed guard of ten "hire-

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lings," as they were called in the town, exclusively Russians, and also a militia of 15 members. In a moment all the Jewish inhabitants of the little town learned of the arrival of the detachment and became alarmed. In spite of the time of night, they poured forth into the streets, and decided to send to the detachment a delegation of the most prominent representatives of the Jewish population, with the president of the Jewish Community at the head (Schneidermann, owner of a ready-made clothing store). When the delegation asked who they were, whence they came and whither they were going, the commander of the detachment answered that he was going with his detachment from Olevsk to Novograd-Volynsk, and that they would proceed on their way the next day. He also asked that quarters for the night and provisions be furnished for his detachment. With this reassuring reply the delegation returned to the groups of Jews, who were waiting right there in the street, and immediately started to collect bread for the detachment. But suddenly, at 1 A.M., several soldiers of the detachment went past the Jews who had not yet dispersed and cried out: "Oh, you Jews, to your houses, or we will fire." This threatening warning, and a whole series of others which followed it, and which were not less threatening, convinced the Jews that all manner of unpleasantness was to be expected from the detachment. They at once began to hide, sending the young women to the elementary school, under the protection of the teachers, and to the local justice of the peace. The rest fled to hide with peasants, but some did not succeed in doing this and remained at home. In the house where the Rosenstein family rented an apartment two of the detachment were quartered, who called themselves "commandants." At first it was thought that there was no danger, because the "commandants" would not allow the house to be touched, and the Rosenstein family therefore decided to remain. But suddenly the son of the owner of the house ran in to say that the "commandants" staying with them were boasting of having participated in a Jewish pogrom. There was no time to make any decision before shots and cries were suddenly heard. Towards morning it was discovered that the soldiers were firing in the air, entering houses and demanding money. Though they were not natives and knew no one in the town, they addressed the Jews marked out to be plundered, calling them by name. This finally decided the Rosenstein family to go and hide somewhere. So they ran to a neighbor, a German sausage-dealer. He took them to the dwelling of a Polish locksmith, which was more like a barn than a house and was situated in

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the depths of his own courtyard. Miss Rosenstein herself fled to her aunt's, but when towards morning it was learned that the soldiers were especially interested in young girls, she fled back and joined her sister at the home of the Polish locksmith. But it was overcrowded there, and therefore the Pole took her over to the dwelling of the German sausage-man. In the morning, with a great crowd of peasants from the neighboring villages, especially "katzaps" (Ukrainians) from the village of Nitia (eight versts from Emilchino), the soldiers began to break into stores and together with the peasants to carry out everything that was in them. This continued till two o'clock.

At this time one Jew was killed, the first victim of the Emilchino pogrom, Khaikel Bräusmann, aged 50, who ran out of his home to save his iron-shop. By two o'clock, out of a hundred shops, more than half were looted. About this time the soldiers began to visit houses, accompanied by groups of peasants who by this time had been greatly excited by the soldiers' propaganda. Peasants of the locality took part in the looting only to a very insignificant extent. So it went on all day long. Towards night the agitation became especially great. Reports were heard from some source or other that the soldiers were promising to massacre the whole population at night. The night passed, however, all right. Towards morning on April 11 the detachment left in the direction of Novograd-Volynsk. The Jews thought it was all over and started to return to their abandoned homes. But suddenly the detachment appeared again. Afterwards it was explained that during the night, after drinking heavily, the soldiers got to quarreling, and one of their number was wounded. The soldiers decided to make use of this incident and give it the proper application. And so, when they had already gone eight versts and reached the village of Sereb, the detachment turned back and burst into the town to complete the devastation. The peasants accompanied them on this day. The shops that had escaped the day before were opened, and to finish them off were set on fire. The soldiers set machine guns before the shops and threatened to shoot anyone who should go up to put out the fires. Since the burning shops were in the neighborhood of the church, and the conflagration threatened to reach it, the priest came out to the crowd with the cross in his hands and addressed them with the following words: "I do not protect Jews and their property, but you have shed enough blood already, and plundered enough, and besides, remember that now even the orthodox church may suffer." This had its effect, and they did not start any more

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fires, continuing, however, to plunder the houses. Towards morning the detachment left the town for good, leaving it completely desolate and ruined. In the two days of the pogrom 11 people were killed, 18 shops burned, more than 300,000 rubles in money stolen, and the value of 21 to 23 millions in wares and private property (at valuations far from market prices).

Cherniakhov (Government of Volyhnia)

Pogroms: January, March, July

Testimony of Z. Kh. Verkhovsky

The town of Cherniakhov is in the canton of Zhitomir, twenty versts from Zhitomir. It has five hundred Jewish families.

On Thursday, January 10, two days before the Zhitomir pogrom, a cavalry detachment appeared at night and arrested the "patrol." On Friday they, together with the mounted militia, would not let people go out of their houses, and arrested them on the streets. On the next day, January 11, in the evening, shooting began; the peasants of the neighboring villages gathered; they plundered all the shops and some dwellings. The government of the town disappeared. On Saturday, during the day, a telegram was received from Kiev from the Jewish National Secretariat that measures were being adopted against disorders, the responsibility for which rested on all the population. They went with this telegram to the government of the district (*volost*). Then a detachment was secretly organized, which arranged an ambush and killed the ringleader of the looters, Bezdetko, a well-known thief and burglar, going by the nickname of "Pup." In this detachment the son of Stefanchuk, former commander of militia, who had been killed by this same bandit, took part.

On March 15, when the bolsheviki began to retreat from Zhitomir, a rebel movement began in the surrounding region, and a Cossack tribe from beyond the rapids arrived at Cherniakhov, arrested the bourgeois *starosta* (head man), and the president of the (Jewish) Community, and demanded a contribution of five thousand rubles and also a great deal of produce. The ataman's assistant, Starozhuk, came to the synagogue, where many Jews were huddled together, and demanded that a woman be furnished him. After long and painful discussion it was decided to refuse this, and they presented him personally with 5,000 rubles. In the evening the tribe did some looting and killed one Jewish woman because she would

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not consent to the violation of her daughters. On the next day the tribe departed. Many women had been violated. From this day until Easter, when the Soviet forces arrived, attacks of various bands constantly occurred, from each of which the Jewish population always suffered. They got through, however, without the loss of lives, for they always "adopted measures," that is, gave large sums of money.

A week before Easter the Chertomitzky regiment arrived, which engaged in beating and looting, and exposed the Jews to maltreatment, forcing, for instance, whole groups to sing and dance. Several days later it appeared again and prepared to perpetrate a massacre (all, including the ataman, were drunk), shouting that the Jews were supplying the bolsheviki with cartridges (on the way they had met a certain Jewish youth who was carrying cartridges to sell to Czechs in a neighboring village; the boy was killed on the spot). The ataman of the tribe demanded that a large quantity of products be supplied to him. At this time there arrived from Zhitomir a small detachment commanded by Sokolovsky (the well-known Sokolovsky from the village of Gorbulevo) and Col. Yanitzky. Under the influence of Yanitzky, Sokolovsky interfered and would not permit the pogrom to be carried out, and even arrested the ataman. Sokolovsky spent about a week here and all was quiet.

Just before the Jewish Passover (April 15) there occurred an attack of Petlurists from Zhitomir passing through Cherniakhov with Vozny at their head. They took up quarters in the town over night, and some looting occurred. Yanitzky was equal to the occasion; four looters were killed, and quiet ensued. Two days later they left. The Soviet forces arrived—the 9th regiment (April 18). Looting took place extensively (peasants were also victims of it). The soldiers defended it by saying that the Jews were supporting Petlura, etc. After some days the regiment departed.

After the last pogrom at Radomysl, rumors began to spread that Sokolovsky was coming to Cherniakhov. The symptoms appeared: the peasants began to gather, threats to the Jews were heard, and on June 19 the peasants came to the Jewish artisans and took away from them all the materials that had been furnished them for work ordered. The Jews were frightened and applied to the Revolutionary Committee to take measures. But Davidenko, the President of the Committee, and himself the military commissar, took no action. Afterwards the suspicion was confirmed that he was in league with Sokolovsky. On the

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next day, June 20, the band broke in and began to loot and kill. In the course of something like an hour 14 Jews were killed; about 10 were wounded. The local Christians, especially the school teachers, came forward in defense of the Jews, and stopped the pogrom. In general the Christians of Cherniakhov varied in their attitude; sometimes they baited the Jews, sometimes they defended them; they changed back and forth.

The leader of the band called an assembly, at which Jews were also present (several times they were invited and then driven out). Prominent Christians advised the Jews to draw up a formal statement to the effect that they were not interfering in politics in any way, that they welcomed Sokolovsky, etc. The Jewish inhabitants were inclined to agree to this, but the young people, especially the members of the Bund and the Zionists, opposed it. The statement was not drawn up. Several hours later a Soviet armored train suddenly appeared, the band fled, and the Soviet forces occupied the town. They stayed two or three days, left some red soldiers, and departed. Things became disturbed again; many departed for Zhitomir (on the way to Zhitomir the Feldblum family, of five persons, was murdered). On Tuesday, June 24, some gangs again fired on the town; on that day and the next 14 more people were killed, and several days later, June 28, two more.

YANUSHPOL (GOVERNMENT OF VOLHYNIA)

Pogrom of March 25-29, 1919

Testimony of S. L. Gorenstein

The town of Yanushpol, government of Volhynia, canton of Zhitomir, is 25 versts from Berdichev and 26 versts from the station of Demchin, Southwestern Railroad. It has seven or eight thousand population, with fifteen or eighteen hundred Jews. There is a sugar factory (granulated and refined) in the town. It is one of the largest in Volhynia, and belongs to Z. N. Gorenstein. The employees of the factory are mostly Jews.

The change from the Hetman's government to that of Petlura took place almost without trouble and without notice. After the disorders carried on by the *secheviki* (a kind of soldiers) there was some alarm in Berdichev and Yanushpol. Various rumors were afloat. The Jews organized night patrols for several nights. However, the alarm proved unnecessary. In general quiet reigned during the whole period of the Petlura regime. In the middle of February there appeared several communists,

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who came to Yanushpol to form a rebel detachment among the local peasants. The peasant youths willingly joined the detachment. A mobilization of peasants covering several years (of age) was declared. When they heard in Berdichev of what was going on in Yanushpol, a punitive detachment was dispatched thither, but it turned about midway on the road, because Soviet forces from the direction of Kasatin were approaching Berdichev. On the whole of the trip the *secheviki* chastised the Jews whom they met in the villages. Thus in the village of Karpovtzo all the property of several Jewish families was looted. Even a little synagogue was not spared; the sacred furnishings were destroyed, according to report. When Berdichev was taken by the bolsheviki, the insurgents from Yanushpol went to join them, together with the local guard.

On March 25, fair day, at 5 P.M., a cavalry detachment of Petlurists, commanded by Ataman Borisov, entered the town. They at once burst into several rather well-to-do Jewish homes and began to loot. In one house the telephone bell rang at this time. They permitted the owner to go to the telephone, but and beat him and accused him of giving secret information over the telephone. They hauled him to the ataman, maltreating him frightfully on the way. Others brought along his wife and other persons who happened to be in the house at the time. The ataman, however, understood how ridiculous the accusation was and let them go.

In the detachment there was a considerable percentage of Galicians and Poles. Many of them were richly dressed and had large sums of money with them. In general this detachment stood in cultural respects higher than the other detachments which arrived later. Among other things they said that Yanushpol was the only place where they had not been allowed to have a pogrom so far. They had acquitted themselves especially well, they said, in Novo-Chartoria. "After us," they said, "a baggage train is coming, and infantry, and you had better be afraid of them." On the next day, March 26, the *secheviki* opened the Jewish shops and gave permission to peasants, who rushed together from the surrounding villages, to take whatever they wanted. One soldier threw into the crowd a fifty-ruble note, saying as he did so that he had taken this from the Jews not for himself personally, but for the whole mass of the poor people. On the evening of the same day there began a visitation of the well-to-do houses. Wherever the *secheviki* found nothing to take, they cruelly beat everyone, large and small, with whips and gun-butts, etc. "You think I want your money," said one

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soldier; "I want to destroy your Jewish life." On the next day, March 27, the looting increased, and the bandits went around accompanied by peasant lads, who indicated where it was worth while to go in.

On the evening of the same day the detachment's baggage-train arrived. The alarm among the Jews increased. Some of them, employees of the factory, ran to the factory grounds and hid in various of the factory barns. The night, however, went off quietly. On the next day a rumor spread that the baggage-train was departing. The employees were on the point of dispersing to their homes, when people came from the town with the terrible news that the pogrom had started. Soon the news of the first murders arrived. A terrible panic broke out at the factory among the Jewish employees. The Christian workmen, employees, skilled artisans, and guards, were quite indifferent to all that was taking place. They did not respond to the proposal of the Jewish employees to organize a guard for the factory. One employee proposed to send to the *secheviki* a delegation from the factory committee, the local Russian intellectuals, the officialdom, and the orthodox and catholic clergy; to which the president of the committee replied that "this would be not at all suitable, that it did not come within their competence, and that in general the Christian religion did not permit the defense of people of other faiths."

In the town itself there were left only few Jews who had not gone out to the factory. In the course of the day the *secheviki* visited all the houses and beat half to death whomever they caught in them. This went on all day Friday and Saturday. The *secheviki* took only money, watches, and the most valuable articles. After them hundreds of peasants followed, men and women, who literally took everything out of the houses.

On Friday two soldiers of the mounted detachment came to the factory grounds. This time they did no more than take several sacks of sugar from the storehouse on the orders of their leader. Some Christian workmen and employees at last consented to form a guard from their own midst, in the house of the manager of the factory, where many Jewish employees were concealed. It is curious to note that the only employee of the factory who showed himself very active in the defense of it was D., a former member of the Union of the Russian People (the reactionary Nationalist Party, the organizer of the "Black Hundreds").

On Saturday, March 29, the *secheviki* came to the above-mentioned home of the manager of the factory. The presence

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of the Christian workmen, and the external quiet and calm with which they were met by the owners, somewhat confused the bandits, and they only asked to be permitted to wash and have something to eat. Having washed and eaten, they started to look for weapons. The head of the gang said to a student, the son of the owner of the house: "Don't look on me as a man, I am a wolf, because I am a *sechevik*." These words they repeated frequently. They visited the factory nearly twenty times; each time they were bought off with money. On Monday, March 31, the pogrom quieted down somewhat. On Friday, April 4, the *secheviki* broke loose again for several hours, after which, under pressure of the Soviet forces, they left the town.

Town of Annopol (Government of Volhynia)

To the Central Section for the Relief of Victims of Pogroms

From Krupnik, a Citizen of the Town of Annopol

From the very first day of the occupation of Ukraine by the Petlurist forces, small detachments of Petlurists began to arrive in the town of Annopol, who unmercifully looted the Jewish population, but did no killing. After one occurrence, when a Petlurist robbed a soldier who had just returned from captivity in Germany and who offered resistance, the Petlurists began beating people up, and in one day eight were killed and about sixty wounded. The wounded, afraid of being shot, did not show themselves on the street, and died for lack of treatment.

For about two months the Jews lay in cellars and bathhouses. They did not hide in synagogues, because there had been a case in which the Petlurists had plundered Jews who were hiding in a synagogue. The Jewish Community was functioning officially, but was not active, because on the first day of the arrival of the Petlurists its president, Holtzmann, was arrested and shot. Small bands of five or ten men rode into the town, and, not finding the inhabitants, would look in cellars and in the cemetery and other places, and if they found inhabitants would take them home and demand that they show them the places where their property and money were hidden. If they were not shown and were not given money, they would kill them. Contributions were imposed almost every day. At first they would impose levies of a hundred or fifty thousand; but later, when the resources of the place ran out and many of the inhabitants had been killed, they took three thousand or even only one thousand each time. Besides money they took clothing, pillows, samovars. In a word, they robbed the town

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of a sum amounting to three or four millions. The dead amount to fifteen, among them a girl of sixteen, shot on the street without any reason. The Petlurists ran around the streets shouting, "Kill the Jews, even the Jewish children." At a meeting which took place in the town the Petlurist officers appeared and cried shame on each other because the Jews had driven them out of Berdichev. The Christian population did not move a finger to help the Jews. They took from the Jews not only money, but even fodder for the horses, and the Jews had to buy of the Christian population everything that the Petlurists needed, even tallow. After the Petlurists left, the population looked to the bolsheviki as saviors, but were disappointed in their expectations, since the bolsheviki also made themselves felt. The units which came looted the population, and what the Petlurists didn't take the bolshevik units took. The actions of the Taraschan regiment may serve as an example. When the Taraschan regiment was transported to Rovno, they stopped for the night in Annopol, and all night long plundered the place, so that on the next day they carried away the loot in carts. But more than that, fifteen men of this same regiment remained as garrison. They opened the shops and scattered abroad the goods which the Petlurists had left. There was a case in which the head of the detachment imposed a levy of 15,000 rubles, of which 11,000 was paid. But in spite of the levies and improper requisitions without the issuance of revolutionary orders, nevertheless the population remained content with the bolshevist regiments, because at least they did not kill. The "Kombed" (Committee of the Poor), which was organized after the departure of the Petlurists, made every effort to aid the hundred and fifty families who had lost all. For this purpose it started a mill going, which belonged to a land-owner Ivkov, and it is distributing among the poorest population what is received for the grinding of flour. But this is a drop in the bucket. There is no clothing, and very little medical aid (there is a hospital), while in the town and the surrounding district typhus is raging, so that the situation is desperate. The Committee of the Poor also distributes salt to the population, but in very small quantities; a pound of salt costs 30 to 35 rubles and there is none to be had in town. Medicines are distributed free, but many drugs are not to be had in town. There are no longer either rich or poor, so that there are no means for furnishing medicines. The population is reckoned at 6,000, and of these 150 families are entirely without means, while the remaining six or seven hundred families are living from hand to mouth.

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In attaching hereto the certificate issued by the Annopol Committee of the Poor, I beg you to grant aid in money to the extent of 500 rubles for each Jewish family, so that thereby at least for the time being the population may be relieved, until the formation in the canton of a Committee of Relief, and until the Committee of the Poor may be able to give more help. The prices in Annopol are frightful. A pound of bread costs seven or eight rubles, whereas two weeks ago it cost four rubles. Work of every sort is at a standstill, the shops are closed, so that even at seven rubles there is no bread. Therefore I, the emissary of the Committee of the Poor, beg you to supply aid for the physically and morally crushed population. For five years now, that is, since the beginning of the war, Annopol has been living on the basis of military activities, and at every change of government Annopol has borne on its shoulders all the weight of violence and destruction. Hence I beg you to hear the voice crying in the wilderness and send financial aid to the extent of 500 rubles for each family. The local Committee of the Poor will take upon itself the handling of the money and the furnishing of relief; it is acquainted with local conditions. If the section decides to grant money, I beg you to hand it over to me, personally, since money sent through various institutions is a long time in arriving.

(Signature)

Supplementary Report

The population was principally employed in the grain and lumber business. There are tanneries, and many workmen; it was a very wealthy town. It is proposed to use the money for the establishment of a dining-hall and hospital. The 150 families in want, mostly artisans, even if the instruments of production could be furnished them, would have no work to do and no orders. The amount requested is for first aid. Typhus is raging; there is a hospital, with inventory and list; but there are no supplies and hence it is not functioning.

VOLOCHISK (GOVERNMENT OF VOLHYNIA)

To the Volochisk Revolutionary Committee, from the Undersigned Citizens of the Town of Volochisk:

PETITION

It is now more than six weeks that the present condition of our town and district has lasted—like one long nightmare. It

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is not the bombs that burst over our heads almost every day and in great numbers, nor the incessant fire from machine guns and rifles that frightens us. From the bombs the population can hide in cellars. But for three weeks now the violent and arbitrary actions of certain Red soldiers in our town have never ceased. Our hundreds of depositions have no results, since the militia is powerless to do anything against the Red soldiers. But in the meantime in broad daylight homes are broken open, and, under fear of death by shooting, the property of people who are not rich (for the rich have left town), but poor petty traders and principally workmen, is carried off. The losses already amount to about five millions. There have been cases of beating in cellars, while the hiding population was being fired upon. Old men and women have been beaten. Locks of stores are broken open at night, and what goods are left there are carried off. A violent anti-Semitic agitation is going on.

In view of all the above-mentioned facts, we apply to you with the request that you adopt measures to put a stop to occurrences of this sort, and appropriate a sum for the support of the existence of the plundered poor population.

District of Korosten

To the Head Mission of the Russian Society of the Red Cross for Ukraine and Crimea, Division of Relief for Victims of Pogroms: From S. S. Kahan, in Charge of Relief Work in the District of Korosten

August 10, 1919

Korosten *

The Korosten region of relief work includes Korosten, Ushomir, Luginy, Olevsk, Vaskovichi, and Ovruch.† The center of this region, because of its geographical position, is the town of Iskorost (railroad station of Korosten, Southwest Railroad). The pogrom outbreaks, all characteristic manifestations of the first wave of pogroms in Ukraine, took place here comparatively long ago, in the winter (January) and in the early spring (March and April). This district has already been investigated, in part twice, by agents of the Central Jewish Committee (Ov-

* Cf. *infra, pp.* 200 *ff.*
† Cf. *infra, pp.* 185 *ff.*

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ruch, by A. I. Hillerson and myself; the other places of the district, by I. G. Tzifrinovich). In the time following the visits of the agents to these places, there have been no new occurrences of pogroms here. The bloody stream of banditry and insurrection, which inundated almost the whole of the governments of Kiev and Podolia, touched the edges of this district, but until the last days did not break loose within its borders. The population of these places, in particular of Korosten, found it hard, of course, to forget the occurrences of the past pogroms. But the sharpness of the moment, the bitter want of the first days after the pogrom, the uncooled blood of the victims—all this has had time to heal somewhat, and had it not been for general political and economic conditions, the wounds inflicted on the life of the people might have been healed. But the trouble is that it is characteristic of Korosten that this place is a central point strategically speaking—a favorite tid-bit for the various contending sides in the civil war. For half a year Korosten has remained a theater of military activities on the front. The military side holds the center of attention here. Here there is always an armed camp. Not far away are the "positions," now of the Poles and Petlurists, now of what is called in recent times the "internal front." The civil side, the departments of government and industry, are all the time in a state of suppression here. All the actual power belongs to the military departments, which are, of course, "good" or "bad," and to whose whims the population of this strip along the front is exposed. The general political conditions, the nearness of the "positions" (of the armies), the instability of the front—all create a feeling of uncertainty about the morrow, a state of unemployment, and economic depression. And the "co-operatives" and "sackers" have not been able to improve the economic position of the majority of the Jewish population.

In Korosten it is hard to define exactly the moment of the "present" authentic Jewish pogrom. Here, as is shown by the reports of my predecessors, the pogrom outbreaks happened repeatedly. Moreover this town has the distinction of being the first scene of pogroms in Ukraine. The devastation which is caused by a pogrom in the specific sense of the word, was caused here in Korosten not only by pogroms but also by the presence and the rule of military units of all colors, of all political orientations. The neighboring towns say of Korosten that in Korosten there "really never was any genuine pogrom," and this town has been considered fortunate in the matter of pogroms, up to very recent days.

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The moment of my arrival in Korosten happened to coincide with a new wave, with a new stage in the civil war here in this region. Under the influence of reverses on the front, and on account of the drafting, outbreaks against the "commune" and the "Jews" began in many villages and hamlets. Unexpectedly for the small groups of Jewish families living in the surrounding villages and hamlets (three, four, or five families in a place), armed peasants began to appear, assemblies were called, uprisings were organized against the Soviet regime; and, as a necessary ritual of such uprisings, plundering and murder of individual Jews. The inhabitants of these scattered localities, which none of us knew anything about, fled to their capital of Korosten, leaving their property exposed to plunder at the hands of the local peasants; or they even abandoned their families and fled pellmell wherever they happened to be able to go. All these tiny places, such as Shershni, Tulchinki, Dobrini, etc., with their two or three [Jewish] families (see pages 1-6 the report), experienced the same things as were experienced in Zhitomir, Ovruch, and Proskurov, where we know and all the world knows what happened. The whole horror of their position consisted in the doomed situation in which they found themselves. Bandits hunted them down, "for their lives," as Matiashko, the head of the bands operating hereabouts, said. The victims of these outbreaks were people who were not in the least to blame for anything—old-time and aged inhabitants of the villages, who hated the "commune" as much as those who killed them in the name of the struggle against this "commune." Into these localities an investigating agent will never penetrate; they will never be recorded in the pages of a report. All these uprisings against the regime and the Jews occurred under the banner of Sokolovsky, whose detachments operated in the region near Zhitomir. In many places there was no direct connection with Sokolovsky's detachments, but the peasants, thinking that at present they had to give themselves some name or other, decided to call themselves his followers. There were places where the peasants, although they rose against the Soviet regime, nevertheless distinguished themselves from Sokolovsky; in such places there were neither murders of Jews, nor even robberies. In certain places a new trait may be noted in the relations of the insurgent peasants to the Jews. Thus, in the town of Ushomir (about which see below), near Korosten, the rebel peasants did not touch any of the Jews. Fifteen of the rebels appeared in the town early one morning, summoned all the Jews into the synagogue, and there announced to them, that they had come not to destroy the

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Jews but to fight the commune, and that if the Jews would co-operate with them in this fight, all would be well. At the same time the rebels warned the Jews not to assemble for the impending mobilization declared by the bolsheviki. The same thing happened in several other places, where the Jews even announced to the government that they could go to the rallying-point (for military service) only in case the peasants went, too. But if such idylls of the civil war did take place, they took place only in a few towns and villages, where the insurgents were local peasants who saw before them only "their own" Jews, in whom they did not suspect "communism" in the least.

But the capital of the district, Iskorost, was apparently considered by the peasants a citadel of communism, and the peasants watched everything that went on there very closely. And when I arrived in Korosten and started to organize a dining-hall and to arrange a kettle, that same awful "common kettle" with which the agitators frighten the peasants, that authentic symbol of a "commune"; and when the report of this "kettle" came to another town, Ushomir, they began to say that in Korosten "the Jews are already establishing a commune, the kettle has already been seen" . . . In Ushomir the peasants said to the Jews: "Go to Korosten, there the *kettle* is all ready!" The Jews of Ushomir were frightened, fearing that they would be accused of founding a "commune," and begged me not to start a dining-hall in Ushomir like that in Korosten, lest it bring upon them the charge of—communism! Thus amid tragic and tragi-comic incidents and occurrences passed the first days of work in the district, from June 24 to July 5. This was the first period of the insurrection; a period of attempts at rebellion, cautious and timid as yet, and scattered outbreaks among the peasants.

Town of Slovechno (Government of Volhynia)

Pogrom of July 16-19, 1919

I. *Testimony of Isaac Goldberg, Aged* 23, *Teacher and Man of Letters*

Until the recent nightmare-experiences there was no danger in Slovechno for the Jewish population.

The Jewish population of Slovechno consists of forty per cent laboring element, workmen; the rest of the Jewish population consists of petty merchants, an insignificant number being

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large merchants and tanners. The peasants live intermingled wth the Jews—first a peasant's hut, then a Jew's. Only the center of the town is inhabited mainly by Jews. The Russian population of the town is mostly poor; they have little land and are mainly hired laborers. In recent times the peasants have been working for Jews and thus had dealings with them. Often the peasants furnished hides to Jewish tanners to be worked over. Destitution is great among the peasants of Slovechno; many have no bread. The relations between the peasants and the Jews have been those of good neighbors until the most recent times. The Jews in their economic position were not sharply distinguished from the peasants; there was no striking differentiation as to wealth. The Jews worked just like the peasants; they walked bent over, and were tattered and oppressed. When there were attacks of bandits in other places, the Jews of the town (the well-to-do ones, of course) bought themselves off by paying money to certain well-known and noisy, murderous leaders.

From the time when exportation of wares from the town ceased (by regulation of the government), speculation also ceased and many of the peasants were deprived of their earnings, and began to hunt for something to earn so as to make a living. This was of significance in the further development of bandit tendencies. Last winter a "Union of Workmen" was formed in the town. When this Union got hold of the power, it began to be avenged for its previous position. The laboring Jews are the most downtrodden element among the Jews. And when it came about that these people got the chance themselves to run factory and government, they revenged themselves by imposing a contribution on the town. The workmen were Jews and the contribution was imposed also on Jews (tanners). Of course it was Jews who disliked the activities of the Union of Workmen; and yet afterwards, when the Petlurists came to the town, the peasants reproached the Jews for not surrendering "their own people" who were responsible for disorders. Thus quarrels of a political nature were started. At first, however, this bore no consequences for the Jewish population. All the time that pogroms were going on in the surrounding towns, Slovechno experienced no alarm, and the Jews of Ovruch in their time even found a safe refuge there.

The Russian intellectuals of Slovechno were of peasant stock, and Petlurist in their views. They included a surgeon, a teacher, the postmaster, the members of the Executive Committee, the priest, and his son. Accustomed to work for their own race and

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on their own responsibility, receiving no directions from above, they now fell under the pressure of the Soviet regime, with which they had no sympathy. At the same time they clashed with the Jews as representatives of the Soviet regime, and this created in them a hostile attitude towards the Jews. A month ago a commander of militia who was a Polish noble arrived in the town. With his appearance rumors began to spread that he was an instigator of pogroms. The commander himself tried not to give himself away and to behave very carefully.

On Tuesday evening alarming rumors began to spread in the town, that an uprising against the Jews was being prepared. The Jews were greatly perturbed. Groups of excited people gathered on the streets; numbers of Jews stood outside the houses, discussing the situation in alarm. About nine or ten o'clock in the evening representatives of the Jews applied to the commander of militia asking him to organize a guard, and offering him the services of Jewish guardsmen. The commander reassured them, and declared that he would be able to cope with any outbreak. The Jewish militiamen went out to keep watch, but without any arms. About midnight the commander of militia with the militiamen came forth. The Jews at first were reassured, on seeing the armed men coming out to keep guard. But the militiamen paid no attention to the Jewish militiamen and started out of town, with the commander of the town militia. As they left the town the militiamen fired two volleys. About ten minutes after this there appeared, as if at the word of command, about thirty or forty bandits with ten rifles. They came with cries of "Hurrah, kill the Jews!" and began to break windows. Looting began and continued all night. Towards morning the looting ceased. The Jews came out of their holes and again discussed the situation, and decided to win the favor of the commander of militia so that he should guard the town. The sum of 15,000 rubles was collected, and receiving it, the commander promised to furnish protection.

But Wednesday evening looting began again, and also cruel murders. Not all the peasants took an active and conscious part. Many peasants took things which they most needed, saying that just now you could take, and that it was necessary to hurry, or next day it might be forbidden. On Wednesday the Jews began to flee from Slovechno; still more left on Thursday, mostly on foot; it was impossible to get carts anywhere. The Jews walked along with their wretched parcels of whatever things they happened to pick up, the women leading the children by hand. On the way the malicious joy of the peasants over

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the unhappy fugitives was striking. Only in a few places peasant women shook their heads mournfully and murmured something sympathetic.

Thus Thursday passed. The most terrible thing of all in our town took place on Friday. Other witnesses have already reported this to you. In my opinion young peasants took the most active part in the pogrom. The old men were indifferent to what happened. On Friday I was no longer in Slovechno, but on Friday evening I started back as a volunteer with the first detachment which came to the town. After spending the night in Pokalevo we arrived in Slovechno towards morning on Saturday. We could get no carts from peasants on the way, and the men of our detachment were terribly tired. I think that the weak action of the commander of our detachment was responsible for this. He was a sailor, who apparently had no intention of taking energetic action with reference to the peasants. Before we came nearer than two versts to Slovechno our detachment spread out in a chain and surrounded the town with its flanks. In the town we perceived a rather large crowd which began to disperse upon our appearance; only a few of the crowd were caught in our chain; some of them we shot. The head bandits, whom I know very well, escaped. One we caught with a rifle and afterwards took to Ovruch. In the town we found a spectacle which it is hard to describe. It is hard to believe that this was reality and not a nightmare. Not a living soul on the streets. A herd of cows was wandering about the town; the peasants had turned them loose when they heard that the bolsheviki were approaching; the cows belonged to Jews. On the street broken articles were scattered about, corpses were lying, traces of blood were everywhere. The houses showed external signs of devastation (broken windows and doors); in the yards everything was in confusion; in the houses into which we looked lay corpses, including the bodies of children. In the town I noticed the priest coming out of his house with his daughter. After him I noticed a girl, whom I knew, coming out, with a crazed appearance; at first I hardly recognized her. The priest had a calm and majestic appearance, and walked triumphantly along the street with the aspect of beneficence (of his rôle in the occurrences you probably know from other testimony).

We did not venture to remain long in the town, since we could not rely on our forces, and we abandoned the place. As we were leaving we saw peasants hiding things which they evidently had stolen. When we tried to stop these peasants, the

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commander of our detachment prevented us from doing so. He even said that in the detachment "Jewish national feeling was too much aroused," and that this was "not appropriate." We could, I think, have soon established order in the town, if we had only met at least a few living people, from among our friends, seeking our aid. We saw no one in the town. A wilderness received us. We saw only bandits, and lost heart from this. The attitude to us of our commander and of certain elements in our detachment still more disturbed us and deprived us of the necessary courage and energy.

To all that I am communicating to you I should like to add a few words about our Slovechno Rabbi, who was killed in Ratner's house during the pogrom. This Rabbi was, in the literal sense of the words, an ornament and a pride of our town. Absolutely every one loved and respected him. Himself orthodox, he enjoyed the sympathy of all free-thinking people. He was not in sympathy with any pressure upon the conscience and opinions of others. He was a man of broad views, who allowed complete freedom even to his own family, and among the orthodox population of the town his family was the most liberal. This man had an enormous influence, not only among the Jews; even the peasants applied to him to decide their quarrels. He was about fifty years old.

GOLDBERG.

II. *Testimony of Y. M. Melamed. Relation of the Peasants to Us before the Pogrom*

At the time when pogroms were widespread throughout all Ukraine, our peasants took a quite kindly attitude towards us. They even promised to protect the town from the attacks of pogromists of other villages. After the occupation by the bolsheviks of Ovruch and its canton, they changed somewhat, to be sure, saying that this was a "Jewish regime," but still they didn't touch the Jews. The first anti-Semitic movement began in the village of Tkhorin, where under the watchword "away with communist speculators" they would not admit into the village Jewish widows, who were coming there with pots to exchange them for a piece of bread or potatoes. The matter went so far that during the last two weeks before the pogrom, there and on the road to the village of Begun (four versts from Slovechno), Jews were beaten and robbed of their last piece of bread and their last potatoes, which they were bringing home

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to their unhappy children. The Executive Committee of the district took no measures to stop these unjust actions.

On Saturday, June 29, on the festival of Sts. Peter and Paul, there was a district convention of all the villages surrounding the town, where there was a discussion of the decree received from Ovruch to the effect that the registration of weights and measures should be transferred from the priest to a department of the district Executive Committee's government. The point of view of the convention was terribly counter-revolutionary and anti-Semitic. All the peasants shouted with one voice that "this is all on account of the Jews," "they want to close the church and remove the priest." Of course there was no idea of admitting Jews to the convention; they even drove away a Jewish member of the Committee of the Poor, saying "we don't need any Jews." The Executive Committee even then took no measures to pacify the people and explain to them the object of the decree and its real meaning; on the contrary, it hinted at protesting and not accepting the decree. Almost all the peasants left the convention saying, as it were addressing the Jews, "Enough of your commune, enough of your closing churches." On the evening of the same day two Jews (the local druggist and I myself) were delegated to go to the priest and find out what the peasants were concocting. The delegates pointed out to him that the Jews were, so to speak, between the devil and the deep sea, that is, on the one hand we were accused of being spies and counter-revolutionaries (see an article "Struggle with the Jewish counter-revolution," in the communist paper for July 8), and on the other hand we were accused of closing churches and of wishing as communists to "eat free." The delegates asked him to explain to the peasants on Sunday after service, that the Jews here had nothing to do with it, and that the Christians like ourselves should submit to the government. The priest replied that there was no reason to be afraid of his parishioners and that he would explain all this to them on the next day, that is, Sunday. This rather satisfactory answer reassured us a little. Sunday and Monday passed as usual and very well. But Tuesday morning a rumor spread through the town that there would be a pogrom at night. However, there were no actual facts at hand, and we did not take the matter seriously. It was not until evening that suspicious persons were observed on the streets—young peasants placed on guard with the militiamen. Besides these about thirty Jews were on watch until one o'clock. At that time the commander of militia began to disperse the Jewish guard, saying he would get along without

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us. The Jewish guardsmen tried to beg him to allow them to stay. Instead of reply he gave what were evidently signal shots in all directions from the town; and shots were fired also at the guardsmen. The Jews fled through the outskirts, and as they left they saw from a distance bandits coming from all sides and pogromists with rifles, pitchforks, and crowbars. And soon we heard "Hurrah, kill the Jews and communists," and the sounds of broken windows and doors. Indescribable were the cries of women and children, just roused from sleep by the inhuman cries of the bandits and by volleys of shots. From all sides a crowd of peasants poured in, men and women, with sacks, and began to break in doors and loot. Women and children tried to flee through windows and were immediately met by blows and shots. With every minute the horror increased. Here women rushed about with cries of "Where are my children?" here with laughter the "conquerors" carried off trophies; here a woman flogged, there a wounded man; thus it continued till morning. The crowd of looters—peasants from the villages of Mozhari, Verpa, Boknevschina, Tkhorin, Begun, Antonovichi, Gorodetz, Petrischi, Listvin—scattered, leaving behind them fragments of window-glass, broken doors, and empty homes with beaten old men who had not been able to escape. The Jews who had fled returned with lamentations to their homes. The local peasants ridiculed them and said, "We didn't touch you, but others showed you how to be bolsheviks." The Jews when they came together began to search for their scattered relations. There were found in the town one seriously wounded man, who died on the way to the hospital, and one wounded in the mouth and head; half an hour later four others were found dead. It is hard to describe the grief which the Jews felt as they buried their victims, who were not responsible for anything, and as they saw at the same time how some of the looters who still remained, continued, amid the lamentations of the wretched people, to "clean up" the remnants of their belongings. After the burial almost all decided to leave this unhappy town and flee to Ovruch. But then provocatory rumors were spread abroad that the same thing was being repeated in Ovruch and that the bolsheviki had abandoned the canton. The day of Thursday, July 16, passed with the departure of several families, taking the remains of their possessions, to seek refuge with peasants whom they knew in the villages, and to hide in their barns. Still the town watched passively while the people's property was being carried off, while the militia was drunk all day long. All the unfortunates could do was to wonder what

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to do and whither to flee the next night. The whole day long peasants continued to alarm them with "advice" to flee, or else all would be killed. The day finished with all in hiding, some in the villages, some in thickets, some with peasant "acquaintances." On Thursday night they again gave the commander of militia 17,000 rubles to guard the town from further attacks. But in spite of this the night was still more terrible than the preceding one. Almost all Jews who were in the villages were killed. The remnants of their possessions which they had taken with them were stolen. Precisely speaking, from the village of Begun eight slain were brought in, two women, three children, and three men; from Verpa, two slain, and one wounded. The militia disappeared. In the town even stoves and furniture were smashed, and they didn't spare so much as an earthenware pot. On Thursday morning at the time of the burial of the above-mentioned victims brought from the villages, the cries of the women and the despair of the men reached horrible proportions.

The Jews decided that all, with the Rabbi at their head, should gather in the public square and entreat the bandits not to continue tormenting the town. Some went to the priest to beg him also to take part in the meeting. When all the Jews collected they met the bandits with "bread and salt" and the Rabbi addressed them, asking them either to let us all go alive or else kill us all on the spot, and not torture us one by one. In reply to the Rabbi's speech all the bandits cried with one voice: "This is your commune, this is your Jewish government." The Rabbi again began to weep before them, but got no sympathy. Then the priest made a speech. This speech had a clearly counter-revolutionary and anti-Semitic character. "Although the Jews have deserved all this," he said, "they have issued decrees separating church and state, etc., nevertheless, according to the Gospel, it is wrong to kill even guilty people. However, do as you like." His words stirred up the ignorant masses still more, and all day Thursday they did not cease to plunder what property was left, and they beat up all the Jews they met on the streets. The Jews wandered like madmen about the town, not knowing where to hide at night. They were afraid to flee to the villages, since they had already seen the consequences of that, in the morning, when the slain were brought in from everywhere. Only towards evening they began to quiet down a little, since the local postmaster with some peasants called another meeting at which a resolution was passed not to permit further looting and murders, and ordered the Jews to remain at home, since there would be no more looting and

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killing. In spite of this the Jews decided to spend the night all in one place, in the second story of the house of a certain Ratner. Until three o'clock it was in fact peaceful. It seemed that peace had been re-established. The postmaster with some peasants kept watch in the town and disbanded some ruffians. Only after three o'clock began that massacre which will always remain in the memories of those who spent the night in the place. Bandits armed with axes and rifles again approached the town, with their chief Kosenko at their head, and at once burst into the Ratner house, where almost all the Jews were. At once they killed five people outright, seriously wounding the Rabbi. The rest fled. Those who spent the night in gardens, hearing the cries and laments of those who were running through the town, began also to run about the streets in a panic, and were met there by a hail of bullets, which killed and wounded many (25). So it went on till 5 A.M. The murderers scattered again, evidently after bullets, but good-hearted peasants said they were going to return again soon, to finish up everything. In the meantime the Jews began to rescue the seriously wounded. Especially they undertook to save the Rabbi, for he was very grievously wounded in the chest. But at this point shots were heard again. The murderers returned. Most of the Jews, seeing this; fled to Ovruch. About thirty or forty people, remained with the wounded, besides those who were hiding in gardens, fearing to fly to Ovruch, because of the provocatory rumors spread to the effect that the bolsheviki had abandoned Ovruch. On the way to the hospital the bandits finished the Rabbi with a thrust of a bayonet, and did the same to other wounded, whomever they met, including women and children. The ruffians met one woman (Kipnis) and raised her four-year-old child in the air on the point of a bayonet, and thrust it through. The unhappy mother got away.

The result of this horror was 62 dead, about 45 wounded, and many who have disappeared without trace so far. Among the dead were the Rabbi and a certain Kiev student Naidich. I wish here to give brief statements by way of characterizing these two persons. Our Rabbi, Reb Boruch, was considered the ornament of Hebrew orthodoxy throughout the entire canton of Ovruch; besides his religious training he was very cultivated in secular respects. All respected him not only as a religious pastor, but also as an intelligent man of the world, and all Jewish society worked in co-operation with him. Naidich was a student of the Commercial Institute, who was spending his vacation in Slovechno, and was co-operating, as an educated young man of the

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world, to a large extent in the development and extension of enlightenment among the young people of Slovechno. He served as an example to all by the nobility of his soul, his pure morality, and his courteous manners with people. These two victims will remain forever in the memory of all the people of Slovechno, and tears will long be shed over their destruction.

The witness of these horrors,

Y. M. MELAMED.

III. *Testimony of Hannah Avrum-Berovna Gozmann, Aged* 45

On the 15th there were rumors all day long throughout the city about threatening events impending, but most of the citizens treated them lightly and with disbelief. My children and I therefore went to bed calmly (my husband was not at home, he had gone to Turob on business, and has not yet returned). In the town the local militia and a hired guard of honest peasants were on watch. In the night we were awakened by rifle shots. We were not frightened by them, thinking that they were fired by the local guard, which as usual in such cases was frightening the bandits by shots. But hearing wild cries and the sound of broken glass, I at once understood what was up. Wakening all the children, I hastened to get them into the store-room, because there is no glass there and it is safer from bullets. At this time all the windows of my house were smashed by stones thrown by the bandits. No one came into our house and until morning we remained in the storeroom. Going out on the street, I saw many peasant-compatriots. I applied to some of them asking them to grant refuge to me and my children. But all of them, though they were good acquaintances and friends, for some reason refused. By this time reports were coming in, one more terrible than another, about the killing of some Jews, and about what they were getting ready to do. I was afraid to stay over night with the children in my house, and went to my acquaintance Adam Sich (who was afterwards shot by the bolsheviki). I did not find him at home. I urgently begged his wife to let us in. Approximately at midnight the owner of the house, Adam Sich, returned, but soon went away again and until morning kept going out and coming in again. I did not close my eyes all night long; I could not sleep. In the morning I went out into the town; all the frightened people were exchanging experiences about the night with horror, and were talking with fear about the next night. Some reassurance was caused by the collection of money among the population for the ringleaders, especially when a considerable sum was handed over

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to them and they advised all to assemble in Ratner's house. With many others I hastened to hide in Ratner's house; but his daughter-in-law, Yekheved, meeting me at the threshold, said that she herself would not spend the night at home (the next day she was killed in that very house). Therefore I turned back and again succeeded in entreating the wife of Adam Sich to allow us to spend the night in her house. Adam did not spend the night at home; I was told that "he had taken the horses to the field." The next day I learned that the horses had not been taken to the field.

On Friday morning I sent my son, aged 18, into town to find out what the situation was. He soon returned and with horror told me of the death of Grenader and others. (Grenader lay in the arms of the student Naidich, both killed on the square.) We had no time to look around when my Tzalik was already gone; with lamentations he rushed back to find my other children, my daughter Esther, and her husband Motl. After a short time Tzalik came bringing a cart laden with the remnants of our goods. Putting the children on the load, we started to flee towards Ovruch. As we drove out of the town, we met S. B. Bürger with many Jews. They shouted to us that no one was allowed to leave the town and that they had been turned back; we also turned back (at that time the cart upset, and everything was scattered). I took the little children by the hand, and leaving everything, taking only the valuables (silver spoons, forks, cups, etc.), all of which I threw into the nearest garden, I ran, driven from behind by bandits, into the town to find my other children (Esther and Motl). On the way I met Avrum-Ber Portny, much agitated, who told me how all exits from the town were closed, and ran off, observing that many were running to his (Avrum-Ber's) house. With the children I hastened there, too. It is hard for me to describe what we experienced in that earthly hell. . . . Yes, yes, all the rooms packed full of the Jews of Slovechno, old men, women, children; many had hidden under beds, tables, couches, etc. When the first shot from the street resounded in the house, all, as if at the word of command, lay down on the floor; after the shot followed a violent knock at the closed doors. They were at once opened. Kosenko with a group of bandits appeared. All began to entreat him not to touch them, and offered money. He at first refused, but finally accepted it. Having received the money (more than 40,000) he turned to the assembled Jews with these words: "I gave you a period of two days to get out of here; you didn't go; now I will settle with you." And he ordered

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them out of the room. First went my son-in-law Motl, then my daughter Esther; the third was I with the baby in my arms. At the exit a cordon of bandits was drawn up, who beat us and thrust at us, hit us with sabres, bayonets and gun-butts. My children Esther and Motl received severe wounds; I got off with one blow with a gun-butt on my shoulder. Before me were my children, all bloody and half dead; behind me, the cries of hundreds of my compatriots, whom the bandits were destroying in Avrum-Ber's house. From all sides they were driving the Jews in dozens to the square. On all the streets the bodies of our innocent brothers and sisters were lying strewn about. I saw a picture which reduced me to stupefaction. I shall never forget it. Among the slain lay the wife of the *shames* Irka, wounded, and a peasant was kicking her in the head. Oh, my God, can it be that Thou dost not see this? Why is it? Such pictures were repeated many times on that day. We were all collected in one group, the shoes were taken off the feet of all the men, shouts resounded in Russian. At one side two bandits, one from the village of Tkhorin, the other from Usovo, threatened us with chastisement. (Maxim Liukhtan with a gun in his hands stood near us.) I began to beg them not to harm us, and promised to give them all our valuables which I had thrown into a garden. They agreed, and we started out (at this time I thought—what will happen if someone has stolen them from the garden?). Thank God, everything was still there in the garden. I gave them all the valuables and begged them not to hurt us. One of them gave me three spoons, and said: "Well, take these, perhaps you will remain alive, and you will have something to eat with." But the other instantly tore them from his hand, took everything, and they went away, letting us go free. Happy in our freedom, we started on the way to leave that accursed place. My daughter Esther took off her smock, all bloody, and threw it on me, saying: "Mama, there is no blood to be seen on you, keep that on you, perhaps it will save you on the way." I did not resist, and we went on. I had my baby in my arms, and my children, dripping blood (they were wounded).

At the second verst in the direction of the village of Petrushi we were overtaken by two men who had taken our valuables, with a peasant lad of twelve or thirteen, the boy armed with a gun; and they demanded that we give them all that we had left. My son-in-law still had a silver watch; he gave it to them, plus some tens of rubles which we had with us. We managed somehow to drag ourselves to the village of Petrushi. The peas-

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ants refused us shelter, would not give us a cart under any conditions, or take us to the next village, and we, hungry, dishevelled, worn out, as if accursed of God, struggled on farther. Before we had gone one verst to the village of Frankovka, a peasant boy took off my son-in-law's jacket, saying: "Too bad about the jacket, Jews, it is stained with blood;" and, with various yells, taunts and ridicule, he stole it and ran off. (In the course of our journey many peasants accused us of responsibility for a commune, calling us communists and bolsheviks.) With difficulty we got to the hovel of a peasant, who lived in the woods five versts from the village of Petrushi. It seemed to us that we were seeing it all in a dream: the peasant invited us to come into his hut and have a meal of soup. We were so thankful to him that we were ready to kiss him for his kind words (excuse me, I forgot to say, when we, after giving up our valuables, went past the house of Kosenko, his mother washed my daughter's wounds with water, saying: "Get away quick, or everything will be lost.") When we had fed on the soup and rested a bit we wanted to go away, but night was coming on, and we spent the night with the peasant. In the morning he hitched his horse and took us deep down into the woods, where there were already many Jews (this was on Saturday). We asked the Jews to lend us a few rubles to reward the peasant, but the latter categorically refused. We thanked him from our souls, and he left us. Among the Jews were some who were afraid there were too many of us. They proposed to scatter out more, and we with some of them started on the way to the town of Luginy. On the way we met peasants who warned us that we might fall into the hands of the gangs of Sokolovsky, who were operating in the region of Luginy. Some paid no attention and went on, but we, fearing that the wounds would fester and wanting to get as soon as possible to some sort of hospital, turned off towards the town of Valedniki. We spent the night in the fields. On the morning of July 7 Ratner's cart picked us up and took us to Valedniki. There I found my son Tzalik, wounded. Having rested for a time, we went by way of the town of Norinsk to Ovruch, where my children got their first medical attention. The children are in the local hospital, while I am in Borman's house.

HANNAH GOZMANN.

IV. *Testimony of Srul Ber Bürger, Aged* 53

On Tuesday morning and through the day rumors began to spread in Slovechno that something wrong was in the air, that

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danger was threatening us Jews. With my whole family, my wife and children, I went to the border of the town, where the Jewish poor folk live; there also live the Jews who live together with peasants. There we spent Tuesday night. When peasants came into the house where we were hiding, the owner, a barefoot, disheveled, tattered Jew, went out to see them; and this took away the peasants' inclination to plunder and kill. Wednesday all day and night my family and I spent in this place. I went out to reconnoiter, and learned of what was happening in the town. My wife, hearing of the alarming situation, didn't want to stay any longer in that house and wanted to move to another place, that we might not all be together, but we nevertheless remained. We hid in a closet, and just sat still, holding our breath. From the city rumors of the murders arrived. So passed the day and night of Wednesday. On Thursday a meeting was held in the synagogue and money was collected to move the hearts of the peasants. They collected 50,000 rubles, and then invited the young fellows who led the bands to Ratner's house, gave them tea, and divided the money among them. Thursday night we again spent in the house of the Jew on the edge of the town. On Friday morning we came out of our retreat and began to see what we could learn. Alarm and confusion were abroad in the town. Apparently it was impossible to stay. We decided to leave the town. I set off in the direction of Ovruch with my wife and children (ten souls). We decided to let come what would. All the time rumors were being spread that the bolsheviki were no longer in Ovruch. That was why all the time until Friday we had not ventured to leave the town in the direction of Ovruch. Friday morning, as I said, we set out thither. But we were met by peasants with a volley, and started to run back (there were about eighty of us). We were driven into the house of Avrum-Ber, and there some of us were shut up in a bedroom, the rest stayed in the front room. The door into the house was closed. Immediately a company of peasants came and began to break windows and fire through the windows. We lay down on the floor, one on top of another, ten or fifteen people in a heap. A number of peasants entered the house with the peasant Kosenko at their head. Kosenko announced that he was going to kill all of us. Our money was taken away, and then the bandits began to cut down literally all, and to strike us with axes and sabres. Those who lay on top perished; those who lay underneath escaped. Blood flowed over the floor; groans and cries arose. I pretended to be dead, held my breath, and didn't move. At this

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time those who were in the other room, the bedroom, started to escape through the windows. I didn't know what happened to my wife and children. When the massacre ended I continued to lie there as if dead. Bandits came and investigated me to see if I was alive, and robbed me as dead. It was not until I heard Jewish words that I raised my head; it was Jews who had come to take away the corpses. I asked if I could get up. They told me to roll up my sleeves so that I could help in gathering the corpses. Blood everywhere, and all around the groans of the wounded. I went out with the corpses and laid them in the cart. I laid the body of my sister in the cart. As I did so, I saw with horror a dress I knew too well. I looked close, it was my wife's body. It turned out that she and my children had fled through a window, when they began to beat them, and at that moment a young fellow struck her in the side with a bayonet (so my six-year-old boy told me). My wife fell to the ground bathed in blood. The children sat beside her, the very smallest. My wife was still alive, and worrying for the fate of the children; she told them to go away, because they were killing even children. The children were frightened and started to run away, after first giving their mother a drink and laving her with cold water. She died from the severe wound, while the children ran along the road out of town. Jews fleeing from the town recognized my children and took them along. For a long time I did not know about the fate of my children, and only here in Ovruch were they brought to me by refugees from Slovechno. It was, as I just told you, my little son who told me how my wife suffered before her death, and how they gave her a drink and laved her with water.

In all the crimes in Slovechno a small group of peasants from nearby villages took part, with Kosenko at their head. They were poorly armed and it would have been very easy to disarm them. At the head of the pogrom-outbreak was the commander of militia, who first took money from us, as if to protect us, but afterwards summoned the bandits by signal and began the pogrom, handing over to the pogromists the weapons which were entrusted to him.

(Signature)

V. *Testimony of Moishe Feldman, Aged* 19, *from Slovechno; Employee of the Forest Department*

The pogrom began with us Tuesday night. The first looting took place then. On the next morning we learned that six were

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slain. The whole day of Wednesday robberies continued in the town. On Thursday again five or six people were killed, but the most terrible day for our town was Friday, when the most fiendish murders and atrocities took place. On Friday morning we came out of our house and fled wherever our legs took us. Wherever we went we were met with shots. The peasants encompassed the town with firing and drove the fleeing Jews into one place. Several hundred of us found ourselves in the house of Avrum-Ber Portny, and there we were all piled and heaped up on one another. It was close in the house, and terror and anguish reigned among us. When a certain peasant (Kosenko, from Slovechno) appeared and declared that he was the head of the insurgent forces, we began to entreat him and offered him money. He answered, that since we had disobeyed his orders to leave the town, he had decided to kill us all. Immediately the firing began through the windows of the place where we were gathered. Then the peasants began to beat us up; they beat us with whatever came handy, trampled on us with their feet, and threw bombs. How many were killed, it is hard to be sure at present, but very many. Apparently they would have killed all, but deadly weapons failed the bandits. I myself pretended to be dead and lay thus four or five hours. The bandits investigated me to see if I was alive, and struck me on the leg (my leg swelled up from that); then the murderer began to draw off my shoes as from a dead man. The beasts occupied themselves with me and examined me for a whole hour. Feeling the breathing of these people on me, I pretended to be quite dead. I lay there until people came after the bodies of the slain. Under me flowed a stream of Jewish blood; my leg ached. I got up and went with someone else to another house; they pursued us thither and wanted to kill us. Then I went to the cemetery, where they were burying six dead. On the way peasants met us and demanded that we should bury all the slain, "and then we will kill you and will bury you ourselves; we've had plenty enough work with you." "But if you want to live, then go to the priest and ask him to baptize all your sins out of you." Until evening we were busy at the cemetery. We didn't bury all. Many corpses remained at home and in the streets. The summer heat caused a stench of putrefaction from the bodies. Everywhere were pools of human blood. At evening we hid again, since looting and killing were still going on. All the Jews hid, and cowering each in his hole in a cellar or garret or in the bushes, expected death. The town presented a picture of desolation. The pogrom was char-

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acterized not only by looting but particularly by destruction of property. In the houses they smashed everything: windows, doors, furniture, table service; sometimes they destroyed the walls. Now there is not a house where the windows and doors are uninjured; they opened up the ceilings and floors; they carried off the domestic animals, all the goods of the Jews. The night of Friday I spent hidden in the grass near a storehouse, and on Saturday morning I left the town.

(Signature)

VILLAGE OF SHERSHNI (GOVERNMENT OF VOLHYNIA)

Pogrom of June 23, 1919

I. *Testimony of Jos. Gines, Former Merchant of the Village of Shershni*

I am an inhabitant of the village of Shershni. My family has lived there a long time—my father and grandfather. I was engaged in trade; had a shop in the village. There were five Jewish families altogether in the village, all inhabitants of the place for a long time, so to speak, well-rooted inhabitants. The pogrom, or rather devastation, took place with us before Easter. It was Petlurists who perpetrated it—bands who came to us and looted. Up to the latest time there were no murders. The Jews in our place were of moderate means. In former times there were never any special clashes with the peasants. Only lately, in connection with the resentment of the peasants against the "commune," the peasants began to talk about the followers of Sokolovsky and to say that if they appeared everybody ought to join them.

On Tuesday, June 23, quite unexpectedly about ten armed peasants appeared in my house, and with the words "Sokolovsky's men have not been here," took me into the dining-room and demanded money and other things of me. Two peasants began to search me, and took away my money, while the others looted in the living-room and in the next room. They stole a lot of things, and demanded the key of the chest where clothing was kept. I said I didn't have the keys with me, but would go for them in the next room. As I passed through the hall, I noticed that there was no watch, and making up my mind that death was unavoidable in the house in any case, I went out through the hall into the courtyard, and then ran

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through the village and came to the village of Sobolevka, where my family lives (did live). When I went past the church in our village there stood the local commissar, Naum Scheling, an inhabitant of the place. I asked him for help. "I am afraid myself," was the commissar's reply. I took my wife and three children to Iskorost. In my house in Shershni I left my old father, aged 65, and my aunt. All the way I did not know what had happened to them, and only when I arrived here I learned that my father, Yukel Gines, had been killed by the highwaymen. I do not know under what circumstances.

JOSEPH GINES.

II. *Testimony of Shaia Vaks, Aged* 53, *Petty Trader*

I live with my family in the village of Shershni. My family consists of nine souls, together with the family of my eldest son, who lives with me. I am an old inhabitant of that village. We have been living there for forty years. I have my own house.

On Tuesday, June 23, about 5 P.M., I went out of my house to go to see the local commissar, Scheling. The trouble was that local youths had locked the door of our house from the outside the day before. This prank disturbed my wife and she insisted that I should go and tell the commissar about it. When I was at the house of the chief militiaman my wife rushed in to me in great alarm and said that armed men had come into our house and wanted to kill her, and demanded money. She told how these men, who called themselves Sokolovsky's men, had demanded money, and when she said she had no money, they began to shout at her, saying: "You are all communists." My wife and daughter declared that they were not communists. Then the armed peasants demanded that everyone in the house should sign a written statement that they were not communists. "You Jews and communists burn up our villages," said these people. The peasants took all who were in the house, including children, and took them all to the "commander" on the other side of the river. They were all taken to the house of Naivelzh (who was afterwards killed). Other Jews from other houses were also brought there. There were eighteen in all. There all of them were made to stand in line, and one of the peasants gave orders to load rifles; "and do a good job," he said, "so that we can shoot down eight people at a shot." Then my daughter and daughter-in-law began to beg for mercy, promising to give them in return the gold hidden in the yard. After this

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statement the bandits showed lively interest, and took my daughter and daughter-in-law to my courtyard, where the gold and money were given to them. The peasants went away. Before these peasants came back with our people, other bandits had entered the house and wrecked it completely, not leaving anything whole, breaking the windows and smashing the doors.

SHAIA VAKS.

III. *Mikhel Naivat, Aged 43, Married, Four Children; Merchant*

My permanent home is in the village of Shershni. On Monday, June 22, I left Shershni for the fair at Chenovichi. At Chenovichi I met my father, who had come there from Shershni previously. On Tuesday my father went from Chenovichi back to Shershni. On the way he met a Jew who was going from Shershni to Melen and who told him that things were in a bad way in Shershni, and advised him not to go there. My father thought it over and went on to Shershni in spite of this. When he entered the village armed men attacked him and led him to our house. The daughter and daughter-in-law of Vaks saw this. The bandits beat my father, then led him to the place where all the other Jews of the village were assembled, and there shot him.

My whole family, my wife and little children, remained in the village of Shershni. I do not yet know what happened to them, and cannot get any news of them. It is said that "Sokolovsky's men" are still in our village. I should like to go there and get my family and go away. My father was 65 years old.

MIKHEL NAIVAT.

VILLAGE OF DOBRIN (GOVERNMENT OF VOLHYNIA)

Pogrom of June 27, 1919

Testimony of Elia Kipnis, Aged 74, Merchant

Three weeks ago bands of armed men came to our village. I was in my own house in the village of Dobrin, and my son Srul had gone to a mill nine versts from the village. Just while my son was at the mill, a group of bandits went past and asked those who were standing around the mill whether there were any Jews there. The peasants replied that there was one Jew, and indicated my son. The armed men went up to my son and killed him on the spot. The owner of the mill, a Russian,

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when the bandits left, buried my son right there beside the mill. We heard of my son's death on the same day. My other son on this day had gone to find the body of a certain young Jew who had been killed by the roadside. Peasants who met him told him he need not go after the body of a stranger, since his own brother was killed and buried beside the mill. In Dobrin two young men, including my son, were killed. In the neighboring village of Buki they killed two elderly Jews at the same time. In the village of Sany there was also killed a young man, Putinsky, 25 years old. The names of the Jews killed in Buki were Avrum Steinberg and Nukhim Margulis. After the murder of Nukhim Margulis, bandits came to the house the second time and wanted to kill his wife and children. When the bandits had already raised a revolver, a peasant who happened by ran up to them and said: "What are you doing? Kill the children first, don't leave them orphans." With these words the peasant seized the gun out of the bandit's hand and saved that family. At present all the Jews have fled from all these villages, and the local peasants are doing as they please; acting on the precept and example of the bandits, they have plundered the property of the Jews.

The bandits who visited us call themselves "Sokolovsky's men" and operate under the command of a certain Matiashko, a young peasant, less than thirty years old, a former stone-cutter, from the village of Ganopal. He himself has taken part in the murder of Jews. He often goes into the villages and issues orders not to let the Jews get away nor to conceal them, under pain of death. This Matiashko goes into the villages, calls the peasants together, makes speeches, and agitates against the Jewish "communists." Our village did not adhere to Matiashko while I was there; what is happening there now I do not know. There is in actual fact no government in the village at all.

ELIA KIPNIS.

GORSCHIK (GOVERNMENT OF VOLHYNIA)

Pogrom of July 16, 1919

Yentel Gorstein, of Ushomir, Aged 50

Gorschik is twelve versts from Ushomir. Last week two boys came to Ushomir and said that eight Jews had been killed in Gorschik, among them Benjamin Friedlau, an old man, and his son-in-law, Avrez Avrum (his last name we do not know), an

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old man, and his son, the two sons of a certain Israel-Ber (his last name we do not know), and Idel Glozmann and his son. The boys did not tell us the circumstances of the murder of these Jews. We knew five of the slain. The relatives of the slain sent a cart from Ushomir to Gorschik after the bodies. For a long time no one ventured to go. A Russian consented to go for the bodies and took 3,000 rubles for it. The cart returned without the bodies and the driver said that the peasants would not surrender the bodies and had buried them in Gorschik. It was said that "Sokolovsky's men" had killed the Jews.

Besides this, in the Moshkosky glass factory, six or eight versts from Ushomir, a man and his wife named Faiermann were killed at this time. The dead couple left nine children, three grown and six little ones. Yesterday the bodies of the slain were brought to Ushomir by a German of the town, and yesterday they were buried by a large company of Jews. It is said that they were killed by "Sokolovsky's men." The children tell about the frightful story as follows: The children were mowing hay near the forest, when suddenly they noticed some mounted armed men. The children cried: "Save yourselves, it is the men of Sokolovsky!" The riders rushed out of the woods; the family of Faiermann hid. The riders attacked the husband and wife and killed them.

All these murders alarmed the inhabitants of Ushomir. Even now reports of the murder of Jews are coming from various places. On Friday evening of last week, and on Saturday, the peasants of all the surrounding villages collected in Ushomir, all armed. There were so many peasants that the whole town and village was filled with them. They came from all directions. The peasants marched through all the streets. The Jews hid in their houses in alarm, but the peasants reassured them, saying they had nothing against them, that they were aiming only at Iskorost, where the "commune" was established, and that they had determined to have a reckoning only with them (the Jews of Korosten); they asked the Jews of Ushomir to join them, enrolled their names, and issued to them some sort of "certificate" with a seal, in exchange for ten rubles. In this way, they, as it were, attached the Jews of Ushomir to their movement. We know very well many of the peasants who came in; many old men did it very unwillingly and told us that they were under compulsion. The peasants not only did no harm to the Jews, but did not even take anything from anyone, or if they did they paid for it. On Monday all the peasants went to Korosten. . . . On the same day the peasants in withdrawing passed

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through Ushomir, but this time they ran through side streets; many were killed, and we saw no more of the peasants. I must observe that when the peasants were in Ushomir they issued the above-mentioned "certificates" to all Jews between the ages of sixteen and forty, threatening that if anyone refused to accept the certificate he would be killed. Thus nobly did the peasants deal with us in Ushomir. Among the rebel peasants were some of Sokolovsky's men as instructors, with white bands on their arms.

On Monday the peasants left Ushomir. On Tuesday appeared a group of five armed men on horseback, who went to the market and began to beat up whatever Jews they met. These horsemen at once attracted attention by their inhuman appearance, which sharply distinguished them from the peaceful aspect of the rebel peasants who had been there before. When the tumult started in the market, peasants of the town appeared in the market and defended the Jews, asking the "men of Sokolovsky" why they had come thither. The horsemen replied that they had come to punish the Jews. The peasants then told the horsemen that they should not dare to touch a single Jew, since the Ushomir Jews were all going along with the peasants, and that if a single Jew should be hurt, the peasants would hold the horsemen to account for it. The horsemen began to make excuses, saying they had come not to kill Jews but to get out the bombs which the Petlurists had thrown into the river. Soon they disappeared. Confusion and alarm among the Jews in the town lasted for some time after these people left. These horsemen went from Ushomir in the direction of Gorschik, and there perpetrated the murders which I told about.

(Illiterate)

LITIN (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

I. *From Report of Authorized Investigator V. A. Guminer, June* 24, 1919

I have returned from Litin, where I learned the situation of the devastated city. Litin is a small cantonal capital, thirty versts from the station of Vinnitza, with which it is connected by a paved highway. Out of a population of 12,000 the Jews comprise 4,000, the Ukrainians 5,000, the Great Russians 2,000, and the rest (Poles and others) 1,000. Relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants were excellent.

The pogrom was wholly unexpected to the Jews of Litin.

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There were cases, as everywhere, but no general appeals (to pogroms), and no signs that the Jewish population was threatened by any serious danger. On the night before May 14 a band under the leadership of Shepel burst into the city. The band was a small one, of 25 to 50 men. The local garrison resisted, but a certain section of it was treacherous. Towards morning the Jewish pogrom began. Local inhabitants and also peasants from the surrounding villages joined the band. Vodka was gotten from somewhere or other, and drunkenness, looting, and murders began. In all a hundred people were killed.

The pogrom was terminated only by the entrance of the detachment of the Vinnitza Extraordinary Committee, which fired on the villages with artillery, but soon departed. The rebels again entered Litin, but there was no more looting. One Jew was killed; he happened to appear in the streets as the rebels were entering the town. After this the rebels attacked Vinnitza unsuccessfully; and Litin was cleared of rebels by the International Regiment and the *cursants* (Soviet military cadets).

After the departure of the latter a detachment of Soviet forces entered the town and put a complete end to the looting of the Jewish population. The latter was terrorized after the experiences of the pogrom. Now it is comparatively peaceful there. The commandant was removed, but fled, and is now being sought.

Litin now looks like a dead city. The stores are all closed. Economic life is completely at a standstill. The peasants have stopped bringing food into the city. Thus it is hard to get bread or anything to eat even for money. In the last few days some improvement is noticeable. A few food products are appearing. But the peasants demand not money, but produce (salt, manufactured articles, etc.).

On the advice of local people in public life, I applied to a well-known woman, a Mrs. Merezel (a Christian). She emphasized that there was a special need for food products and for clothing, especially linen. When I found what the situation was and realized that the children were especially in want, I decided in the first days to open a food depot for a hundred children, in the style of a kindergarten.

II. *Testimony of G. Zeidis, Gymnasium Student, Aged* 18, *Taken Down by S. Y. Maizlish, July* 29, 1919

Some circles of the Jewish population of Litin took an active part in the communist movement. There were many Jews in responsible positions under the Soviet. In the region of Litin

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were operating the bands of Shepel, Saranchi, and Karpach, who came out against the Soviet regime and spread anti-Semitic watchwords, like "Kill the Jews, save Ukraine," etc.

The first pogrom was perpetrated May 14. Looting was epidemic; there were 120 killed, about 20 wounded, about 10 women violated. After this repeated attacks of the bands occurred, almost every week. On July 18 the workers of Yastrev's shoe factory from Vinnitza came to the village of Voniaga (three versts from Litin) for grain and provisions. The peasants of the village offered resistance, drove them out, and burst into Litin and killed seven Jews.

YANOV (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Pogrom of July 11-15, 1919

Testimony of B. Raber, Taken Down by S. Y. Maizlish, July 29

The town of Yanov, canton of Vinnitza, is twelve versts from the station of Kalinovka. Six or seven hundred Jewish families lived in the place.

On Thursday, July 10, persistent rumors began to spread that a large band of pogromists was moving on Yanov. In the town was a local armed guard, of young men, which had 38 rifles. The local peasants proposed that arms be issued to them, and they would resist the insurgents. The weapons were deposited at the headquarters of the "Union," and at once there appeared about twenty men who seized the rifles, joined the local peasants, and began to fire irregularly through the town. One non-Jew was accidentally killed. The bandits dragged the body of the dead man into a certain Jew's hut, placed it on the bed, and spread the report that the Jews had killed him. Meantime a numerous band (Shepel's) arrived in the town, and began to plunder and kill.

On Friday, July 11, four people were killed. The Jewish population fled to the fields and woods. The looting and killing continued until Tuesday. They killed mercilessly whomever they met. On Tuesday they rounded up the surviving Jews, about 300 people, into the synagogue, and as usual demanded a contribution. They were given 200,000 rubles. After this the band began to discuss what was to be done with the assembled Jews. A certain Komarenko (a former Soviet commissar) proposed to kill all Jews between the ages of 13 and 40. The teacher Gorchina opposed this suggestion. The former commissar Beba proposed to let it go with throwing a few bombs into the syna-

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gogue. But this proposal was also rejected. They were on the point of deciding to burn the synagogue, so that all the Jews should perish in the flames. But at that time an aeroplane appeared above the town and threw down two bombs. Panic arose among the rebels, and they started to leave the place. The assembled Jews were saved in this manner. In all 300 were killed, including about 30 from Berdechev and about 30 from Pikov.

Obodin (Government of Podolia)

Pogrom of July 10, 1919

Testimony of Sh. Gronfain

The village of Obodin is in the canton of Bratzlav ten versts from Voronovitzy. There were only three families of Jews living in the town. One family, consisting of four people, did not succeed in fleeing and was entirely massacred. The wife was found with her breasts cut off; a baby of six months had its throat cut; and a child of six also was slashed to death.

As a general proposition the pogromists operated with "cold weapons" (not firearms). This is explained simply by the lack of cartridges. Cartridges cost fifty rubles.

Voronovitzy (Government of Podolia)

Pogrom of July 10, 1919

Testimony of Sh. Gronfain, Aged 24, *a Refugee from Voronovitzy; Taken Down by S. Y. Maizlish, July* 28

The town of Voronovitzy is in the canton of Bratzlav, government of Podolia, and is on the railroad (narrow-gauge line) Vinnitza-Gaisin, forty versts from Bratzlav. There are about 300 Jewish families in the town.

The rebel movement in the region of Voronovitzy began in May, and the leaders of the rebels were former Petlurist officers, such as Bilinchuk (a native of Voronovitzy, a gymnasium student of the 8th class), Sibranchuk (was a commandant, with the rank of colonel, under the Directory), Gorban, father and son, Ponomarchuk, and others. The persons enumerated agitated among the local peasants against the Soviet regime, using the watchwords of the Ukrainian nationalists. Bilinchuk afterwards went to Bratzlav, where an agent of the Extraordinary Committee recognized him and arrested him. He was shot.

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On May 9 a band of rebels came to Voronovitzy and at once began looting. This lasted two or three days. One Jew was killed. On the following day they were about to start a massacre of the whole Jewish population, but thanks to the intervention of a certain Kudren (a former Petlurist) and the approach of Soviet forces from Vinnitza, it was not carried out. The band withdrew, and the 8th Soviet regiment entered the town. This regiment did considerable looting on May 13.

The pogrom which occurred on July 10 may be described as follows. A band started to approach Voronovitzy along the railroad. It proved impossible to get a clear idea of the nature of this band. According to some they were "Grigorievists"; others said they were going to the Rumanian front, to join the Allies. On Wednesday, July 9, the band arrived at the station of Gumennoie, eight versts from Voronovitzy. Here three bandits stopped a train, drove all Jews out of the cars, robbed some of them, beat some with rods, and killed two (one of them a Jew). Some of the passengers were released, receiving from the bandits some sort of documents; others fled; while some the rebels took along with them, and what happened to them is unknown. Among those who were detained were many women. Some women were violated on the spot. On the way to Voronovitzy the gang killed many Jews whom they met, and many of the bodies were afterwards discovered. On Thursday, July 10, five members of the gang (the rest remained outside of the city) entered the town and in the course of something like two hours killed twelve people (six in the town itself, six outside), and did some looting. Among the Jews, of course, a panic arose, and they all hid. But at this time Soviet forces, attacking from the direction of Vinnitza, began to fire on the town, and the band withdrew.

Town of Trostianetz (Government of Podolia)

I. *Testimony of Bogdansky, July* 25, 1919

Trostianetz is a town in the government of Podolia, on the railroad, about 50 versts to the southwest of Gaisin. The Jewish population is about 500 families. There are almost no Christians; they live in the country outside. The pogrom movement began on May 1 and lasted until the 17th. The principal butchery was on May 10. The pogrom was perpetrated by local peasants with the watchword "Kill the Jews, away with the commune." The organizers of the pogrom were persons known as sympathizers with the Ukrainian nationalist movement: the

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student Gonzenko and the former Petlurist officer Drevinsky. They rang the signal bell, the peasants collected and the pillaging began. In the commissariat's quarters about four hundred Jews were herded together—all of the male sex, beginning with boys of ten and ending with decrepit old men. Drevinsky energetically spread the rumor that Jews from surrounding towns were approaching in armored automobiles, and that in one village they had already massacred all the Christians. "If we simply keep still, they will massacre all of us, too." Then the peasants rushed to the quarters of the commissariat and began to throw bombs through the windows and to fire from rifles. Since the Jews who were there threw themselves flat on the floor, the peasants then rushed in and massacred them all. This butchery was perpetrated on Saturday, May 10, at 6 P.M.; but on the night before an enormous grave had already been dug outside the city. All the bodies were carried there in carts and dumped into the pit. About eighty corpses were carried out from the dwellings. The total number of the dead was as many as 400, among them 13 women. The murders continued until ten o'clock in the morning; but on the next day only pillaging and general devastation took place.

II. *Note of Report, and Certain Materials Regarding the Horrors of the Atrocious Massacre in the Town of Trostianetz, Government of Podolia, Canton of Bratzlav, Perpetrated upon the Associates of the Trostianetz Revolutionary Committee, on May* 9 *and* 10, 1919. *By the Secretary, D. Monastyrsky; the Director of the Department of Labor, I. Safro; and the Secretary of the Department of Manufactures, G. Monastyrsky.*

The Period of the Soviet Rule in the Town of Trostianetz; the Make-up of the Revolutionary Committee and Its Activities

(a) Towards the end of March of this year, when the region of Trostianetz had been cleared of Petlurists, there arrived two instructors in the method of organization of local governments, comrades Izarov and Mogilevsky. Finding no party organization, the instructors upon their arrival called a meeting and named five men to constitute the Military and Revolutionary Committee of the district (*volost*) of Trostianetz:—

(b) Yegorov, President (assistant to a distiller), and Saulov (instructor of the co-operative union), Russians; Domalchinsky (assistant mechanician in a mill) and Ditkovsky (commercial agent of the co-operative union, afterwards arrested for speculation), Poles; and D. Monastyrsky, Secretary (a Jew who had

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recently returned from America). The same instructors also named as commandant Kolesnikov, who had by chance just come from the military commissariat after grain; after some time the military committee of the canton named him cantonal military commissar and commandant of the district (*volost*); finally he was arrested in Vinnitza by the military commission of the government of Podolia, charged with being drunk and disorderly. They also named as adjutant Orlov (a former Petlurist officer, afterwards political commissar of the district), and as assistant to the commissar of the district V. Marinevich (a drunkard without any political past).

(c) The activity of the Revolutionary Committee of Trostianetz throughout the entire period of its existence, from April 3 to May 9, was limited to the organization of a commandant's company (of soldiers), and of Committees of the Poor, and to the collection of contributions and requisitions of products from the Jewish population exclusively; even to this day they have not received a penny in return. Both the contributions and requisitions of produce, and purchases at arbitrarily fixed prices, were practised only on the Jewish population. In spite of the existence of a Department of Labor under the Revolutionary Committee, there were taken into public posts without the knowledge of the Department of Labor people of counter-revolutionary tendencies, who afterwards took part in the uprising and the massacre.

Relations to the Soviet Rule of the Workmen of the Local Sugar Factory of Trostianetz and Their Workmen's Committees

The workmen of the sugar factory were mostly counter-revolutionaries. They were guided by members of the old administration of the factory, who got into the factory committee. All the time they kept apart and expressed complete indifference and even antagonism to the Soviet regime. Many of them took direct or indirect part in the uprising and the pogroms. When a protest meeting was held once, not a single one of these workmen participated.

The Rebel Movement in Our Region, May 1-17, *and the Fall of the Soviet Regime in Our District* (*Volost*), *May* 9

When the authorities of the canton of Bratzlav went with their military forces to put down the rebel uprising in the neighboring canton of Gaisin, the rebels of the canton of Bratzlav took Bratzlav and perpetrated a massacre. After Bratzlav Tulchin also fell. Being cut off from every center and not having any forces that could be relied upon, since the Red-army

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cavalry detachment was formed of former Petlurist and Hetmanist militia, and learning that a rebellion was already being prepared throughout the district, the military commissar Kolesnikov, together with the members of the Revolutionary Committee, decided on the night of May 8 to evacuate the town, and left in the direction of Ladyzhin to join the forces of the canton of Bratzlav which were reported to be near Gaisin. When they departed, the Red-army cavalry detachment refused to go along, and broke up. When they had gone several versts in the direction named, the Trostianetz military forces for some reason or other decided to turn back (Marinevich especially insisted on this), and, in spite of the protests of some of their associates, this was done. When they got back and found that the rebels were already at hand, Commissar Kolesnikov summoned by extraordinary summons from the station of Voprianka a locomotive with six cars, to leave the place.

By 11 A.M. all the members of the Revolutionary Committee had disappeared somewhere or other. The military and political commissars also disappeared, without waiting for the arrival of the train. At 12 noon Marinevich, the assistant commissar of the district, rushed into the commissariat and insisted that his salary should be paid. When he received the money he ran out, crying: "It's all up, save yourselves," and started for the station. Running out on the streets we were overwhelmed by the sound of the signal bells of the surrounding churches, and we saw the armed rebels approaching. Being left without a government and without command, the Red soldiers also fled by various routes to the station, where under the fire of the rebels, who were hurrying up, fifty Red soldiers and three associates of the Revolutionary Committee got into a car and left for Voprianka. On the way, before we got to the station of Kirnasovka, we were fired upon at two places, and three of our comrades were wounded. At the station of Voprianka we found the military and political commissars, Kolesnikov and Orlov, and at their direction we all went to Vinnitza.

The Massacre and Pogrom. From Report of two Eye-witnesses of the Massacre, who went to Kiev as Representatives of more than 900 *Widows and Orphans: former Lieutenant Sandler and Comrade Bogdansky.*

After the train left with the Red soldiers, the usual pogrom scene was enacted in the city. Under the deafening noise of the signal bells, bands of peasants and rebels with weapons of

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all sorts ran in from all sides, making the air ring with cries of "Kill the Jews, destroy the commune." They maltreated and beat up every Jew they met. After a little time they began to drag all the men and boy-children out of the houses, and, beating them unmercifully, took them off, either, as some said, to be registered, or, as others said, to be arrested and shot. By evening all the men had been caught and locked up in a two-story building of the former Commissariat, under guard of armed bandits. A fearful night ensued for the town, left without men. The bandits carried on terribly, looting, killing, and violating women. In this night eighteen people were killed, including two women. The bacchanalia did not stop the next morning, May 10. On the contrary, the looting activities of the bandits in the place increased. It is hardly possible to describe what the women experienced, when they found out at this same time that outside the town, by a reservoir where the refuse of the factory was thrown out, the bandits for some reason had already dug a great trench of military style, thirty-five arshins long. No one was any longer permitted on the street leading to the station, and none of the women had the slightest information as to what was going on at the Commissariat with the whole mass of Jews herded in there. Although the grave dug in advance bore clear testimony to the fact that the fate of the martyrs had been decided in the morning, nevertheless the monarchists and counter-revolutionaries of all styles summoned an assembly at two o'clock in the town hall under the presidency of Belousov. The question "what to do with the Jews" was brought up. The opinions were various. The majority of the assembly was against the mass execution of all the Jews. Suddenly there rushed up on horseback a hangman who played the deciding rôle in this tragedy—a certain Drevinsky, who had then been declared commandant of the rebels, a former Petlurist officer. He shouted: "Brothers, to the harness, quickly! The Jews from Obodovka and Verkhovka are coming up behind us in armored automobiles. Run and finish up the Jews once for all." With wild cries of "Brothers, kill the Jews," the savage mob rushed headlong to the building of the Commissariat, surrounded it, and began firing through the windows, and throwing in bombs and hand grenades. Frantic cries and groans rent the air. The grenades flew, and with them were torn and mangled the bodies of over 400 men and boys, mad with horror and anguish. Someone shouted the bloody watchword, "Don't leave them alive, blot them out"—being sure that such a crowd could not so easily and quickly be done to death. So they broke into

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the building of the Commissariat and with knives, bayonets, axes, and other weapons completed their vile work. Long continued the wild, bloody dance of death. Here were torments and tortures such as the world had never seen. The victims swam in rivers of their own blood. Here in inconceivable anguish fathers with their only sons or with three or five sons breathed their last. Here fresh youths perished in their fathers' arms. Thus from 5 till 10 P.M. on May 11 the unhappy wretches were totally destroyed. The fragments of the four hundred bodies were gathered up and thrown into the ditch which had been prepared before. Next morning the hooligans quickly formed a detachment out of their own midst, which would not allow any of the women to leave the houses. Cries, wails, and hysterical laments shook the air day and night for a whole week, until the following Saturday, May 17. Under the organized guard of bandits, peasant women carried off the remnants of the Jews' property and provisions, to the sound of the tocsin bells, which did not cease all the week. At the end of the week, when a Red army detachment arrived, the bandits of the district of Trostianetz had already succeeded in settling with the other neighboring towns of Obodovka, Verkhovka, and Voprianka, and exhibited in battle array a force armed with rifles, machine guns, etc.

At the present time the widows and orphans, amounting to almost 900 souls, naked, hungry, penniless, defenseless, and dishonored, are cowering in their terrible anguish and sending their curses at the whole world. The bandits have not even yet been caught or disarmed; they strut about the town and express their hostility to the widows and orphans who remain alive.

Result of Our Application for Help to the Soviet of the Government of Podolia, and to the Military and Party Institutions of the city of Vinnitza.

When we arrived at Vinnitza and made known all the above-described facts to all the public institutions, the best answer we could get was always: "At present we are powerless to do anything, we have no genuine power; wait, wait." When the cantonal capital Bratzlav was again taken by a Soviet detachment, Red soldiers from Bratzlav, Tulchin, and Trostianetz went thither to do guard duty. Some time later our military commissar, Kolesnikov, again arrived in Vinnitza with an urgent request for machine guns and troops. But there he was arrested by the military committee of the government, charged with

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being drunk and disorderly. In spite of our demands that he be immediately replaced with another, since the lack of a commanding officer would threaten to wipe off the face of the earth the widows and orphans who still remained alive, the military committee of the government has as yet taken no steps. This is why we have come to Kiev and have presented this report to the proper authorities, with the request and demand, in the name of the still living widows and orphans:

(1) That there be immediately dispatched to the town of Trostianetz a Commission of Investigation, into the composition of which should enter representatives of the military authorities, the revolutionary tribunal, and the communist parties; and which shall discover and punish the counter-revolutionaries and participants in the rebellion and massacre who are even yet enjoying complete liberty. This is possible only if there is sent into the district of Trostianetz a reliable Red-army detachment, with about 16 machine guns, and other firearms, to disarm the peasants and bandits that are still in arms. (2) That extraordinary measures be immediately adopted leading to the social welfare of the widows and orphans, more than nine hundred of whom have already been registered. They are stripped bare, plundered, left literally without a piece of bread. They must be furnished with provisions, clothing, medicines, and financial means. (3) That a responsible government be immediately organized in the canton and district.

The Secretary of the Trostianetz Military Revolutionary Committee.

The Director of the Department of Labor,

I. SAFRO.

The Secretary of the Department of Manufactures,

G. MONASTYRSKY.

The President of the temporary Soviet of the Town of Trostianetz,

B. SANDLER.

The Secretary, M. BOGDANSKY.
Kiev, May 30, 1919.

III. *Report of S. Kulikova*

I submit herewith a list of the slain, and of the widows and orphans left without any means of subsistence, in the town of Trostianetz, to which I was sent to bring first aid to the victims of the pogrom and the counter-revolution.

After the massacre which was experienced, and which cost

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the town of Trostianetz several hundred victims and all its property and wealth, there appeared even more horrible factors, which completed the job of devastation and destruction of the town with inexorable consequence and swiftness.

Famine appeared as a result of the crisis in provisions, which had existed before the massacre and was now made much more severe by the fact that the peasants, after the horrible slaughter, refused to send bread and other provisions to the population. The few score of men who have remained alive find nothing to do, because of the lack of any work and the present stagnation of trade. Still more helpless to get a livelihood for themselves are the widowed women, left with various numbers of small children, many having three, four, five, and some as many as ten or even more.

But to complete the horror and to make full the cup of bitterness for the people of the town, diseases have appeared; abdominal diseases, famine typhus, and others. Medicines and medical aid are lacking, and a local apothecary has fled from town because he was an instigator of the pogrom; so that the town is threatened with the most extreme miseries and with absolute annihilation.

From all that I have seen, I have come to the conclusion that without aid of the broadest character, on a national scale, nothing can be accomplished. The life of the town must be renewed, or the place is fated for complete ruin. It is imperative that there be sent to the Committee now existing in the town an appropriation of money and material aid in medicines, clothing, and shoes. Help must be given now, before it is too late.

I report that I arrived in Trostianetz, government of Podolia, on June 10, and found organized a Jewish Committee of aid to victims of the pogrom, a branch of the Central Committee located in Kiev, a private organization. They have received from the Kiev Committee during the entire period a subsidy of 10,000 rubles for the pogrom victims. When I learned of this I informed the Committee that as a private organization this Kiev Committee had just been terminated, and that everything had now been handed over to the management of the People's Commissariat of Social Welfare. I therefore proposed that the Committee wait for our instructions and that it should no longer be guided by the instructions which it received from the Kiev private organization. At the suggestion of the representative of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, two of his associates, Comrades Dmitry Serebriakov and Dudkin, and the

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representative of the V. U. Executive Committee, Peter Krushevsky, decreed that 20,000 rubles, which had been destined for the relief of the victims of the pogrom, should be mutually requisitioned from me for the commandant of the town of Trostianetz to pay the salaries of Red soldiers and to pay for their rationing. The commandant of the town promised on the requisition-document to pay the amount over to the Committee for Relief to the Pogrom Victims, either in produce or in cash. On the insistence of Comrade Serebriakov, who threatened me with arrest and execution, I surrendered 20,000 rubles, for which I have in my possession a document absolving me from all responsibility, with the signature and seal of the commandant of the town of Trostianetz, certifying to all this. The requisition-document I gave to the committee for furnishing relief to the victims. I herewith attach the document absolving me from blame for surrendering this money, amounting to 20,000 rubles, appropriated for the town of Trostianetz. I surrendered the money on June 17, 1919. I arrived in Kiev on June 20.

I beg that attention be paid to the question as to who led and instigated the pogrom and massacre in the town of Trostianetz, canton of Bratzlav, government of Podolia. This was done by certain medical personages. Notwithstanding the fact that all the world recognizes the neutrality of medical personages, nevertheless they made use of their cloak of neutrality to perform miracles and start a "holy war." The first of them was a provincial doctor, the Pole Scherbinsky; the second a pharmacist, owner of a drugstore, the Pole Klinke, and his wife, also a Polish woman. Also a surgeon, whose name I do not remember. The military leaders were Polish officers, Korshenitzky and Paketinov. I hold photographs of these murderers. The initiators of all these pogroms and massacres were Polish catholic priests and orthodox clergy. Their watchword was "Kill the Jews, save the church." It was these who inspired the detachments of Zeleny and the rebel peasants.

I beg that attention be paid to the city of Bratzlav, government of Podolia, which does very little to look after its canton. Elements that are not friendly to us are located there, and they simply upset the work. The organization is bad. Instructors and organizers are necessary, and also a large amount of literature on the land question; medicines are also necessary, on account of the epidemic of typhus and other diseases, and money.

To the preceding statement I may add that the money, amounting to 20,000 rubles, taken from me by mutual requisition by the commandant of Trostianetz, was only partly returned by the

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commandant in the course of two weeks, in the shape of produce worth about 5,000 rubles for the Committee on relief to the victims of the pogrom and counter-revolution. But that, of course, is only a drop in the bucket. Then, the commandant of Trostianetz promised me to release also a large quantity of sugar, of which he has a large amount, inasmuch as there is a sugar factory there. The commandant requisitioned that sugar, but did not share it with the Committee. And so yesterday representatives from the town of Trostianetz again arrived and informed me that sugar was not being furnished, nor other produce either. These were only the words of the Comrade Commandant, who has not fulfilled his promises. I beg that you adopt a resolution for the appropriation of medicines for the town of Trostianetz, whose population has suffered from this pogrom. I herewith append a demand for medicines with the signature and seal of a physician of the town of Trostianetz.

I beg that attention be paid to the town of Obodovka, canton of Bratzlav, which is under the military command of the town of Trostianetz. Early in June representatives of the town of Obodovka came to me and asked me to communicate the following to the People's Commissariat of Social Security: first, that the pogrom-wave reached them also when it spread over the whole canton of Bratzlav, and that of the Jewish inhabitants 270 families were completely annihilated; 161 men were left alive. The members of these families entreat immediate relief, since the same horrors have come to them as to many other unhappy towns. I beg that you adopt a resolution regarding an advance of money to the town of Obodovka, canton of Bratzlav.

S. KULIKOVA.

CITY OF BALTA (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

I. *Report to the United Central Commission for Relief to the Victims of the Counter-Revolution and of Jewish Pogroms. From Z. Fitermann, Member of the City Executive Committee of Balta.*

The city of Balta, government of Podolia, in the course of two months and more, beginning with February 2 and ending with April 6, suffered an unintermittent pogrom and terror, perpetrated by Petlurist detachments (the "Yanivsky Zachil" under the leadership of Ataman Koschuk, and others). During this time engagements between the bolshevist guerrilla detach-

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ment of Comrade Diachishkin and Ukrainian units took place in the city. And every time, when the Gaidamaks conquered, the matter ended with a Jewish pogrom. There were three such pogroms, with a total number of victims of about 100, exclusively Jews; about 35 houses were set on fire with inflammatory bombs, about 120 women were violated (among them an old woman of 70; one girl died on the next day from the horrors of her experience, and many are even yet suffering from venereal diseases). Almost all the Jewish houses and apartments were stripped bare, and the shops destroyed, every single one. Even the very poorest Jewish districts of the city were not spared the pogrom, nor the very smallest shops. The Gaidamaks carried away from the city the whole printing shop of Sh. Dorf, and the large machine shop of Kh. Schatz and I. Usakovsky. Most of all to suffer were the laboring and poorest part of the Jewish population, as is usual. Among the victims there were only three or four representatives of the Jewish bourgeoisie; the rest are representatives of the intellectuals, the poor, and the laborers, namely the elements which in the moment of danger would not or could not (for material reasons) leave the town.

Z. FITERMANN.

Kiev, May 10, 1919.

At a session of the Central Commission for aid to the victims of the counter-revolution, held May 9, 1919, this report was heard, and it was voted, henceforth, until the presentation of an estimate, to appropriate 1,000,000 rubles for the Balta Commission for aid to the victims of the counter-revolution.

The Secretary (Signature).

May 11, 1919.

II. *From the (newspaper) "Com. Fon.," No. 62, of Aug. 13, 1919*

The city experienced two pogroms. The first was organized by Petlurist bands, which systematically kept attacking the city in the course of eight weeks. The second pogrom occurred early in April, just before the entrance of the Soviet forces. In the last pogrom 120 people were killed. Ninety per cent of the slain belonged to the Jewish poor classes. The city was entirely devastated. Two hundred Jewish families suffered severely from the pogrom.

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BRAILOV (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Testimony of I. Hammermann, Taken Down by Maizlish, July 29

The town of Brailov is eight versts from Zhmerinka. About three weeks ago the Taraschan regiment entered the town. Twenty-five people were killed. After a few days the town was occupied by Petlurist forces. Twenty-eight were killed (mostly young men). The whole place was devastated.

KALINOVKA (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Pogroms of March 9 and July 14, 1919

Testimony of B. Barinstein, Taken Down by S. Y. Maizlish, July 28

The town of Kalinovka, canton of Vinnitza, counting about 500 Jewish families, is on the railroad line Kasatin-Zhmerinka, 20 versts from Vinnitza. The station of Kalinovka is a transfer point from the broad-guage to the narrow-guage railroad. Consequently squadrons of troops, operating in this region or passing through, are always being concentrated at the station. At each concentration the men "take a stroll" through the town, which is three versts away, and always leave very noticeable traces.

The Jewish population of Kalinovka, generally speaking, lived in concord with the rest of the people of the town and surrounding country. But when with the establishment of the Soviet regime two Jewish members entered into the Revolutionary Committee, the non-Jews protested and would not work with them for any consideration. The admonitions of the commissar who arrived in Kalinovka did no good. The Jewish members of the Revolutionary Committee had to withdraw. The Jews formed a separate "Committee of the Poor," in which the Jewish poor folk exclusively were concentrated.

The first pogrom in Kalinovka was perpetrated March 9, on the departure of the Directory troops. After almost all the units had departed from the station, about forty or fifty Petlurists burst into the town, plundered all the stores and shops, and set on fire many apartments and houses, among them the house of the local Rabbi. Ten Jews were killed.

The first days after the entrance of the Soviet forces were quiet. But later the 9th Soviet regiment arrived, which com-

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mitted considerable looting, during which one Jewish militiaman was killed. After this repeated onslaughts occurred of passing squadrons and individual soldiers, who seized provisions and valuable articles.

At the beginning of July an insurgent movement began among the peasants of this region. On July 13 there was already disquiet in the town. On this day some Soviet military units arrived to fight the bands of rebels. On the way the Soviet forces plundered some of the Jewish inhabitants.

On the 14th some bands burst into the place. They remained there only a few hours, but found time to devastate the Jewish population and kill seven or eight people. The local residents also took part in the looting of Jewish stores.

GAISIN (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Pogrom of May 12, 1919

Testimony of Moisei Spielberg

Approximately in March the Petlurists departed, and the 7th Soviet regiment came in. The pogrom was perpetrated by the band of Volynetz. He himself came from that region, from the village of Karlovka. He was a young peasant aged about 23; was formerly a clerk in the forestry service. His band consisted of about four or five hundred men; it was accompanied by a great crowd of peasants, in all nearly 1,500 men. The garrison consisted of 80 Christian Red soldiers and communists, and about 200 Jewish lads, aged from 18 to 20, who didn't know anything about handling a gun. They could not hold back the attack; many of them were killed. The band burst into the town and from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M. kept killing all Jews. In all 340 people were killed. They stole principally money and articles of value. Very few household goods were stolen, so that the homes did not suffer much. They took some edibles, but very little clothing.

The band remained in Gaisin. The peasants came together from the villages, and elected a Revolutionary Committee for the whole canton, of 73 men, of whom 13 came from Gaisin itself. The attitude to the Soviet regime was hostile. After 3 P.M. the Russian intellectuals sent a deputation to the headquarters to ask that there be no more killing. In the gymnasium building almost 1,500 Jews were gathered; they wanted to shoot them all, but thanks to the insistence of the intellectuals, they were released.

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About eight days later the 8th Soviet regiment arrived. The band departed and then the regiment began to loot—almost exclusively Jews; but they did not kill anyone, except Petlurists. They remained eight or nine days, and Volynetz appeared again (at this time his capital was in the village of Monastyrische); this time he did not kill Jews (he said he saw by this time that the Jews were not interfering in politics), but levied a contribution. There was some looting also. The 1st Soviet regiment arrived, and Volynetz again departed (early in June). The regiment remained three weeks; all the time drunkenness and looting were rife. The Jews were referred to only as "Zhidy"; and Christian communists were killed. The commander of the regiment was a student, a man of good intentions, but could not control his soldiers. Once he himself shot a soldier who was intending to violate a Jewish girl. The soldiers went from house to house, looting and destroying. On June 27 the regiment departed, and on the next day Volynetz came in again (he was waiting in Ternovka, and telephoned to the commander: "You leave, and I will arrive"). Some of the people, among them the narrator, immediately fled from the town. For the most part those who were slain were the young men, but also not a few older ones, and even women, were killed.

Gaisin is located not far from the boundary of the government of Kiev, about 60 versts from Uman. It has about 24,000 inhabitants, of whom about half are Jews.

ZHMERINKA (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Pogrom of July 3, 1919

Testimony of I. Hammermann, Taken Down by Maizlish, July 29

From the end of June Zhmerinka kept passing from one control to another. The first time when it was taken by Petlurists, nothing worse than looting occurred. The second time, July 3, the whole town was devastated and eight Jews were killed. Many Jews were killed in the neighboring towns. Also 28 railway workmen were shot.

KHMELNIK (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Pogrom of June, 1919

Testimony of V. Raber, Taken Down July 28, 1919

The town of Khmelnik is in the canton of Litin. On Friday

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five or six weeks ago Shepel's band was operating in the region of Khmelnik. They levied a contribution of 400,000 rubles, and took many provisions and 300 pairs of shoes. There were eight killed.

SHENDEROV (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Pogrom of July 10

Testimony of Sh. Gronfain

In the village of Shenderov, seven versts from Voronovitzy, canton of Bratzlav, in which live three Jewish families all told, the pogrom was perpetrated by the same band which was in Voronovitzy. About 20,000 rubles' worth was stolen, and two women were cruelly beaten and wounded.

TEPLIK (GOVERNMENT OF PODOLIA)

Pogrom of July, 1919

Testimony of B. Z. Rabinovich

The Jews of Teplik knew that an attack on the town was being prepared by the rebels, and applied to the local militia for co-operation. The first attack of the rebels was repulsed by the militia, which killed three of the attacking party. The rebels attacked a second time with larger forces, and killed fifteen militiamen and six Jews.

KODYMA (CANTON OF BALTA)

From (the newspaper) "Com. Fon.," No. 62

On May 18 six hundred peasants from neighboring villages burst into the town under the leadership of a local bully. For thirteen hours the bandits continued to kill, loot and destroy in the most atrocious fashion, exclusively in the quarters where the poorest part of the Jewish population lived. After the pogrom some inhabitants of the town fled in the direction of Odessa. On the way, at the station Ivanovka, they were met by a band of Grigorievists and all of them were killed. In all 120 people were killed.

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Goloskov (Government of Podolia, Canton of Balta)

("*Com. Fon.*," *No.* 62)

Early in June a band burst into the town under the leadership of Kozakov. Ninety-five people were killed. Almost the whole town was plundered. The population is fleeing in all directions.

Krivoie Ozero (Government of Podolia)

("*Com. Fon.*," *No.* 62)

The pogrom occurred on May 10. It was organized by bandits who came from Odessa and by peasants of the neighboring villages. There were 258 people killed, 150 wounded, and 400 families broken up.

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