

The Slaughter of the Jews In the Ukraine In 1919

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(Note: See HILLERSON'S REPORT
in Appendix for PROSKUROV, ET
and other ghettos)



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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-

lutionary movement of the intelligentsia 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.

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.

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 Ukraina 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 litauischen 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

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

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.

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

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

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, executions 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

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.

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

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 intelligentsia 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-

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

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

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

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 Bolshevik 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 Bolsheviks most bitterly. In the fight of the Jewish socialistic parties against the Bolsheviks, 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-

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 Bolshevik 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

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 Bolshevik 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 political 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.

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-

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 rapprochement 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.

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-

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 Bolshevik 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

Ukrainian national movement (the independents, Ataman Verbitski and Doctor Luzenko), from the circles of the wealthiest peasants as well as the nationalistic-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.

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 Abrius, 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

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

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

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, Bolshevik 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.

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 Bolshevik 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 Bolshevik 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 Potapovich, 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

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-

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 Bolshevik 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

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 Bolshevik 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 Bolshevik Comrades for the organization of Bolshevik 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

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 Ukraina 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

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 Bolshevik 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 Anapol, 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

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

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

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

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 Bolsheviks.*

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 Ukraine, 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 Bolsheviks 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-

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.

At a congress of the Bolsheviks of the Government of Podolia, held in Vinnitza, where Petlura resided, (some say that the congress itself was provocative in character) it was resolved that on the fifteenth of February a Bolshevik 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 Bolsheviks 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 representatives of the Bolsheviks asked the ward guard what their attitude would be. The president, Rudnitzky, and his associate, Schenkman, 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 Schenkman 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. Schenkman then tried to prove to the

Bolshevik 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 Ukraina; 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

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-

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),

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.

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 Vrangelvka 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.

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-

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 Bolsheviks. The Jewish workmen organized uprisings in the towns of Ukrainia to hand over the power to the Bolsheviks. 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

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 searches 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

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-

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 Olevesk to Novograd-Volynsk, destroyed the town of Emilchino.

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,

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

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 Bolsheviks 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 Bolsheviks, 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-

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 Bolsheviks 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-*

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

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.

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 influence 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

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 Schenkman. 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 bolsheviks, formed a common front, headed by the Bund member Joffe.

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,

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, Schenkman, 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 Schenkman, 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 bolshevik 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

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 bolshevik faction, who declared that a bolshevik uprising was scheduled for midnight, and asked the president, Rudnitsky, and his assistant Schenkman, 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 Schenkman pointed out the inopportune 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 Schenkman was appointed by them to maintain relations with the bolshevik staff, which was already being organized. He gave Schenkman the password by which the latter could get into the headquarters. According to Schenkman'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 Schenkman went to the bolshevik 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

inopportune-ness 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-hunter 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 bolshevik 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 bolshevik 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

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 Bolshevik 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 bolshevik 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

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 Schenk-mann 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

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."

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-

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,

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

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

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 manner.

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

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 bolsheviks; 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 provocative 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-

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 adventurer 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 provocative 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

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

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