Volume 2

The Road from Letichev

The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe



David A. Chapin Ben Weinstock

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The history and culture of a forgotten Jewish community in Eastern Europe.

by

David A. Chapin

and

Ben Weinstock

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The Road from Letichev: Volume 2
The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe

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We dedicate this book to the memory of the tens of thousands of Jews who lived along The Road from Letichev, and to the rich culture they passed on to their descendents.

CONTENTS

Volume 1

Figures xxi
Acknowledgements xxi
Note to Reader about Transliterations xxiv
Introduction 1
1. The Early History 7
Introduction 7
Earliest History of the Region 7
Origins of the Settlements and the Tatar Invasions 11
The first Jews in Podolia 16
Khmelnitsky Massacres 21
Eighteenth Century Revival 27
Turkish Rule 27
Polish Lords and their Jews 31
18th Century Uprisings and Massacres 32
Polish Partition - the beginning of Tsarist Rule 35
Jewish Population Statistics in Letichev District 36
2. The Rabbis 43
Introduction 43
Early Rabbinic Leadership 44
Rabbi Joel Sirkes 44
The False Messiahs 46
Khaim ben Solomon Malakh 48
Jacob Frank 48
Baal Shem Tov and the Rise of the Chasidic Movement 51
Rabbi Israel ben Eliezar: Baal Shem Tov 51
Associates of the Baal Shem Tov 56
Rabbi Zev Wolf Kitces 56
Rabbi Zelig of Letichev 57
Miedzyboz and Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov 58
The Spread of the Chasidic Movement 71
The Rabbinic Leaders from the Baal Shem Tov's Family 74
Udel 74
Rabbi Moshe Khaim Ephraim of Sudilkov 75
Rabbi Borukh of Medzhibozh 76
Hershel Ostropoler 79
Rabbi Nakhman of Bratslav 85
Other Besht Decendents 86
The Apter Rebbe and the Zinkover-Medzhibozher Heshel Dynasty 88
Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heshel of Apt 88
Rabbi Isaac Meir Heshel of Zinkov 89
Rabbi Israel Shalom Joseph Heshel of Medzhibozh 89
The Chasidic Rabbis of Zinkov 93
The Zinkover Rebbes 93

Simkhas Torah in Zinkov 100
Professor Abraham Joshua Heschel 102
Other Rabbis of Letichev District 103
Rabbi Hersh Leybowish Aptekarz 105
Rabbis in 1765 105
Crown Rabbis in 1853-55 105
Rabbi Joshua Heshel Rabinovitz of Monastrich 106
Rabbi Israel of Letichev 106
Rabbi Joseph Veys of Medzhibozh 106
Rabbi Lev Gardshmir of Medzhibozh, ... 106
Rabbi Mordechai ben Lev Gardshmir of Medzhibozh 106
Landa Family 106
Rabbi Gedali Mordkovich Goldenberg of Derazhnia 108
Rabbi M. Puler of Letichev 108
Rabbi Meir of Letichev 108
Rabbi Mendel ben Tsvi Kesel of Letichev 108
Rabbi Meir Shmuel Raysher 108
Rabbi Samuil Burshteyn of Letichev 108
Rabbi Alter Katsenelenbogen of Zinkov 108
Rabbi Yitskhak Khankis of Medzhibozh 109
Rabbi Gersh Leyzorovich Tentserman of Derazhnia 109
Rabbi Moshe Mikhailovich Fishman of Medzhibozh 109
Rabbi Yuil Aronovich Malkiman of Letichev 109
Rabbi Yosef Leybovich Shvartsman of Medzhibozh 109
Rabbi Yoel Yehuda ben Moshe Glazer of Letichev 109
Rabbi Israel Avraham ben Ephraim Gorenshteyn of Mikhalpol 109
Rabbi Asher Zelig ben Shloim Muterperil of Mikhalpol 109
Rabbi Pinchas ben Israel Melamed of Mikhalpol 109
Rabbi Potechin of Medzhibozh 109
Rabbi D.B. haCohen Kordiner of Medzhibozh 109
Rabbi Menachem Nuchim ben Chaim Yosef Rud of Zinkov 109
Rabbi Shmuel Maranz of Medzhibozh 109
Rabbi Minor of Letichev 109
Rabbi Abrum of Medzhibozh 110
Rabbi Moshe Goldenberg of Letichev 110
The Rapoport - Bick Dynasty of Medzhibozh 110
Rabbi Dov Berish Rapoport 110
Rabbi Tsvi Arieh Rapoport 111
Rabbi Khaim ben Dov Berish Rapoport 111
Rabbi Isaac Bick 111
Rabbi Saul Issachar Bick 112
Rabbi Khaim Yekhiel Mikhel Bick 113
Rabbi Simkha Bick 113
The Rapoport Family of Zinkov 115
3. Religious Institutions 127
Introduction 127
Synagogues in Letichev District 128

Medzhibozh Synagogues 130
The Mikhalpol Synagogue 134
The Zinkov Synagogue 138
Zinkov Synagogue Fire 138
The Synagogue 142
Letichev Synagogues 145
The Gitman Kloiz in Letichev 146
Jewish Cemeteries in Letichev District 149
The Old Jewish Cemetery in Medzhibozh 157
Rabbi Israel "The Dead" of Medzhibozh 161
The Roof Over the Baal Shem Tov's Grave 162
Inventory of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Medzhibozh 164
4. Health and Welfare in the Shtetl 173
Introduction 173
Epidemics, Diseases, and Other Causes of Death or Disability 174
Types of Healers 179
Folk Remedies 189
Health Institutions and Charitable Societies 196
5. Food 213
Introduction 213
Repertoire of Jewish Housewife's Dough Delicacies 214
Gefilte Fish and the Spread of Chasidism 224
Sugar and the Jews 226
Other Recipes 228
Folk Beliefs and Superstitions about Food 229
Typical Family Diet 232
6. Folksongs 237
Introduction 237
Religious Songs 241
Ki Lo Na-eh 241
The Baal Shem Tov in Song 242
More Wordless Melodies 244
The Besht and his Cantor, Mendl 250
Yiddish Folk Melodies 251
Weddings 255
Children's Songs 262
Love and Romance 265
Pogrom Songs 274
7. Education 281
Introduction 281
Kheder Memories 283
The Talmud Torah of Zinkov 289
The Haskalah Movement and Judah Leib Nevakhovich 290
Chasidic Education and Storytelling 291
Czartoryski and the Maskilim of Podolia 292
Micha Joseph Berdichevski 293
Haskalah in Letichev District 295

Crown Schools 296
Russian Primary and High Schools (Gymnazium) 297
Soviet Jewish schools 303
APPENDIX : Pinkas Books from the Letichev District 306
8. Occupations 317
Introduction 317
Leaseholding and Innkeeping 318
Artisans 321
Fairs and Merchants 323
Fairs 323
Merchants 326
Transportation and Trade 331
River transport 331
Coachmen 331
The railroad 334
Der Daitch / "The German" 337
APPENDIX : Name lists, 1758-1913 345
Medzhibozh taxpayers, 1758 345
Letichev District merchants, 1820 351
Jewish homeowners in Letichev, 1838 351
Guild merchants of the Letichev District, 1826-1862 353
Medzhibozh town hall merchants 355
Medzhibozh merchants, circa 1880 357
1895 Russian business directory 358
1903 Russian business directory 359
1905 Voter Registration List 362
1910 Russian business directory 363
1912 Voter Registration List 364
1913 business directory 378
Jewish Millers in Letichev District, 1904-1911 387
Jewish Butchers in Medzhibozh 388
9. The Jewish Farmers of Podolia 391
Introduction 391
Historical overview of Jewish colonization 392
Kolonia Staro Zakrevsky Meidan 394
The pre-colonial history of the colony 394
The early Jewish colonists 394
Life in the colony 400
The land tax case 404
The continued years of struggle 406
Other colonies in the Letichev district 411
The Balta colonies 412
World War I: the end of the Balta colonies 414
10. Military 419
Early References 419
The 1827 Military Decree and Forced Conscription 421
The Last of the Great Czartoryskis 423

The Polish Uprising 425
Medzhibozh: A New Military Headquarters 428
The Draft Lottery: 1874 and Later 431
The Life of the Jewish Soldier 434
The Avoidance of Military Service 436
Care of Jewish Soldiers 439
Proud Soldiers 440

Volume 2

11. Law and Order 447
Introduction 447
Jewish Court Matters and Jewish Justice 447
Polish Court Matters and Polish Justice 454
Robberies 455
Murder 456
Russian Court Matters and Russian Justice 457
Illegal Inns and Distilleries 461
Robberies 465
Murder 470
Joseph "Doc" Stacher: A Criminal Immigrant 475
12. Pogroms 483
Introduction 483
The Seeds of the 1882 Pogrom 484
The 1882 Pogrom 485
The Aftermath of the 1882 Pogrom 487
Pogroms During the Period 1896-1907 495
The Kishinev Pogrom of 1903 496
Violence in the Letichev District 498
The 1917-1921 Pogroms 499
Overview 499
Jewish Revolutionaries 504
The Proskurov Pogrom 506
Letichev District Pogrom Chronology 508
13. Immigrants 525
Introduction 525
The Journey to America 526
Noteworthy Letichev District Immigrants 538
Joseph Barondess (1867-1928) 538
Rose Pesotta (1896-1965) 546
Morris Weinberg (1876-1968) 547
Oscar Williams (1900-1964) 547
Rabbi Samuel M. Blumenfield (1901-1972) 549
David H. Kurtzman (1904-1977) 550
Bernard I. Goldstein (1880-1953) 551
Archibald Silverman (1880-1966) 551
Morris Zimmerman (1876-1959) 552

Landsmanshaftn 553
Derazhnia 553
Kolonia Staro Zakrevsky Meidan 556
Letichev 559
Medzhibozh 577
Mikhalpol 595
Volkovintsy 597
Zinkov 601
Family Circles 607
The Silverman Family Circle 607
The Family "Rapoport" 608
Notable Children of the Letichev District 610
14. Zionism 613
Introduction 613
Chasidic Immigration 613
The Zionist Movement 614
The Collection of Money for Palestine 617
After the Death of Herzl 620
The Pioneers 623
The End of Zionism in the U.S.S.R 629
Recent Arrivals 630
15. Pogrom Aftermath and Soviet Rule 633
Introduction 633
Return Trips, Relief Work, and the End of Emigration 635
Early Soviet Economics 645
The Five Year Plan and its Repercussions 650
The End of Traditional Jewish Life 654
16. The Holocaust 659
Introduction 659
Einsatzgruppen 660
German Civil Administration 664
Organisation Todt 665
Transnistria 666
German Invasion of the Soviet Union 668
Resistance and Partisans in Letichev District 671
Reliability of Testimonies 672
The Labor Camp in Letichev 673
Letichev Memories 675
A Prisoner in the Letichev Labor Camp 676
The Medzhibozh Ghetto 683
Escape from Medzhibozh 696
Memory about my Life — The Letichev Ghetto 698
Hard Labor in the Letichev Camp 701
The Tragedy of the Letichev Ghetto 703
The Halatl of Rabbi Borukh of Medzhibozh 725
The Zinkov Ghetto 727
Escape from the Zinkov Ghetto 730

The Destruction of Zinkov 736
Summary of the Holocaust in Zinkov 743
The Derazhnia Ghetto 744
Soviet Extraordinary Commission Records of Nazi Atrocities 746
The Aftermath 752
Heros of the Soviet Union 753
Leonid Afanasyevich Berdichevski 754
Samuil Ruvinovich Shteynberg 754
APPENDIX : Letichev District Holocaust Necrology 755
Righteous Gentiles 763
17. Post World War II 771
Introduction 771
Bandits 771
Famine and Poverty 773
Arrests 774
"The Doctors' Plot" 774
Life after Stalin 778
Nazi trials 780
Erection of Holocaust Memorials 781
Letichev 781
Medzhibozh 783
Derazhnia 785
Zinkov 789
Monuments in Other Countries 789
Continued Emigration from the USSR 790
Visits to Letichev District 791
Rescuing the Old Medzhibozh Cemetery 792
A Trip to Medzhibozh 793
A Trip to Letichev District 797
A Visit to Zinkov 802
The Last Jew of Medzhibozh 805
Postscript 811
Gazetteer of Towns in Letichev District 815
Glossary 823
Subject Index 831
Jewish Name Index 857
Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from Letichev District 857
Comments on Naming Patterns in Letichev District 869

NOTE TO READER ABOUT TRANSLITERATIONS

We attempted to translate every letter from its equivalent sound. The Hebrew and Russian names are transliterated exactly as spelled. Therefore, some of the names may not be spelled the way they are normally seen in English. The only excepts are those words which are common in English, such as Chasidic or Mitzvah. We have attempted to be consistent in the letter combinations. To be consistent and to avoid confusion, some of the unusual Hebrew and Cyrillic letter sounds are always transliterated as follows:

Heb.	Cyr.	Transliteration	
צ	ц	ts	as in bi<u>ts</u> (sometimes seen as tz, but not used this way in transliterations)
ח/כ	х	kh	as in the Scottish pronunciation of lo<u>ch</u> or the Hebrew <u>Ch</u>anukah (sometimes seen as *ch* or *h* but not used this way in transliterations; in Polish, spelled *ch*)
ה	*	h	as in <u>h</u>ard
*	ч	ch	as in <u>ch</u>ain (in Polish, spelled *cz*)
ג	г	g	as in <u>g</u>et (hard g sound)
ש	ш	sh	as in <u>sh</u>ort (in Polish, spelled *sz*)
ז	з	z	as in <u>z</u>oo
*	ж	zh	as in plea<u>s</u>ure
*	щ	shch	as in fre<u>sh ch</u>eese
*	я	ya	as in Asi<u>a</u>; *ia* - at the end of place names
*	ю	yu	as in <u>u</u>se
י	й	y	a vowel as in m<u>y</u>
*	у	u	a vowel as in d<u>u</u>ke
*	ы	i	a vowel as in b<u>i</u>t
*	и	i	a vowel as in b<u>i</u>t
*	ѣ	i	obsolete, a vowel as in b<u>i</u>t
*	е	e	a vowel as in b<u>e</u>t

*No letter equivalent. In Hebrew, there may be vowel symbols but most often Hebrew is written without any vowels. This sometimes makes transliteration difficult, especially when one has to guess at the vowels.

There is no *h* letter equivalent in Cyrillic. The letter *g* is usually substituted. For instance, the Yiddish name Hersh become Gersh in Russian; Horvits in Yiddish might be Gervits in Russian.

There is no *j* letter equivalent in Cyrillic. This letter is often replaced by the letter combination *io* (or perhaps *i*). For instance, the name Joseph becomes Iosef.

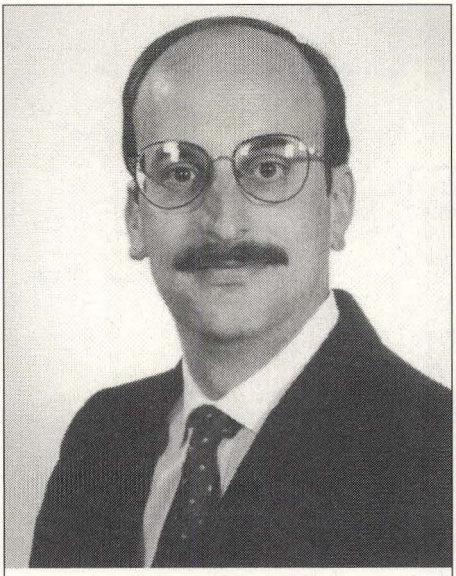
There is no *w* letter equivalent in Cyrillic or Hebrew but is a valid consonant in Polish. The letter *v* is usually substituted.

The names listed here often include the patronymics. These are easily recognizable as names having the suffix *-ova* or *ovna*, (feminine) *ov* or *-ovich* (masculine). This would be the first name of this person's father. For instance, Shmul Froimovich is Shmul who's father was Froim (Ephaim).

Pronunciation Variations of the Towns:

Town	Yiddish	Polish	Russian / Ukrainian
Letichev	Let-i-chef	Li-AT-y-chow	Le-TI-chev
Derazhnia	Drozh-nya		De-RAzh-nia
Zinkov	Zin-kuv		ZIN-kov
Medzhibozh	Mezh-buzh	Mi-END-zi-bozh	Med-ZHI-bozh
S.Z.M.*	My-din	May-DAN	May-DAN
Volkovintsy	Val-ke-vin-its		Vol-ko-VIN-tsy
Mikhalpol	Mi-khal-pol		Mi-KHAM-pol
Kozachki	Ko-za-CHUK		Ko-ZACH-ki

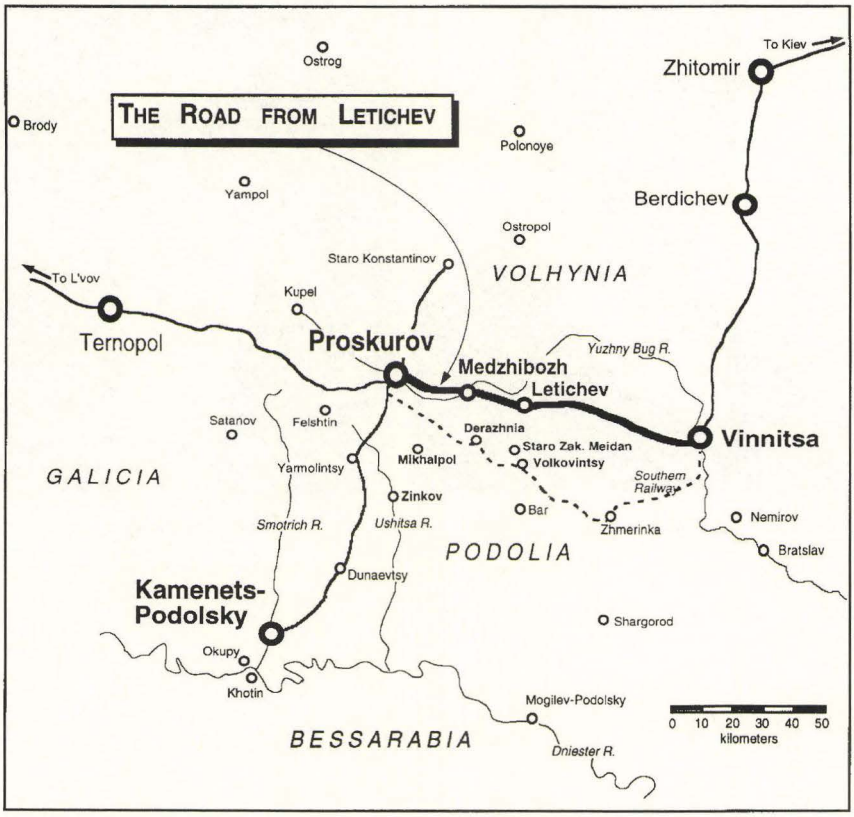
*Staro Zakrevsky Meidan



David Chapin.



Ben Weinstock.


THE ROAD FROM LETICHEV
Ostrog
Brody
Yampol
Polonoye
To Kiev
Zhitomir
Berdichev
Ostropol
Staro Konstantinov
VOLHYNIA
To L'vov
Kupel
Ternopol
Proskurov
Yuzhny Bug R.
Medzhibozh
Letichev
Satanov
Felshtin
Derazhnia
Staro Zak. Meidan
Vinnitsa
Mikhalpol
Volkovintsy
GALICIA
Yarmolintsy
Southern Railway
Zinkov
Bar
Zhmerinka
Nemirov
Smotrich R.
Ushitsa R.
PODOLIA
Bratslav
Dunaevtsy
Kamenets-Podolsky
Shargorod
Okupy
Khotin
Mogilev-Podolsky
0 10 20 30 40 50
kilometers
BESSARABIA
Dniester R.

11

Law and Order

by Ben Weinstock

Introduction

Down The Road from Letichev came the rule of law in various forms, depending on the regime. Organized economic development of the area required the rule of law and a method to settle disputes. Jews were often the victim of the ruler's whims when it came to settling disputes. It is interesting to examine how Jews were impacted over the centuries at both a national and local level. Moreover, it is important to explore the stories of the small numbers of Jews who resorted to crime in order to improve their socioeconomic status or to solve the problems that they encountered in everyday life. There are also numerous examples of Jews being victimized by Jews as well as by non-Jews. Cases in which all of the involved parties were Jewish were generally brought before a Jewish court. If one of the parties was not satsified, or if the case involved a gentile, the case would usually be brought to a noble's or government court.[1] It is important to note that many crimes such as rapes, murders, beatings, and thefts occurred duing pogroms. Please refer to Chapter 12 "Pogroms".

Jewish Court Matters and Jewish Justice

A trend in the 1570s towards Jewish legal autonomy in Poland resulted in the creation of a Jewish parliament, called the *Va'ad Arba Arzot*, or Council of

the Four Lands. The four regions represented were: (1) "Great Poland," centered in Poznan; (2) "Little Poland," centered in Cracow; (3) Volhynia; and (4) "Red Russia"(or Ruthenia), centered in Lvov, but also including Podolia. The majority of the assemblies convened in Lublin. however, some meetings took place in Satanov, Staro Konstantinov, and other towns throughout Poland. Approximately thirty representatives of provincial assemblies attended the meetings. Topics discussed were generally concerning relations with the Catholic Church, tax collection, disputes between communities, and ways to cope with disasters (such as ransoming hostages during the Khmelnitsky massacres). The Vaad decreed in 1650 that the twentieth day of Sivan be observed as a day of fasting to remember the victims of Nemirov.[2] In 1713 the Rabbinical leaders of Podolia broke away from the Council of Four Lands and formed a provincial community organization of their own. Its leadership was centered in Satanov. Many other communities also broke away from the Council over the years, forming their own legislative bodies.[3]

On the local level, a Jewish community (or *kehilla*) was governed by a *kahal*. *Kahal* members tended to be from the "elite" of the towns--predominantly wealthy leaseholders. For the most part their decisions concerning disputes in the community were based on maintaining the status-quo and avoiding any significant changes which might disrupt the flow of income to themselves and to the Polish landlords. "In order to ensure that no member acted against the interests of the community, the *kehilla* forbade individual members to enter into relations, particularly of an economic nature, with non-Jews without community approval. Only a person licensed by the *kahal* could bid on a lease, or *arrenda*. No loan could be taken from a non-Jew without prior approval. Non-Jews could not be told Jewsih trade secrets. *Kehilla* members were prohibited from turning to non-Jewish courts... for the Polish authorities, the kahal was an extension of their administration. It was a convenient means of collecting taxes, preserving order, and exercising authority over part of the population. As such it was the functional equivalent of the Christian municipal councils."[4] Abraham Rechtman recorded that "*Kahal* elections took place on the intermediate days of *Pesakh*. The Chairman -for-the-month called the election and the majority of eligible electors had to participate. The election results and the names of the new appointees were recorded each year in the community *pinkas* and the outgoing members had to sign their names. The list always read the same way: ' In a joyous hour did election take place on_____, the ____th day of the intermediate days of *Pesakh* in the year _____, as is customary in all communities' "[5]

By the mid 1700s the *kehalim* found themselves in huge debt. Some of the debts were due to forced donations; for example, in 1760 Princess Voronetskaya donated 500 *zloties* to the Greek Orthodox monastery in the village Golovchintsy and the Letichev *kahal* was ordered to make a contribution of ten percent of this sum.[6] However, thousands of *zloties* were borrowed from local churches and monasteries in order to pay for communal expenses and for taxes. For example, in 1709 the Medzhibozh *kahal* borrowed 7000 *zloties* from the Catholic

Medzhibozh *kahal* officials, 1740-1742[7]

The members of the *kahal* were divided into:
four heads (in Polish, *kwartalny*; in Hebrew, *roshim*)
four assistants (in Polish, *lawnicy*; in Hebrew, *tuvim*)
four treasurers (in Polish, *wiernicy*; in Hebrew, *ne'emanim*)
six administrators (in Polish, *tutory*; in Hebrew, *gabaim*)
five electors (in Polish, *electorowie*; in Hebrew, *borerim*).

1740:

Heads:
(1) Aron, son of Zelman
(2) Chaim Arendarz
(3) Iudka, son of Gierszon
(4) Kielman Lucynski

Assistants:
(1) Wolf Abramowicz
(2) Iankel, son -in- law of Kielman
(3) Moszko, son -in- law of Newakh
(4) Zelik, son of Notko

Treasurers:
(1) Wolf Abramowicz
(2) Iankel, son- in -law of Kielman
(3) Michel Zlotnik
(4) Ios, son -in-law of Iudko

Administrators:
(1) Hirsz Derezenski
(2) Notka Kramarz
(3) Iankel, son of Gierszon
(4) Leyba, son of Zelman
(5) Aron, son of Iankel
(6) Szlomka, son of Woloszyn

Electors:
(1) Notka Kramarz
(2) Iudka, son of Gierszon
(3) Kielman Luczynski
(4) Aron, son of Iankel
(5) Szlomka, son of Woloszyn

1741:

Heads:
(1) Iudka
(2) Chaskel, Zelman's son-in-law
(3) Wolf Abramowicz

Assistants:
(1) Lieyba Kielmanowicz
(2) Bien Iankilowicz
(3) Ila Kowelskiy
(4) Lieyba Notowicz

Treasurers:
(1) Inkel, son-in-law of Kilman
(2) Baruch, Wolf's brother
(3) Lieyba Kotlarz
(4) Szloma, son-in-law of Wol

Administrators:
(1) Nyszko Darezensky
(2) Iuzef Davidowicz
(3) Lieyba Zielmanowicz
(4) Michel Zlotnick
(5) Aron Iankielowicz
(6) Iankel Gersonowicz

Electors:
(1) Nota Lieybowicz
(2) Hyrszko Aptekarz
(3) Wulf Abramowicz
(4) Kielman Lucinsky
(5) Lieyzor Moszkowicz

1742:

Heads:
(1) Leyba Arendarz
(2) Kielman Bieniasowicz (?)
(3) Symcha Bien Moszkowicz
(4) Szaja Froimowicz

Assistants:
(1) Leyzor Srolowicz
(2) Mozsko Markowicz
(3) Ios Leybowicz
(4) Michel Zlotnick

Treasurers:
(1) Leyba Kotlarz
(2) Boruch Abramowicz
(3) Szloma Szayazyszyn
(4) Michel Elowicz

Administrators:
(1) Herszko Derazenski
(2) Iankiel Gierzonowicz
(3) Leybka Zelmanowicz
(4) Wolf Kramarz
(5) Aron Iankielowicz
(6) Ela Ioudski

Electors:
(1) Zelman Aronowicz
(2) Boruch Czarneyki
(3) Leyzir Manstrerny
(4) Ela Leybowicz
(5) Mendel Abrahamowicz

monastery and from the Saint Trinity church, at 10% interest; in 1746 the Letichev *kahal* borrowed 1000 *zloties* from the Letichev monastery at 10% interest; and in 1751 the Letichev *kahal* borrowed 3800 *zloties* for making tombstones, to be repaid at twice the sum of the loan. Even though *kehalim* were abolished in the 1840s, many of these debts remained and were never paid.[8]

A Disrespectful Remark in the Synagogue

On the night of Simkhas Torah in Letichev in 1726, a drunken wagon driver proclaimed to the congregation of the big synagogue that the beautiful silver bell on one of the the Torahs would look good on his horse. For this disrespectful remark, he was beaten up by the members of the congregation. Following the holiday he was brought before the *kahal*, which sentenced him to exile from Letichev. However, two years following his banishment from the town the wagon driver wrote a letter to the *kahal*, requesting another chance to be a member of the Jewish community of Letichev. His request was recorded in the *pinkas*. During his absence from the town the wagon driver had fallen on hard times and was reduced to begging to support himself and his family. The members of the *kahal* agreed to give the wagon driver another chance, on the condition that he would serve the Jewish community and hold a feast in honor of the rabbis, judges, and other leaders for three years. After three years, he would be considered a "newcomer", and would be given a fresh start.[9]

A Wedding Night Trespasser

It is also recorded in the Letichev *pinkas* that someone who hid under the bed of a bride and groom on their wedding night was sentenced by the *kahal* to be tied hand and foot and carried on a wagon filled with garbage, and then to be dumped on the outskirts of town with the garbage.[10]

A Theft in the Letichev Church

Sometime during the eighteenth century, a Letichev Jew robbed a church and was caught. All of the stolen goods were found in his possession. The only thing missing was a valuable goblet. The priest turned to the Jewish community, which agreed to pay a certain sum for the goblet. This agreement, signed by the heads of the Jewish community and the priest, was recorded in the Letichev *pinkas*.[11]

An Accidental Murder

In the 1600s a Jewish soldier accidentally shot and killed a man while taking target practice. The judgement of the *kahal* was for the soldier to travel to the Jewish settlements in Volhynia and Podolia, fast for three days in each place, and to confess his sins in each synagogue. He was to allow the congregants to whip him; afterwards, he was to lie down and allow them to step on him as they exited the synagogue.[12]

A Wanton Woman

In Brody in 1741 a group of men, each acting independently of the others, confessed to the rabbinical court that they had sexual relations with a certain married woman. This woman, the daughter-in-law of one of the wealthiest men in town, had been rumored as being promiscuous. After thoroughly discussing the matter the members of the court approached the woman's father-in-law to report the charges. Outraged, he promptly demanded the names of the men who made the confessions as he wanted to have them beaten. The rabbinical officials refused.

After a public hearing in which little was resolved, the father-in-law influenced government officials to threaten the rabbinical court with heavy fines and physical punishment. A noted scholar, Rabbi Ezekiel Landau, wrote a long responsum which verified that the rabbinical court was correct in its actions, and that the testimonies of those who confessed were valid. Rabbi Ezekiel, Rabbi Meir Margoliot, and Rabbi Gershon Kutover publicly announced three times that the woman was promiscuous and was therefore forbidden to her husband. For this public display, Rabbi Ezekiel was stripped of all of his worldly possessions and Rabbi Meir was whipped in the town square. Rabbi Gershon avoided punishment by fleeing for Medzhibozh, home of his brother-in-law, the Baal Shem Tov.[13]

The Jewish Thief

From *Shivhei HaBesht*, a story about a thief and the Baal Shem Tov, which took place in the town of Derazhnia:[14]

> I also heard from him and later from the rabbi of our community that once a merchant came to the city of Whitefield from Breslau with a wagon loaded with fabric. He arrived at night, but he did not want to open the sotre. He ordered the horses to be unharnessed from the wagon, and he sait to himself: "Who could steal such a huge wagon?" He left the wagon with the merchandise outside. Later a thief came and stole it. He harnessed other horses to the wagon and escaped with the wagon and with all the merchandise. In the morning they

saw that the wagon with the merchandise had been stolen. They ran to search all the streets and all the crossroads, but they found neiter the wagon nor the thief.

The merchant sent a letter to the Besht. When the messenger came to the Besht he found him standing by the mezuzah about to leave to attend a *bris* in the holy community of Derazhnia, for he was being honored with the *mitzvah* of the *bris*. He received the letter from the messenger, and he told him: "Wait until I return." The messenger waited.

The Besht slept overnight on the road. In the morning he drove to the city. When the Besht reached the outskirts of the city, he saw in the distance the wagon with the merchandise approaching the city on another road. He said to Rabbi Ze'ev, the scribe:[15] "Do you see the wagon driven by two horses?"

He said: "I do."

He said: "The messenger that they sent to me came for this wagon with the stolen merchandise in it. When we arrive at the town ask what inn he is at and tell him to give you the wagon and the merchandise because you stole it."

When they arrived in the city, Rabbi Ze'ev, the scribe, immediately went to the inn where the thief was staying, and he saw him standing and praying. He dared not confront him with those words since he was praying like an honest and innocent man. The scribe went to the Besht and told him the situation.

He said to him: "Return immediately because he will soon drive away with the merchandise and both the wagon and the merchandise will be lost."

The scribe went a second time and found him eating breakfast. He asked the innkeeper wheter he drank a lot of brandy like a thief. He told him that he drank just two *groschen* worth as everyone does. He left again with empty hands.

The Besht said to him: "Go and tell him the following signs: that he hid for three days in the forest until all his pursuers passed by and that he slept overnight in a certain place. Name for him all the places in which he slept overnight until he came to the city of Derazhnia."

The scribe went and told him all the signs. Then the thief gave up and siad: "Indeed, it is true. Take the wagon with the merchandise."

The scribe ordered the innkeeper to watch the wagon with the merchandise.

When it was time to eat at the *bris*, the thief said to himself: "Now that I am a poor man, I will go to the *bris* to eat like all the other beggars. When they ate and drank mead, the thief stood near the Besht and said: "I have a great and difficult question to ask you, sir. Since you, sir, know and see how thieves steal and where they sleep, you can probably see better things than theses. Why do you bother with such mean things? It would be better to look at good things."

The Besht, God bless his memory, said Torah about this question until *Minhah*, and still had not finished.

An Abandoned Wife

Unfortunately, it was not an uncommon scenario in the shtetl for a married man to abandon his wife. Sometimes this occurred when a traveling merchant was killed by highway bandits; other times, it was just pure abandonment. The abandonded wife, called an *agunah* in Hebrew, was left in a state of limbo if she could not obtain a divorce (a *get*) from her husband or provide proof of her husband's death. In the seventeenth century Rabbi Joel Sirkes made important rulings on this subject in Medzhibozh. M. Kantorshtik of Letichev reported on such a case in the village of Meidan (most likely, Kolonia Staro Zakrevsky Meidan) in the newspaper *HaMelit*s in January of 1896:[16]

LETICHEV- Something unique happened here last week which energized our town. Everyone was talking about it. What happened was that a young man of the village Meidan, twenty years old, married a widow from another village. A few weeks after the wedding he told his father-in-law that he wanted to go to another nearby town to conduct various types of business. Hence, he asked for his dowry--300 silver rubles. However, he meant to deceive his father-in-law. He received the dowry and went to New York. There he met a different widow from Meidan and asked for her hand in marriage. A few months passed and the father ("Mr. Y") of the young man received a letter from his son and there was a divorce document, a get, to give to the first wife. In this letter,he wrote his father that he does not plan to return home for he had received a letter several months back drafting him into the Tsar's army. Therefore, his father should not give his father-in-law the get until his father-in-law gives him a certain amount of money which can be used to bribe the officials in order to avoid military service. His father informed his son's father-in-law of his son's demands. The father-in-law could not believe his ears, and wanted to see the get. When Mr. Y showed him the get, the father-in-law grabbed the document and ran to Letichev to ask Rabbi Meir if the get was valid. At that moment, Mr. Y came and warned the Rabbi that he should not return the get to the father-in-law until he pays him 300 silver rubles. But the father-in-law said that he would not pay one kopeck, for his son-in-law already deceitfully took the dowry of 300 silver rubles, and also caused a great deal of disgrace to his daughter. During this big argument Mr. Y and the father-in-law came to blows. The arguing lasted three days until the Rabbi ruled that the father-in-law should give Mr.Y 100 silver rubles. The matter was almost concluded, when in reading over the get the rabbi found a mistake. The widow's name 'Reiza' was spelled without the Hebrew letter 'yud.' Based upon this spelling error, the Rabbi declared the get to be invalid. The

Rabbi then said to Mr. Y that his son should send a new get with the proper spelling. Mr. Y wrote to his son, telling of the Rabbi's ruling. Two months later he received a new get from his son. Mr. Y went with the father-in-law to Rabbi Meir. However, this time too the matter was not resolved, because the new get included the stipulation:"If my father-in-law pays me 300 silver rubles, this get is valid; if not, then this get is invalid." This led to more arguments and Mr. Y and the father-in-law fought bitterly--to the point where they bloodied each other. Both parties then turned to a gentile Justice of the Peace in Letichev. Among the witnesses called was the Rabbi. Meanwhile, Mr. Y wrote to his son again and the son sent a third get without any stipulatons included.

After all of this, Rabbi Meir received a letter form the Rabbi in New York who wrote the get. He said that Rabbi Meir was mistaken in invalidating the first get " for the name Reiza is not mentioned in the Bible and only those names mentioned in the Bible are obligated to be written out fully, with all of the correct vowels. Because this name is not in the Bible, it does not matter if the name is spelled with one or two 'yuds' after the 'reish'. " Rabbi Meir admitted that he had been mistaken, and it caused him much pain that he did not know this until now, for if he had known it before, the case would not have become so widely publicized (with three get documents, fighting, and going to a gentile court).

A Fraudulent Rabbi

In March of 1885 a man came to Letichev disguised as a rabbi. He said that his name was Nakhum Tasha from Chernobyl. He ingratiated himself to the generous people of the town, collecting a fair amount of money along the way. However, word was passed to Rabbi Israel, who had a long discussion with the man. Rabbi Israel discovered that the man was a charlatan. The Jewish community was notified and became outraged. In an act of mob justice, they confronted the pseudo-rabbi, gave him a severe beating, took 25 rubles from him, and sent him on his way.[17]

POLISH COURT MATTERS AND POLISH JUSTICE

In 1534, the wife of a nobleman attempted to prosecute a Jew from Medzhibozh. The Jew successfully argued that his case should be tried in the court of the Palatine of Podolia.[18] However, it was not until 1639 that Jews were granted the right to sue in Polish courts.[19] The administrative court of the Polish landowners heard civil cases involving Jews and non-Jews; some criminal cases; and cases between non-Jews. The final word on cases not

satisfactorily tried in the courts of the *kahal* was left to the administrative representatives of the Polish landlords.

A Broken Contract

An early legal reference which mentions Jews and the Letichev region involves a case described in *Registi i Nadpisi*, a compendium of early references to Jews found in Polish and Russian archives. A report dated September 12, 1558 describes the court investigation into a complaint lodged by a Jewish woman from Grodno, Breina Mordukhaevaya Skantorovskaya, who hired two Tatars to accompany her to the fortress in Medzhibozh. Because the horses of the Tatars became fatigued and were unable to complete the journey, Skantorovskaya was forced to incur additional expenses by hiring two additional horses. The Tatars refused to reimburse her, and even claimed that she stole horses from them. Although the outcome of this case was not recorded in *Registi i Nadpisi* it is interesting to note that Skantorovskaya presented the court with two papers--her contract with the Tatars, and an affadavit from the village constable of Prince Yanush Gavril Verbovitski which verified that the two horses were very tired and that new horses were hired.[20]

A Beating in Kolibanya

On May 22, 1748, the Uniate priest Vasili Levitski, of Kolibanya (Letichev District), reported that the Jewish renter of the tavern, Froim, beat him with a stick on the street near the cemetery. Levitski also stated that the Jew verbally abused him before beating him. Froim claimed that the priest owed him twenty-eight *zloties* for drinks. Froim also took three heads of cattle from the priest in order to satisfy the debt. After the complaint by the priest, Froim was arrested by the police officer Dichkovski on orders from the official Sverderski.[21]

Robberies

Being robbed on the roads was not uncommon. Gangs of thieves often camped out in forests, victimizing unsuspecting travelers. Merchants were often a prime target for thieves.

Robbery of a Letichever on the Road to Nemirov

On May 13, 1713, Ios Abramovich of Letichev and Leib Abramovich of Lyubar accused a Polish officer named Shabenka of robbing them while they were traveling to Nemirov. Shabenka reported that he did not rob them, but he

knew the two Ukrainians who did rob the Jews. The items stolen were: eight pieces of linen; material to be used for shirts; six Jewish books; one awl; one pair of black boots; two loaves of bread; and one copper pot.[22]

A Theft in Zgari

In a report dated March 11, 1737, the judge of Bar ruled that the Volkovintsy Jews who were robbed in the forest of Zgari must be pacified and compensated for their losses by the Polish landlord. Pan Stanislav Grodetski, the nobleman of Volkovintsy and other nearby towns, was ordered to pay 15 *griven* and was imprisoned in the top turret of the Bar castle for two weeks.[23]

Murder

Attempted Murder in Medzhibozh

The leaseholder of Medzhibozh in the late 1720s was a Pole named Jan Dessier. He assumed, by rights of the lease, authority over all peoples of Medzhibozh. Unfortunately he and his Jewish factor Icko Ognisty were corrupt. Disputes became commonplace as Ognisty consistently tried to extort money and to influence decisions of the *kahal*. He often took goods from merchants, but never paid for them; he made false accusations; and he encouraged Dessier to have people imprisoned. By 1730 Ognisty had alienated virtually everyone in the town. Some members of the butchers' guild, encouraged by others in the town (including one former *kahal* member) decided to take the law into their own hands, and attempted to poison Ognisty and his family. The first attempt failed as he smelled the poison which was placed in his honey cider. The second attempt was also unsuccessful as the poison in his cooking pot was detected.

The case of attempted murder was brought before a commission of Maria Zofia Sieniawska Denhoffowa, owner of Medzhibozh. After a series of appeals, the commission reached its final decision: the criminal activites of Ognisty had provoked the townspeople, and Ognisty was therefore removed from any further service to the leaseholder. Afterwards, in a separate trial, his criminal activities were further investigated and he received punishment.[24]

Charges of Blood Libel

Although there are no known cases of blood libel---the charge that Jews murder Christians and then use their blood for religious rituals ---which occured specifically in the district of Letichev, one occured in Dunaevtsy in 1623 (in

which three Jews were burned at the stake), and other cases occured in Podolia and Volhynia in the 1740s and 1750s: in Zaslavl in 1747; again in Dunaevtsy in 1748 (three Jews were imprisoned); in Shepetovka in 1748; in Zhitomir in 1753; in Yampol (Volhynia) in 1756 and in Krasnostav (near Litin) in 1761. In many cases sentenced Jews allowed themselves to be baptised before execution in an effort to save their bodies from excessive mutilation.[25]

An example of the travesty of justice of these trials was the 1753 blood libel in Zhitomir.[26] Thirty-three Jews (including the rabbi, some wealthy tax collectors, and other people of prominence), were arrested after a Christian child's body was found. The local priest, Kajetan Soltyk, incited a mob to torture the Jews. One of the Jews (identified as "Rabbi David") escaped, fleeing to Medzhibozh to seek council from the Baal Shem Tov. Unfortunately, their prayers were ineffective as a dozen Jews died during torture; a few gave "confessions" to the crowd to avoid further pain and converted to Christianity. Soltyk was successful in acquiring a great deal of the property of the accused Jews. Interestingly, Soltyk was later imprisoned and exiled by the Russians for inciting rebellions.

One of the accused of the 1756 Yampol blood libel, a Jew named Elyakum, escaped from prison and appeared before a session of the Council of the Four Lands. It was decided to send him to Rome to obtain a papal letter exonerating Jews from the charge of ritual murder. He was successful, and this letter was utilized in the second Frankist dispute in 1760.[27]

Russian Court Matters and Russian Justice

All aspects of Jewish life became subject to laws and restrictions under the Tsars: residency; registration; taxation; military service; even clothing and haircuts.[28] For example, on June 6, 1851, the barbers of Letichev were ordered by law not to cut the hair of Jewish men and women in their traditional styles. In another example, on January 19, 1853, Count Vasilchikov of the Letichev magistrate's office ruled that 60 year old Itsek Meier Gemel was allowed to wear his long frock coat only if he paid 100 silver rubles.[29]

The laws concerning the restriction of traditional Jewish dress led to a great deal of consternation and subsequently led to folk legends. One such tale was collected by An-sky during his ethnographic expedition in 1911. In Podolia he heard the Chasidic story that the Apter Rebbe was able to avoid further degradation of traditional Jewish customs ordered by Tsar Nicholas II. According to the legend, the Apter Rebbe ordered that a Jewish man be found who resembled the Tsar in age and appearance; this man was then dressed as "the Tsar," and a fast was ordered by the Apter Rebbe. The real Tsar restricted traditional Jewish dress but allowed other Jewish rituals to continue. However, An-sky found that this story was chronologically impossible (the Apter Rebbe died long before Tsar Nicholas II came to power) and that this tale was a variation of a story from the *Gemora*.[30]

The Russian civil police system was the mechanism for imposing restrictions. It incorporated both the military police and Cossack police regiments. All duties were under the jurisdiction of the *Okhrana* -- the secret police. Every criminal as well as individuals under suspicion of illegal activity, was reported to the secret police.

Huge numbers of pre-revolutionary police files still exist in various archives; they attest to the almost paranoid supervision by Tsarist officials over the populace. However, the beaurocracy was inefficient. In spite of the fact that officials kept incredibly detailed records, the historical record shows that officials often kept records for the sake of record-keeping but in systems not designed for the utilization of those records. Record groups still exist today in Podolian archives with their original seals still intact, testifying to the fact that they were never touched since the day they were recorded.

Under the Tsarist regime, Jews, with the exception of state-designated "agriculturists" of Jewish colonies, were generally forbidden from participating in local assemblies, called *zemstvos*. However, a few Jews did particpate in the city councils: in 1859 in Letichev, Shayo Roikhman and Moishe Rozentul were members.[31]

Few complimentary portraits exist in the literature about the efficiency of the Russian legal system. The local *volost* court, which was created in the early 1860s, was described as being[32]

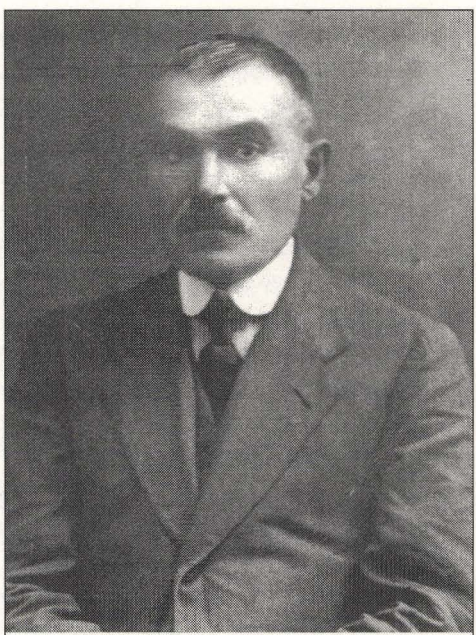
> ...confused and devoid of authority. The judges are supposed to administer customary law, but in truth they are bewildered by the variety and complexity of relations created by the movement of legislation and of economic practice, and their jurisdiction in civil and petty criminal matters is at best a kind of shifting equity tempered by corruption. The clerk of the parish is too often a crafty promoter of the latter. Lastly, this whole cumbersome system of rural administration is under the meddlesome and by no means disinterested supervison of Government officials and of nominees of the local gentry, who even exercise the power to subject the luckless parish officers to fine and imprisonment...

A Jewish Lawyer in Tsarist Russia

Benjamin and Emanuel Pulier remembered their father, a highly respected lawyer in Letichev:[33]

> Our father, Samuel Pulier, was born in Letichev in 1876. His father Benjamin was also born in Letichev and was employed by the Department of Finances as an inspector of excise taxes. The pogroms on Jews started in the

1880s and restrictive laws were passed against the Jews. They lost the right to serve in the civil service and my grandfather lost his job. He, thereupon, studied law in a law office, passed the bar and obtained a license to practice law. At that time, in Russia, it was not necessary to graduate from law school to become a lawyer. He practiced law until his death. Our father studied law in our grandfather's office, passed the bar in 1900 and received a license to practice law. We are at a loss to describe or compare him to any other lawyer. Firstly, a far as his erudition is concerned, he had a large library of Roman Law and used to get the latest decisions of the highest courts from St. Petersburg. Many times during trials he used to embarrass the trial judge by citing the latest decisions of which the judge was not aware. This earned him respect from the judges. Secondly, we have met many hundreds of lawyers, but none was as honest and as honorable as our father. We say it without fear of contradiction because he represented everything noble and honorable as far as a practicing lawyer is concerned. We could have been rich people, but our father would not take a case if there was an iota of inequity or overbearing involved in it. He used to refuse many cases, especially if any taint of fraud was involved in it. As a result, we were only comfortable, not rich, as we could have been.



Samuel Pulier, 1921.
Courtesy of Suzanne Pulier.

This policy of being an honest lawyer paid off. Our father was the corporation lawyer of the city, i.e., he was the lawyer for the municipality. He was the lawyer for the only bank we had in the city and also its bank director. He represented many landowners in the vicinity --this in spite of being a Jew. Whenever the Jewish community had an opportunity to select a representative, our father was always elected (He was the only lawyer in town allowed to practice in the courts. There were other lawyers in town but they were not allowed to write petitions. It was difficult to earn a living and because of that, people were ready for any mischief in order to be ahead of others. A man by the name of Ganulin was also practicing law in our town but he had no right to appear in court. He was very jealous of our father and in order to eliminate him as a

competitor, he denounced him as a revolutionary to the political police. This was an extremely serious crime and if proven would result in denial of all rights and banishment to Siberia. A few weeks after the denunciation by Ganulin, a special gendarme was sent to our town to investigate. Luckily, the testimony of our city fathers as to our father's character satisfied the government that the accusation was false. After this incident, things began to look up. Our father's earnings improved considerably.

However, all good things must come to an end. In 1910, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Stolypin, was assassinated by a Jewish revolutionary and this set off awave of repressive measures against the Jews. A new Minister of Justice was appointed and he took away from all Jewish lawyers the license to practice law. Our father remained without a profession. The earnings of our mother as a midwife were not sufficient to maintain our household and the situation became critical. Again, our father's reputation paid off. The bank created a paid postion and father was appointed to it, so that our economic situation eased to some extent.

In our city were several Jewish lawyers, but none was held by the judges in such esteem as my father. They--the Christian judges--submitted our father's name to the Minister of Justice with a recommendation to grant our father a license to practice law. After two years an answer was received from St. Petersburg advising my father to take another bar examimation a a condition of granting him a license to practice law.Thus, at the age of forty or forty-five, he was forced again to study law and appear for an oral examination before five judges of the circuit court. Some of the judges were anti-Semitic. Father was standing on his feet for two hours as they plied him with questions. Three judges out of five, as a mute protest, did not ask him a single question. They knew his reputaion and were indignant at the whole procedure. However, the other two judges made up for it. When father returned home he was beaming because he was sure that he passed the examinations.

After all documents were mailed to St. Petersburg, it took another year before our father, the only Jewish lawyer out of three in our city, was again admitted to practice law. Our economic condition improved but then on August 1, 1914 the first World War started and things changed radically. Many people went to war and the law practice was greatly diminished. By 1917 many more people were mobilized for the war and nobody was interested in suing. When the Revolution started, he was the only Jew elected to the Revolutionary Committee and to the City Council. Life became unbearable and we decided to leave Letichev. We arrived in America in 1922.

Failure to Register

In the 1835 a law was passed which required that every Jew be registered in one of the four classes of the state: (1) one of the three merchant guilds; (2) an artisan guild; (3) agriculturist; or (4) townsperson (*meschane*).

In the 1890s David Volkovich Vaynshtok of Zinkov was found to be without a passport, and without any form of registration in the official records. He was accused of vagrancy. It was also thought that he might even be of foreign origin. Thus began an investigation which ultimately exposed Vaynshtok's attempt to evade governmental registration. Although he was born in 1835 (the first year that Crown Rabbis were required to record births, marriages, and deaths), his birth was not recorded. It was later found that his marriage was not recorded nor were the births of any of his children. In order to extricate himself from this situation, Vaynshtok obtained affidavits from rabbis in Zinkov and Proskurov (where he had lived for ten years) documenting the existence of his wife Leah and of his children Ios, Khaim, Ovsher, and Kiva. Vaynshtok paid fines for late registration as well as for unpaid taxes. After a trial in which all of the evidence was reviewed, the Podolia provincial government ruled that in recognition of Vaynshtok's cooperation during the trial and from the requirement of registering Jews in one of the four categories, Vaynshtok be admitted to the *meschane* community of Zinkov. In August of 1894 this decision was conveyed to the Department of Policy of Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Department of Okladnye Sbory (personal taxation) of the Ministry of Finance.[34]

Expulsion due to the Fifty Verst Rule

In 1843 a law was passed which Jews were expelled from a fifty *verst* zone (approximately 33 miles) from the western border of the Russian Empire with the goal of preventing Jews from smuggling goods across the border. At the time, the Province of Podolia shared its western border with Austria-Hungary at the Zbruch River, not far from Kamenets-Podolsky. This order was rescinded in most selected cities and towns in the late 1850s. In 1899 Shimon Vaisberg of Letichev complained to the Council of Podolia that he wanted to move to the village of Lyaskovets in Kamenets-Podolsky district, but was denied from doing so. According to the decision of the Podolian Council, as Vaisberg was not registered in Lyaskovets before 1858, he could not be allowed to live there as the original order expelling Jews from that town had not been rescinded.[35]

Illegal Inns and Distilleries

The 1882 May Laws, passed after the pogroms, severely hampered the attempts of Jews to make a living, especially in the traditional capacity of establishing taverns. Part of the provisions forbade Jews from registering as leaseholders of

businesses. The following 1883 article outlines the legal and illegal expenses incurred by Jews who circumvented the law in order to set up taverns:[36]

> The well-known law enacted last May, "Regarding an order executing temporary rules about Jews" affects the local Jewish population in a rather painful way. Fighting with this law or better to say, with its executors, Jews devise various methods to avoid it. Thus, for example, some lands are rented byJews according to "home " contracts which were certainly predated as if they were written before confirmation of the law. Other lands are rented according to fictitious contracts regarding the selling of crops by the landowner to the Jewish leasee. Also there were fictitious warrants of owners for managing the estates. They were notarized by the local police, also before confirmation of the law on May 3, 1882. But since these all these acts are valid and they may be reversed with the slightest discord and wince the Jewish leasees must live in accord with the local authorities, one more way to avoid the tiresomeness of police came into practice among Jews. It consists of the following. Fictitious arguments were started between owners and Jewish leasees. They got into the argument as if it was because of the "home " contracts. Courts of arbitration were organized for the settlement of these arguments. The courts made the decision in favor of the Jews to prolong the term of the lease which was fixed before between the arguing sides.
>
> All pubs in the district are kept by Jews according to the permits issued on behalf of the "dummies" and these "dummies" receive a decent gratuity (50--100 rubles) from a Jew who was the real owner of the drinking house. But they had a duty to come there to declare themselves as owners of the pub during inspections by the officials. The attitude of officials excising supervision of this was condescending, which cannot be said about police officials, village policemen, and *volost* clerks. For many of them the law about Jews became a means of gain and each one made recurrent plundering raids on infringers for the known purpose and if they did not succeed, then, they immediately recorded evidence, confiscated,



A Zinkov Inn.
Photograph was taken ca. 1935 from the Taranushenko Archive, courtesy of V.A. Dymshits.

and brought the guilty people to trial. The same case was investigated by one of the local Justices of Peace. The police in the person of district police officer prosecuted a Jew "R.," because he kept the pub having another's permit, and formulated the accusation according to article 543 of the Regulations regarding taxes from pubs.

It turned out that this article concerns violation of the Regulations regarding taxes from pubs in the Kingdom of Poland, but the district police officer intended to confiscate a ton of wine from the Jew "R." during the compilation of the record of evidence. However, since article 439 of the Regulations regarding the tax from pubs allows the confiscation only in the case of the same violation for the third time, the district police officer contrived to interpret the deeds of the Jew "R." according to article 543. However, the affair took an unexpected turn. Those very peasants, who gave testimony to the district police officer during the compilation of the record of evidence that the trade was fulfilled by the Jew, attested in the court that although the defendent lived in the pub, he did not sell vodka. But peasant woman "G." sold it and the permit is issued on her behalf. It is clear that the Justice of the Peace had to acquit the defendent. It was rumored in the village that the witnesses gave false statements at the defendent's request...

The following is an account of expenses of an average pub owner:

--permit and other trade documents: 125 rubles;

--payment in favor of country society or private owner of "rent" for giving the permission to open a tavern: 300 rubles;

--gratuity to a peasant in whose name the permit was issued: 75 rubles;

--the purchase of a so-called "honesty" certificate about the moral loyalty of the false owner of the pub, in the volost government: 100 rubles;

--payments to various branches of the law (including the *Starosta* and *Sotskiy*) which was paid for a year according to definite terms: 120 rubles;[37]

--extra gratuities paid to the same people: 80 rubles.

Thus, the right of operating a pub in our district of Letichev comes to approximately 800 rubles. The total number of pubs in our district is up to 400. Therefore the right to have a pub costs about 300,000 rubles to the inhabitants, and only a sixth of this sum is paid to the treasurer.

An Illegal Tavern in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan

Excise officials discovered a secret distillery in the Jewish agricultural colony of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan in the house of Rosa Bashkova on February 23, 1884. They arrested Rosa, her son Borukh, and Naftala Mordkovich Suris (formerly a distiller in Kalno Derazhnia) on the basis of Article #403 of the Criminal Code---selling alcohol without a license. However, the organizer of the secret distillery, thirty-seven

year old Iosif Volkovich Tenzer, escaped, leaving his wife and four children in the colony. The police declared a search for him.[38] In addition to a local search, police checked for him as far as the town of Semerinka, in the district of Staro Konstantinov (where he was believed to be hiding with his uncle and aunt Ber and Rukhel Tenzer), as well as in the towns of Lashki and Lisintsi (in the district of Zaslavski, Volhynia gubernia) where he had other relatives. Eventually he gave himself up voluntarily and was confined to the Letichev prison. Thanks to the Farmers' Association of the colony, he was released from jail with the guarantee of the representatives of the colonists Reuven Fainshtein and Moshe Khaim Zilberg that he would not escape.[39]

By the time of Tenzer's trial in Letichev on November 28, 1885, Rosa Bashkova, Borukh Bashkov, and Naftula Suris had already been interrogated. Rosa had pleaded innocence, as she had merely rented half of the house to Tenzer for six months (for 10 rubles). She claimed that she was told by Tenzer that he was setting up a yeast business. Borukh Bashkov admitted that he was hiding from military duty, and therefore did not live at home. He did, however, argue with Tenzer about the illegal distillery when Bashkov visited his mother on February 23rd. Suris had also pleaded not guilty, stating that he was merely visiting Tenzer on the day of the arrest. The judges did not believe their testimonies and sentenced each of them to three months imprisonment. Tenzer, defended by his uncle Srul, was found guilty of the charge of being the organizer of the illegal distillery and sentenced to four months imprisonment and ordered to pay the heavy fine of 6,058 rubles and 80 kopecks. If the fine was not paid, Tenzer was to be imprisoned for an additional twelve months.[40]

An Illegal Tavern in Volkovintsy

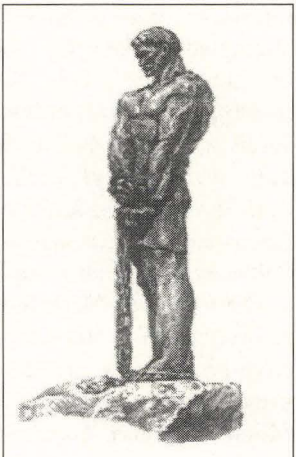
A letter dated May 22, 1890 published in the newspaper *HaMelits*[41] from Letichev described another case of an illegal inn. A Jewish man, a "Mr. M.", born in Volkovintsy, was selling alcohol without a permit. This was brought to the attention of the Justice of the Peace. It was ruled that M. was guilty as charged, even though three peasants testified that they did not drink alcohol at M.'s house. His sentence was to spend three months in prison. However, M. was not pleased with the ruling and appealed his case to a delegation of Justices of the Peace. To the surprise of M., the three peasants testified truthfully that they had in fact consumed alcohol at M.'s house, and that they lied previously. The Justices of the Peace upheld the first ruling. The Chief Justice ruled that the witnesses would be brought to court for their earlier false testimonies, as well as a new case against M. for coercing them to swear falsely. The final sentence was that M. would be punished by banishment to Siberia for the rest of his life; the three peasants were to serve in prison for three years.

Robberies

Ustim Karmaluk

A Ukrainian peasant named Ustim Karmaluk was born in the settlement of Golovchintsy in Litin District on March 10, 1787. As a serf Karmaluk was forced to obey the will of his master. Although he was sent into the army by his owner to fight in the Napoleonic Wars in 1812, he soon escaped and organized rebel bands which attacked merchants and landowners. He was captured in 1814, and was sentenced in Kamenets-Podolsky to run a gauntlet of 500 blows. Sent to serve in a military unit in the Crimea, he fled again, returning to northern Podolia. Once again he organized rebel bands in Proskurov, Letichev, and Litin regions, attracting many serfs. As the rebellions intensified over the years Karmaluk influenced serfs to join him in other parts of Podolia and in the neighboring provinces of Volhynia, Kiev, and Bessarabia. By the early 1830s Karmaluk had approximately 20,000 serfs following his lead to raid the estates of the Polish and Russian landowners with over 1,000 raids occurring over a twenty year period. The response of the Tsar was to quarter units of soldiers in those regions hardest hit by Karmaluk and his followers. Karmaluk was caught four times and sentenced to hard labor in Siberia, but escaped every time, returning to the Litin and Letichev Districts.[42]

In 1835, a Tsarist posse closed in on the Karmaluk gang at the house of a Ukainian peasant by the name of E. Protskova, in the hamlet of Shlyakoviye-Karichintsi near Derazhnia. There, they successfully ambushed the gang. Karmaluk was shot and killed. His body was brought to Letichev where he was buried. Now a famous statue honors him there. The man who killed Karmaluk, F. Rutkovski, was given a medal by the Tsar himself and was granted a pension for life.[43]



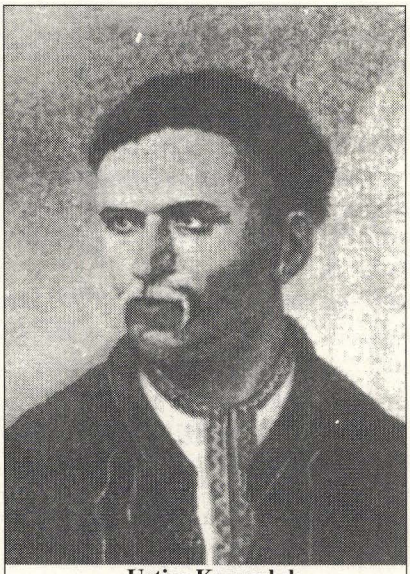
Ustim Karmaluk's Statue, Letichev. From a modern Ukrainian postage stamp.

Presently Karmaluk is portrayed a being a folk hero, a sort of "Robin Hood". He is also considered the Houdini of Podolia, as no prison was able to hold him for very long. Affectionately, he is known as the last Haidamak of Ukraine.

A little known aspect of Karmaluk's life was his relationship with the Jews of Letichev District. Not only did Karmaluk enjoy good relations with Jewish tavernkeepers and innkeepers in Medzhibozh and other towns,[44] but Karmaluk worked closely with a gang of Jewish vagrants and gangsters of Derazhnia.

It was not until the death of Karmaluk in 1835 that the full story of his association with the Jews of Derazhnia came to light. One of his victims, an M. Paplinskaya, in her request to the Senate for financial compensation that

...when I rented out the settlement of Krasnoselka in the district of Letichev, the robber Ustim Karmaluk attacked my house and robbed me. The total sum of the robbery was 4,651 rubles in currency bills, 400 rubles in silver, 160 ten-ruble coins, and other property totalling 11,000 rubles. He worked with a gang, which consisted of different vagrants and Jews of Derazhnia...



Ustim Karmaluk.
Portrait by Trapainin.

During the night of August 12th, 1835 the robbers had broken into Paplinskaya's house, beaten all who were home, and tied up Paplinskaya, her two sisters, and the servants. The robbers had guns, sabers,and knives. Some guarded the windows with lances. Paplinskaya managed to escape, running to notify her neighbor, the nobleman and Commisioner of Administration of Derazhnia F. Rutkovski. Rutkovski hid in a nearby house, assuming that Karmaluk would return. At dawn Karmaluk appeared at the window. He saw Rutkovski and attempted to shoot him, but was himself shot dead by Rutkovski. A military deserter named Petr Kopchuk was captured in the fighting and was interrogated. He confessed that he, along with Karmaluk, Andrei (no surname), peasants Prokop Protskov, Iurko Semenov, as well as Derazhnia Jews Khaim Falyk, Itsko Korf, Leiba Furman, and Meier Gofshteyn had robbed Paplinskaya. They had brought the stolen goods to the house of Kiperman. The carriage with two Jewish robbers was driven to the house of Pukas, where Khaim Falyk lived. The stolen property was not found.

The following Derazhnia Jews were indicted on April 7, 1839 as members of the gang of Ustim Karmaluk. Some had previous criminal records and false passports. Falyk, Korf, Meier Gofshteyn, Kiperman, and Spivak were eventually sentenced to 20 to 30 lashes in public and were then permanently exiled to Siberia. The others remained under suspicion.

-Khaim Leybovich Falyk, 24 years old: robbed Paplinskaya.
-Itsko Abramovich Korf, 28 years old: robbed Paplinskaya.
-Leib Duvidovich Gofshteyn (a.k.a. Furman): robbed Paplinskaya.

-Meier Duvidovich Gofshteyn (a.k.a. Furmakh), 45 years old: robbed Paplinskaya.

-Srul Borukhovich Kiperman, 30 years old: concealed the stolen goods.

-Gersh Leib Moshkovich Spivak, 40 years old: concealed the robbers of Paplinskaya.

-Liba, wife of Khaim Falyk: kept stolen goods.

-Feiga Chornaya, 20 years old: used the stolen goods.

-Egia Iankeliovna, mother of Feiga Chornaya, 40 years old: used the stolen goods.

-Itsko Borukhovich Shtifelman, 18 years old: knew about the concealment of the criminals at Kiperman's and drank vodka with them.

-Shmul Moshkovich Triderman, 31 years old: according to the 8th revision list he was registered as "on the run;" he was caught in a Sharovetskaya tavern with M. Gofshteyn; was convicted of selling Paplinskaya's things.

-Srul Borukhovich Zelmanovich, 30 years old, and his wife Feiga: accused of buying stolen goods.

-Vol Iankelovich Reiderman, 40 years old.

-Gersh Itskovich Khusyt (a.k.a. Pukas), 36 years old: Khaim Falyk rented a small room in his house.

-Leiba Meerovich Dorfman, 50 years old, renter of Krasnoselka tavern: told about the availability of money of Papilinskaya.

-Rysia, wife of Gersh Khusyt (a.k.a. Pukas).

-Etya, wife of Meier Gofshteyn.

-Avrum Manus Beliovich, tailor, 65 years old, and his wife Ides, 45 years old: lived in the house of Gofshteyn. They said that they did not know anything about the crimes; however, the wife disappeared.

-Feiga Spivak, wife of Gersh Leiba Spivak, 30 years old.

-Zeilik Voliovich Reznik, 48 years old: Korf was discovered in his house.

-Liba, wife of Leib Gofshteyn (a.k.a. Furman): sorted things brought from the robbery.

-Khaya, wife of Kiperman, 40 years old, and Khana, Kiperman's 80 year old mother: knew about the concealment of the criminals, and received stolen goods.

-Zislia Meierovna Kovaleva, 43 years old, owner of the tavern in Guty: sold vodka to the deserter Kopchuk.

-Ios Mortkovich Bleyvas, 25 years old, and wife Rivka, 18 years old: sold vodka to deserter Kopchuk.

-Mortko Leiba Burman, Moshko Mortkovich Burman, Gershko Burman, and Froim Burman: accused by Falyk of selling the stolen goods.

Paplinskaya's appeal to the senate for financial compensation was successful and a judgement was granted in her favor. The Derazhnia *kahal*, which was

believed to have knowledge of the activities of the Jewish criminals, was ordered to repay Paplinskaya. The Letichev court was appointed to be responsible for fulfilling the decision of the Senate. The *kahal* was ordered to sell property, and to relinquish all *korobka* funds collected on the sale of kosher cattle, poultry, and beef. Gershka Goldenberg wa initially responsible for the collection of the fund, and then the responsiblity fell to Mortko Gerir, Simon Shapiro, Srul Kartko, Kava Levin, Gershka Kamiger, Itsko Lenferman, Gerts Bir, and Iosia Lenderman. By 1842 the *kahal* had hired an attorney named Gersh Leizorovich Libergman who petitioned that the total estimate of the stolen goods was never verified, and that without a court order to stop paying the Derazhnia Jewish community would soon be in financial ruin. On December 29, 1842 the Senate ruled that the debt had been satisfied and that the Derazhnia Jews were no longer required to pay Paplinskaya.[45]

A Theft in Zinkov

It was reported in *HaMelits* in 1882 that in a town near Zinkov, three Christians boarded with a Jewish couple. They saw that the woman had collected 2,000 rubles to give to charity. While the couple slept, the three boarders stole the money and fled. The police were alerted; the three thieves were captured and put on trial.[46]

A Theft in Medzhibozh

An 1884 dispute in Medzhibozh over the non-payment of the tax put on kosher meat (called *korobka)*, led to the illegal search of a Jewish home by the agent in charge of the tax collection, accompanied by a drunken policeman. The agent stole a bowl of goose meat. He was caught and was quickly sentenced to return the meat and to serve two weeks in prison.[47]

Extortion in Derazhnia

In Derazhnia in1887, the Sadgora Chasidim hired a group of local ruffians to beat up the young man who was petitioning for the position of Crown Rabbi. The Chasidim had hoped that they could intimidate him to the point where he would withdraw his petition, allowing them to push one of their own into the position of Crown Rabbi. However, their plans went awry when the local toughs reneged on their promise to physically assault the young man. After he was elected Crown Rabbi, the Sadgora Chasidim sued the gang for the return of 50 rubles, which was the fee paid for the beating which never took place.[48]

A Gang of Extortionists in Medzhibozh

Dora Zichroni remembered a gang in Medzhibozh around 1920:[49]

> There was a man in Medzhibozh but I don't remember his name. He was a tall, husky man maybe in his fifties. This man lived on the outskirts of Medzhibozh like a rich man. He had a wife and three children. His family never left the house. He educated his children with foreign teachers and paid a lot of money. His wife had beautiful clothes, they said. But they never left the house. He used to ride around town in a horse and buggy like a rich man. Everybody knew what his business was about, but nobody said anything: he had a group of young boys working for him. He used to send them out to the rich people's houses. They would say, 'Give us some money. If you don't give us money, we will set your house on fire.' And they got the money. Those boys were Jewish boys from nice families. That was going on and on and this is the way that man conducted business.
>
> One day two boys came into a rich man's house. The owner was in the leather business and he was a very wealthy man. In those days, leather was very valuable. When they asked for the leather, the man started to scream. The boys hit him and they ran away. All the other times, the police were never there fast enough to catch them, but this time the police caught the boys. There was no prison in Medzhibozh but there was one in Letichev. The boys were imprisoned there. While they were there, the boys wrote notes to the rich man saying, 'You squealed on us. When we come back to Medzhibozh, we are going to cut you up into piece.' Everyone knew about the notes, but we were all afraid to say anything.
>
> It came time to release the two boys from prison. The boys sent a note to the man in the leather business, 'Tomorrow we are coming home and we'll come to see you to cut you up into pieces.' Of course the police were notified and they were waiting for the boys. All the three bridges were full of police--on horses and on foot. And those two boys came. But the police couldn't catch up with the young boys because they ran so fast. Where I lived was almost on the main street. I saw those two boys running, each one with a knife in his hand. They ran fast but finally the police caught up with them. But what they did with those two boys, I don't know, because by then I had already left Medzhibozh.....

Murder

There is documentation of several cases of murder which involved Jews. Generally Jews were the victims. However, in southern Podolia in the 1830s, a *kahal* decided to use murder of Jews by Jews as a solution to ongoing problems (see below). There are a few other references to murders of Jews and gentiles in which more details may be found with further research. For example, four Jews were murdered by farmhands in the forest near Medzhibozh in 1737. This has been documented in the papers of Prince Czartoryski, now housed in Cracow.[50] Under Tsarist rule, murderers were usually sentenced to fifteen to twenty years of *katorga*, hard labor, in Siberia.[51]



Riveting shackles in a Siberian Prison.

There is also ample documentation regarding the harsh treatment of serfs by their owners. In 1837, Bibikov, the Governor General of Kiev, Volhynia, and Podolia, appointed civil servants to inventory and investigate the alleged abuses of peasants. Unfortunately for the peasants, the tribunals making judgements on the guilt or innocence of the accused landowners were comprised of noblemen. On September 30, 1838, Zakharii Dobrovolski of Medzhibozh killed a serf by giving him a severe beating. A tribunal found Dobrovolski "to be in no way responsible for the death."[52]

The Ushitsa Murders

In February of 1836 the body of a man was pulled from the river in Vinkovtsy. The man had obviously been badly beaten; he was weighted down with heavy stones which were tied to his feet. A police informer identified the body as that of Yitskhak Oksman of Novaya Ushitsa.[53] Within a short time, another corpse was discovered in the district. This body (which showed signs of stangulation in addition to being mutilated and burned) was that of Shmuel Shvartsman, also of Novaya Ushitsa. The police were dumbfounded when they heard rumors that these two men were killed by members of the Jewish community. Thus began an amazing

investigation into dark side of the shtetl Jews of Podolia--a world of bribery, corruption, religious fanatacism, and intolerance.

Oksman and Shvartsman had been extorting money from the *kehalim* of many towns of Podolia: Derazhnia, Vinkovtsy, Solobkovets, Dunaevtsy, Sokolets, Novaya Ushitsa, and others. These communities were non-compliant with the recent government decrees to accurately register all males for the military draft; they also harbored many Jewish men who were in fact called up for military service, but went into hiding instead. Any community found to be hiding recruits was to be penalized by receiving a higher quota of males expected to serve. Oksman and Shvartsman made a living by threatening to expose these illegalities to police officials if they were not paid to keep quiet. After a while, religious and community leaders met to discuss plans as to how to silence the informers. The decision was made to have them killed. There was evidence that the Chasidic Rebbe Mikhel Averbakh of Dunaevtsy gave his consent to this decision. Some believed that Rebbe Israel Friedman of Ruzhin also participated in this decision making process, but his role remained unclear.



Prisoners chained to wheelbarrows.

The actual murders were carried out by at least four Jews: Yankel Gofshteyn of Derazhnia[54] and Valeyo Guterman, Shulim Fleyshman, Gersh Introligator, all of Vinkovtsy. Shvartsman had been killed in a synagogue. Oksman, trying to escape, was caught on the road to Kamenets-Podolsky and killed, his body then dumped in the river. The story of the murders was initially unraveled by a police official who was an apostate Jew. He disguised himself as a Chasid and mingled with the Chasidic community of Novaya Ushitsa. After the local rabbi disclosed the truth behind the murders, the disguised policeman made his detailed report known to the Civil Governor of Podolia, G. Lashkarev. Also assisiting authorities in the investigation was the *maskil* Joseph Perl.[55] Perl discovered that the Ruzhiner Rebbe Friedman, like other Rebbes, had circumvented the law forbidding these religious leaders from traveling throughout the country. Although the law was enacted to prevent them from collecting money from the already impoverished Jewish communities, the Rebbes had themselves registered in the merchant guilds. This registration gave them free reign to travel

throughout the Russian Empire, and also to easily slip into the nearby territories of Austria-Hungary (Galicia).

After a delay of several years (officials were bribed by the Chasidic followers of the Rebbes), eighty-two Jews were finally arrested and brought to trial in a military court. Those who were found with the greatest degree of culpability were sentenced to *schpizrutten*: having to run the gauntlet of 500 blows four times. Legend has it that thirty people were killed in this manner. Those who survived this ordeal had all of their personal property confiscated. They were then sent to hard labor in Siberia, along with others who were not required to run the gauntlet. The rest were freed or escaped. Shtromvasser, Kreytman, and Shtroyman, who probably also participated in the murders, had escaped to Galicia where they hid among the Chasidim. They were never caught. Rebbe Averbakh was among those sentenced to exile to Siberia but it was rumored that he was recaptured by Chasidim along the way, later returning to the Ukraine where he lived under false identification papers. Rebbe Friedman served twenty-two months in jails in Kamenets-Podolsky and Kiev. In all likelihood his status as a guild-merchant, as well as his ability to collect enormous sums of money for bribes, saved him from exile. After his release from prison he was placed under police surveillance. However, he escaped to Romania, where he set up court in Sadgora. It has been noted by the historian Raphael Mahler that the efforts of the anti-Chasidic Joseph Perl, by focusing attention on Rebbe Friedman, ironically led to the spread of Chasidim to western territories.[56]

What follows is a list of participants in the Ushitsa murder case, grouped by their towns of residence:[57]

Balabanki:
Yankel Bikhman (a.k.a. Balabanovski)

Derazhnia:
Yankel Gofshteyn (a.k.a. Furland)
Kopel-Ber Duvidovich Shmukler, and son
Abrashko Bleikhman

Dunaevtsy:
Rabbi Mikhel Averbakh
Moshko Shteinman
Gdal Broizman

Kalyos:
Fishel Roizenberg

Minkovets:
Zelik Volfenzon

Mogilev-Podolsky:
Leib Perets Vilshtein (merchant of the third guild)

Novaya Ushitsa:
Oizer Forshtetman, and wife Frieda
Maier Akkerman
Aron Eizengort
Abram Zilberman
Leib Roitman
Mordko Fleishman (a.k.a. Riznik)
Moshko Leikhman
Srul Eidelman
Mendel Srulevich Eidelman
Maier Srulevich Eidelman
Mendel Leizorovich Eidelman
Srul Shlomo Eizengort
Duvid Bleikhman
Benshika Bleikhman (wife of Shmukler of Derazhnia)
Shmuel Bikman (a.k.a. Shapoznik)
Sender Shtelvaser
Moshe Oksman
Itsko Oksman
Zurikh Stromvaser, and wife Golda
Abramko Fridelman (a.k.a. Zhvanchikovski)
Perets Rekhtman
Duvid Guzman
Shlomo Guzman
Srul-Leizor Guzman
Abramko Milman
Fishel Dreishpel
Abramko Grobman
Shulim Gershkovich Pismennik, and wife Sura
Moshko Litenberg (merchant of the third guild)
Bluma Kreitman (wife of Moshko Kreitman)
Beila Shroiner (wife of Usher Shroiner)
Freida Rozenshtein

Sokolts:
Shmuel Shvartsman
Moshko Eksman
Moshko Chicherman
Leib Eidelman
Khaim Shpiterman

Solobkovets:
Benyamin Kligman
Shulim Benkerman
Mordko Polman

Ruzhin:
Rabbi Israel Friedman

Vinkovtsy:
Shlomo Fishman
Leib Kreitman
Valeyo Guterman
Gersh-Vol Introligator, and wife Leah
Srul Guzman (a.k.a. Virnik)
Duvid Milman
Vol Spektor
Zelman Onists
Shulim Fleishman
Khaim Grinman
Duvid Treitman
Ruvin Lederman
Shmil Vulikhman
Abramko Bluimin
Mendel Kizhnerman
Abram Spivak
Leib Guberman
Yukel Mistman
Simkha Koremb
Srul Kotlyar
Shloim Roitman
Barukh Roitman

Zamilov:
Moshko Bronshteyn
Itsko Goldshteyn

Unspecified towns:
Frizmu (sic)
Frekhtman
Chigerman
Shusterman
Yankel Genfilshtein
Vakhman
Binman
Kiperman

An Accidental Murder in Volkovintsy

In 1887, a very pretty 16 year old girl of Volkovintsy fell in love with a young man of Letichev. He would visit the girl when her father was not home. They spoke of marriage. However, during the winter months, it became obvious that she was pregnant. Her father, feeling that his honor had been desecrated, secretly gave her a cup of poison before she went to sleep in the hope that the dosage was sufficient to induce an abortion. Unknowingly he gave her too strong of a dose, thereby causing her death. News of this event quickly spread throughout the district and reached the ears of a Justice of the Peace of Letichev. Investigators went to Volkovintsy. The girl's body was exhumed; a local doctor removed her intestines and sent them to medical examiners in Kamenets-Podolsky in an effort to find out if it could be determined that she was poisoned. The doctors in Kamenets reported that they believed that any poison would be difficult to detect after ten days of ingestion. Although the father was represented by an excellent defense lawyer named Berenshteyn, and numerous witnesses testified that the father was of good character, he was declared guilty. He was sentenced to four years of imprisonment.[58]

A Murder in Letichev

A. Bilik of Letichev reported in *HaMelits* about the murder of a Jewish girl in 1896:[59]

LETICHEV- On July 11, 1896 at dusk, after the heat of the day, Jewish women went to bathe in the river near the city. When they were leaving the river, before they had yet dressed, two gentile mill workers jumped on the ladies and beat them viciously, and then chased the women who were naked. One gentile grabbed an eleven year old girl (an only child) and beat her. They stuffed dirt in her mouth and then cast her into the river where she drowned. The second gentile chased after a lady. When she realized that she would never be able to run into town naked, he tried to run to the house of a nearby gentile to hide. But when the man of the house saw this frantic, naked lady trying to hide in his house he locked his door. He did not allow her to hide, and even ordered one of his workers to beat her to get her away. Who knows what would have happened to her if not for a Jewish lady (clothed) who pressured the gentile to give her one of his wife's dresses for the naked woman to wear. Meanwhile the other (bathing) women were safe and they began to shout for help. But when people came they could not find the two peasants, who had fled. Because everywoman had been running for her life they did not know about the drowning of the little girl. When the girl's parents noted that she had not come home from the river they went to look for her. At the edge of the river they found her clothes and they knew that something was wrong. They began to look for her in the river but they couldn't find her. They searched until three o'clock in the morning. They then went to speak to a nine year old girl who had gone swimming with their daughter. The little girl showed them the place where the gentiles threw in the body of the eleven year old. With this information, the body was found. The murderers were soon caught and imprisoned. An investigation began. One of the murderers admitted that he hit the women,and the second one denied everything. There were many Jewish and gentile witnesses, but the most trustworthy was the girl who saw them throw her friend in the river. The results of the case will be announced.

A Murder in Derazhnia

In Derazhnia, just before midnight on June 13, 1897, a man crawled through a window in the home of Khanokh Henikh Bronshteyn. Bronshteyn, the owner of the incineration plant, had paid his workers 1500 rubles that day. However, the intruder demanded the money. When Bronshteyn explained that he did not have any money because he had already met the payroll, he was viciously beaten and then stabbed in the stomach. The sounds of the disturbance awakened Bronshteyn's wife, who tried to take the knife away. As the criminal fled Mrs.Bronshteyn tore off a piece of his clothing. Bronshteyn, mortally wounded, lived another fourteen hours. He died at the age of thirty, leaving his wife and three small children. Three days later the murderer was caught by the Derazhnia policeman. Investigators found that the

bloody piece of clothing torn by Mrs. Bronshteyn matched the blood-stained clothing of the murderer. The murderer was temporarily transferred to the prison in Krinichnoye before sentencing.[60]

Joseph "Doc" Stacher: A Criminal Immigrant

Criminal activity was not confined to Russia; it followed the landsmen down The Road from Letichev. One the the lesser known but more infamous aspects of the legacy of Letichev landsmen is the connection to Jewish organized crime in America. A notorious mobster, Joseph "Doc" Stacher, was born in Letichev.

Doc Stacher was from the Oystacher family of Letichev. He was born in 1902 in Letichev, though most of the accounts of his life incorrectly identified his birthplace as Poland. He was the son of Isaac and Sarah Oystacher (Stacher).

He immigrated to the U.S. in 1912 at the age of 10.[61] A story is told in his family that Doc was such a rough kid that he beat up his brother Jake Stacher on the boat on the way over. Jake's face was so badly bruised that the immigraiton officials wanted to detain him at Ellis Island.[62] Doc and his family settled in Newark, New Jersey.

Early in his crime career, Doc was a master of aliases. His police record in Newark alone during the six-year period of 1924-30 reports 10 different arrests, but no convictions other than a $50 fine.[63] His boyhood friends included Abner "Longie" Zwillman, Willie Moretti and Gerardo "Gerry" Catena; the latter two were Mafia leaders in New Jersey.[64] Later on, Longie's son married Doc's daughter.[65] In the 1930s, Doc became involved with the Meyer Lansky "Jewish Mafia" through his connection with Longie Zwillman. He became an important member of the gang, which also involved Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel.[66]

Bugsy Siegel also had Letichev District roots and this may help explain the close association between Stacher and Siegel. Siegel's parents Max Siegel and Jennie Goldstein Siegel were both born in Letichev in the 1880s and they emigrated to New York prior to their son's birth in 1906.[67]



Joseph "Doc" Stacher. Stacher (left) is standing next to Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel, who also had Letichev District roots. This photo was taken in 1933 after a raid by police of New York City's Hotel Franconia. Nine Jewish mobsters were holding a conference there.

During prohibition, the "Jewish Mafia" gang was primarily involved in bootlegging and illegal gambling. In 1931 Stacher was the chief organizer of a meeting of the nine top New York area Jewish mobsters. This meeting took place in the Franconia Hotel. A police squad surprised these nine men in a raid. A famous photograph, which included Doc Stacher and Bugsy Siegel, was taken shortly after that raid. Bugsy Siegel attempted to have the photograph censored before it could be released to the press, but he was unsuccessful in getting to the original photograph before the press did.[68]

In spite of his background, the Stacher family called him by his Jewish name, *Gedalia*, a considered him to be a nice boy. He financially supported several members of the family during hard times. He attended family affairs with his compliment of two heavily-armed bodyguards.

Doc's fame and notoriety reached it's zenith with his activities in Las Vegas in the early 1950s. Doc represented Lansky's mob interests there.[69] Doc was the brains behind the rise of the Sands Hotel and in this venture he was partners with Frank Sinatra. This single investment was responsible for the beginnings of Sinatra's financial empire. While Sinatra's name was the famous draw for the Sands Hotel, it was really Stacher who controlled it. Sinatra's nickname for Doc was "the professor" for reasons known only to them.[70]

Stacher also operated as the paymaster to Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, on behalf of Lansky who operated gambling casinos in Havana.[71]

It was not until 1960 that the U.S. government finally got to Stacher with a charge of income tax evasion.

The following is an account of his activities later in his life, in particular his famous lawsuit in 1972:[72]

> Although they pursued Stacher for years, the government only managed to convict him in 1963. Stacher made a settlement with the Internal Revenue Service and instead of jail, was deported.
>
> Stacher had never become a citizen, but he would never agree to go back to Russia. Also, the law prohibited the government from sending anyone to a Communist country. As a Jew, Stacher was entitled, under the Law of Return, to immigrate to Israel and become a citizen. He accepted and moved to Israel in 1965.
>
> If the government thought Doc would suffer in exile, they were sadly mistaken. Doc set up residence in the Sheraton Hotel on Tel Aviv's seacoast and enjoyed an idyllic retirement. He had a car and driver every day and, at the grand old age of seventy, got himself a twenty-three year old girlfriend, who was a law student at Tel Aviv University.
>
> Doc enjoyed Israel and Israelis found him entertaining and generous. His largess attracted the attention of Agudat Israel, an ultra-Orthodox political party. One of its rabbis, Menachem Porush, convinced Stacher to invest $100,000 in a

plan to build homes for young, strictly Orthodox Jewish couples. But instead of applying the money to this, Porush used it to build a kosher hotel in Jerusalem.

Stather and Porush quarreled and the matter went to court. Stacher claimed he loaned Porush the money to build a charitable institution. Not only was he unable to get back the loan, but he had not received any interest on the money.

Israelis found the episode hilarious. The famous American gangster being ripped off by a rabbi.

Wild scenes punctuated the trial with Stacher's lawyer calling the rabbi a swindler and Porush's attorney accusing Stacher of being a criminal.

Stacher won the case and Porush had to return the loan. As Stacher left the courtroom, a reporter asked him what he thought about the affair. 'I can't believe it,' Doc replied. 'A rabbi stole my money, a rabbi stole my money.'

Standing nearby, another reporter was heard to say, "This rabbi may be a bigger crook than you were."

On February 28, 1977 Joseph "Doc" Stacher died of mysterious causes in a Munich, West Germany hotel room. The death was reported as a heart attack. His body was sent back to Israel and slipped out of Tel Aviv's Ichilov Hospital for a secret burial in nearby Holon. The name plate on the grave was altered to hide the burial location. Only eight men were in the funeral party, so the family had to ask a reporter and a photographer to attend the ceremony in order to make a *minyan*.[73]



Sarah and Isaac Oystacher.
The Oystachers owned the Letichev bath house. Parents of notorious criminal "Doc" Stacher. Courtesy of Stephen Silverman.

Chapter Notes

1. A wealth of material exists for those who wish to delve into this subject in greater detail. For example, a record group in the Kamenets-Podolsky Archive contains approximately 140,000 unindexed files related to various court matters.

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3. Biderman, Israel, 1976, *Mayer Balaban: Historian of Polish Jewry*: Dr. I.M. Biderman Book Committee, New York, 1976, p. 193.

4. Rosman, M.J., 1990, *The Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the 18th Century*: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1990, pages 185-186.

5. Roskies, Diane and David, 1975, *The Shtetl Book*: K'Tav Publishing House, 1975, p. 187.

6. *Registi i Nadpisi*, entry #2078; ORPME, St. Petersburg, 1899. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport.

7. Spelling of names has been preserved as per the original documents of Ewidenjca 41, Biblioteka Czartoryski, Cracow, Poland.

8. Ilya Galant, "Zaborgovanist evreiskikh gromad i perishi polovini xix st.", in *Zbirnyk Prats Zhidivskoi Istorichno-Arkheografichnoi Komisii, Akademiia Nauk URSR*, number 73, Kiev, 1928-1929, p. 132-133.

9. Rechtman, Abraham, 1958, *Yidishe etnografye un folklor*: YIVO, Buenos Aires, p. 216-219. Translated by Anita Turtletaub.

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11. Ibid.

12. Marcus, Jacob, editor, 1973, "An Accident and Its Consequences," in *The Jew in the Medievel World*: A Temple Book, Atheneum, New York, 1973, p.327-329.

13. Samuel H. Dresner, editor, Abraham Joshua Heschel, 1985, *The Circle of the Baal Shem Tov*: Studies in Hasidism, The University of Chicago Press, 1985, p. 52-55.

14. *Shivhei HaBesht*, 1814, Kopys, p. 19a. English translation from Ben-Amos, Dan and Mintz, Jerome R., 1993, *In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov*: Jason Aronson, Inc., Story 127, p. 150-151.

15. Rabbi Ze'ev in this story was most likely Zev Wolf Kitces.

16. *HaMelits*, January 14 (26), 1896, issue #11, p. 3. Translated from Hebrew by J. Michoel Ronn.

17. Reported by Mendel Kisil in *HaMelits*, March 29 (April 10), 1885, p. 372. Translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg.

18. Bialkowski, L., 1920, *Podole w 16-tym wieku*, Warsaw, p. 111.

19. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 1972, The Macmillan Company, Jerusalem, "Podolia", vol. 13, col. 667-670.

20. *Registi i Nadpisi*, entry # 515, ORPME, St. Petersburg, 1899. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport.

21. *Registi i Nadpisi*, entry #1952, ORPME, St. Petersburg, 1899. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport.

22. *Registi i Nadpisi*, entry #1496, ORPME, St. Petersburg, 1899. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport.

23. *Registi i Nadpisi*, entry #1814, ORPME, St. Petersburg, 1899. Translated from Russian by Ben Weinstock.

24. For more details, see: Moshe Rosman, "An Exploitative Regime and the Opposition to It In Miedzyboz ca. 1730," in *Transition and Change in Modern Jewish History*, The Historical Society of Israel and The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, Jerusalem 1987, p. XI-XXX.

25. Simon Dubnow, "The Beginnings: The Baal Shem Tov (Besht) and the Center in Podolia,"in *Essential Papers on Hasidism*, edited by Gershon David Hundert, NYU Press, 1991, p. 38, 53.

26. The actual "crime" occured in Pawolocz, a village near Cracow.

27. Ben-Amos, Dan and Mintz, Jerome R., 1993, *In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov*: Jason Aronson, Inc., p. 161-163. Also, see the Besht's response to the 1747 Zaslavl blood libel, p. 78-80. Levine, Hillel, 1991, *The Economic Origins of Antisemitism: Poland and Its Jews in the Early Modern Period*: Yale University Press, p. 183-184; Dr. Israel M.Biderman, 1976, *Mayer Balaban: Historian of Polish Jewry*: Dr. I.M. Biderman Book Committee, New York, p. 194-195; Zenon Guldon, Jacek Wijaczka, "Proceszy o mordy Rytualne na Rsui Czerwonej, Podolu i Prawobrzeznej Ukraine w XVI-XVIII wieku "in *Nasza Przeszosc* 81 (1994), p. 20-22 and 81-85.

28. For a thorough handling of this subject matter, the reader is encouraged to consult: V.O. Levanda, *Polnii Khronologicheskii Sbornik Zakonov i Polozhenii Kasayoshikhsya Evreev ot 1649-1873* (A Complete Chronological Collection of Laws and Instructions Pertaining to Jews, 1649-1873), St.Petersburg, 1874.

29. "*Materiyali do Istorii Zhidiv*," in *Zbirnyk Prats Zhidivskoi Istorichno-Arkheografichnoi Komisii, Akademiia Nauk URSR*, number 73, Kiev, 1928-1929, p. 218, 222.

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31. Lukin, Benjamin, 1997, *Sto evreiskikh mestechek Ukraini: Podoliya*, Jerusalem-St. Petersburg, p. 118.

32. Vinogradoff, Paul, 1915, *Self-Government in Russia*: E.P. Dutton and Company, New York, p. 55.

33. Unpublished memoirs of Benjamin and Emanuel Pulier, courtesy of Suzanne Pulier.

34. RSHA, fond 573, inventory 5, file 6363. Researched by Gita Lipson.

35. Levin, E.B., 1902, *Sbornik Organichitel'nykh zabanv i Postapovlenii o Evreyakh*: St.Petersburg. Translated by Greg Adamovsky.

36. *Moscow Telegraph*, March 11, 1883, issue #68, "Letichev Chronicle". Translated from Russian by Elena Tsvetkova.

37. *Staros*ta = town elder, or "Mayor"; *Sotskiy* = an official elected from the peasants for fulfillment of public and some police duties.

38. This is one of few cases on record in which the police perfomed duties which are similar to our modern notion of law enforcement. For the most part, police were few in number, illiterate, and had the job of delivering summonses. Interestingly, Dora Zichroni remembered a Jewish police officer in Medzhibozh in the early 1900s, known as "Moshe Politseyer."

39. The Farmers Association was comprised of the following persons: Itsek Faibishevich Bashkov (the headman of the settlement), Srul Tenzer, Khaskel Fuks, Volko Moshkovich Epelboym, Volko Fiks, Kaskel Gorenshteyn, Volko Roitenbarg, Abrum Goldenshteyn, San Gorenshteyn, Simkha Saschin, Moshko Srulevich Ostrakh, Ios

Diment, Mordko Dinisman, Moshko Diment, Avigdor Bashkov, Srul Kleiman, Srul Saschin, Moshko-Mordko Grinshpun, Ovishia Epelboym, Avrum Zinshteyn, Gavril Veinberg, Abrum Tenzer, Moshko Fiks, Moshko Paser, and Itsko Ostrakh. Fond 144, inventory 8, file 3, p. 24-25, Kamenets-Podolsky Archive.

40. Kamenets-Podolsky Archive, fond 144, inventory 8, file 3. This file is 237 pages. Researched by Elena Tsvetkova.

41. *HaMelits*, #121, page 3; translated from Hebrew by J. Michoel Ronn.

42. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*,volume 2, p.423-424, University of Toronto Press, 1984

43. Leonid Popokh, pers. comm.

44. Leonid Rapoport, interview, 1996.

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46. *HaMelits*, 20 April (2 May) in 1882, p. 297.Translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg.

47. *Russki Evrei*, March 1884. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport.

48. *Nedelenia Khronika Voskhod*, issue #46, December 1887, col. 1156. Translated by Vladimir Goykher.

49. Interview, Dora Zichroni, 1994, by Asher Fischman and Sara Tarsish.

50. Rosman, Moshe, 1996, *Founder of Hasidism*: University of California Press, Berkeley, p. 241, footnote 17.

51. Schwartz, Shari, 1992, *Scapegoat on Trial: The Story of Mendel Beilis*: C.I.S. Publishers, New York, p. 72.

52. Beauvois, Daniel, 1991, The Noble, *The Serf, and the Revizor*: Harwood Academic Publishers, London, p.17-22.

53. Novaya Ushitsa was also known as Letnevits.

54. Probably a relation to the Gofshteyns who were involved in criminal activity assisting Ustim Karmaluk.

55. See Chapter 7, "Education"

56. Sources: Simon Dubnow, *Perezhitoe 1*, 1908, "Delo o Evreiskom Samosud v Podolia, 1838-1840 "; Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas 1 and the Jews*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1983, p. 130; Chester Cohen, *Shtetl Finder*, Periday Co., Los Angeles, 1980, p. 61; Vadim Altskan, "Novi Arkhivni Material o novoushitskom Dele" in *Novaya Evreiskaya Biblioteka*, Moscow, 1992, p. 71-81; Raphael Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1985, p. 129-134, 367-368; personal communication, Vadim Altskan, October 21, 1997.

57. According to Dubnow's article in *Perezhitoe 1*, 1908, "Delo o Evreiskom Samosud v Podolia, 1838-1840 ". Translated from Russian by Ben Weinstock.

58. Reported by Yosef Davitsky in *HaMelits*, January 26 (February 7), 1888, #21, page 6. Translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg.

59. *HaMelits*, July 24 (August 5), 1896, issue # 165, page 2. Translated from Hebrew by J. Michoel Ronn.

60. Reported by Y.A. Rapoport in *HaMelits*, June 20 (July 2) 1897,#137, page 4, and July 2(14), #147, page 3; translated from Hebrew by J.Michoel Ronn.

61. Reid, E. and Demaris, O., *Green Felt Jungle*: Pocket Books, p. 145.

62. Stephen Silverman, personal letter dated Sept. 30, 1994.

63. Reid, E. and Demaris, O., *Green Felt Jungle*: Pocket Books, p. 145.

64. Ibid, p. 146-147.

65. Stephen Silverman, personal letter dated Sept. 30, 1994.

66. Sifakis, Carl, 1987, *Mafia Encyclopedia.*

67. From the Family Tree of the Jewish People, and the FBI file on Bugsy Siegel, in particular, FBI reports dated Sept. 23, 1946 and Oct. 16, 1946. See also David Chapin, "FBI Files as a source of genealogical information," in Everton's Genealogical Help, Jan-Feb 1996 issue, p. 6-8.

68. Reid, E. and Demaris, O., *Green Felt Jungle*: Pocket Books.

69. Sifakis, Carl, 1987, *Mafia Encyclopedia.*

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73. *The Star-Ledger*, Newark, N.J., Monday, April 4, 1977; *The Jerusalem Post*, Jerusalem, Israel, March 10, 1977.



Kamenets-Podolsky castle.
Podolia Province's most notorious prisoners were imprisoned here. Among them were Ustim Karmaluk and Rabbi Israel Friedman of Ruzhin.

12

Pogroms

by Ben Weinstock, Vadim Altskan and David Chapin

Introduction

For nearly 100 years of Russian rule, organized civil disturbances against Jews were virtually non-existent. The Road from Letichev was quiet; there were no major invading armies for one of the longest periods in its history. While the life of Jews along The Road from Letichev was in some ways harsher than it had been under the previous Polish regime, there were no major acts of violence against the community. The Jewish population along The Road from Letichev grew at a rapid pace. But poverty also increased and the regulatory environment became harsher for those Jews. Resentment built up within the Ukrainian population as the Jews increased their presence.

This period of relative calm suddenly changed in 1882 with the arrival down The Road from Letichev of the first pogroms during the Russian administration. These pogroms ultimately caused major changes in the structure of the community which had repercussions into the middle part of the twentieth century. While in hindsight, the pogroms of 1882 were mild in comparision with those that came later, they set the stage for an environment where Jews could no longer rely on the government for their personal safety. This, in turn, led to a massive wave of immigration down The Road from Letichev.

Following the 1882 pogrom, larger pogroms in the aftermath of World War I and the Ukrainian Civil War were entirely different in character. Down The Road from Letichev marched army after army who took out their aggressions against

the helpless Jews along the way. These pogroms were much more brutal as there was no authority to appeal to for help.

THE SEEDS OF THE 1882 POGROM

The assassination Tsar Alexander II on March 1, 1881 sparked a wave of pogroms which flared up for several years throughout southern Russia. The Jews of Podolia, however, were relatively unscathed; official sources record only one pogrom in Podolia in 1881 — in Zhmerinka on April 27.[1] In the Letichev District, a small riot[2] erupted in Medzhibozh in March 1881. According to the account "two drunken soldiers came to a Jewish tobacco trader and stole tobacco. The Jew ran after them and took back the tobacco. Fifteen minutes later the soldiers returned and demanded their money. They began to beat the Jew. Thanks to the police, who contacted General Fofinov, order was restored."[3]

In October 1881, 7 months later, another disturbance was reported, this time in Pritchep, near Medzhibozh. The account of the event is as follows:

> Recently, two Cossacks went to the Jew Avrum Uzu, who lives in Pritchep with his wife and children. The Cossacks broke down the door and beat the Jews. His wife, crying, asked the Cossacks to spare her husband and two children. The Cossacks released the Jew and the children and began to rob and destroy. This miniature pogrom resulted in torn pillows and torn feather beds. They stole many things, including a Torah. Yesterday, the police officer caught a peasant who helped the Cossacks take away the goods. All things were found except the Torah. Talk about exploitation![4]

Shortly thereafter, Dr. Vaintsbarg, a Jewish doctor attached to the military at Medzhibozh, was ordered to post signs in both Russian and Yiddish in the Jewish prayer houses and synagogues. The signs were an official apology from the authorities to the Jewish community for the disturbances.[5]

Anti-Semitic outrages continued into 1882. March 29 was Easter Monday[6] and the sixth day of Passover. The Jews of Balta in Podolia had been hearing rumors of an imminent pogrom since the middle of March. As Passover was coming to an end and Easter was beginning, a brutal pogrom broke out in Balta on March 29 and continued until March 31. When it was over, dozens of Jews were killed, many women were raped, hundreds were injured, and property damage was extensive.[7] It is conceivable that the Balta pogrom sparked the Letichev pogrom, which began the following day on March 30, 1882.

From contemporary reports, it is clear that tensions were high in the days just prior to the pogrom. On March 25, a fire broke out in the peasant village of Stavnitsa, just 2 kilometers from Medzhibozh. When a Jewish firefighting brigade arrived to help put out the fire, the peasants did not provide any support.[8]

The 1882 Pogrom

The pogrom in Letichev began on the last day of Passover at approximately 4:00 p.m.[9] Windows were broken in the synagogue and in two prayer houses. Eggs were thrown at Jews by some rowdy boys. All in all, the gang of agitators numbered around forty. The physical damage and psychological stress of March 30 was a small prelude to the rioting, looting and beatings of the next day.

A minor dispute turned into a scuffle in the marketplace between the Jewish merchant Tsudichkis and a former employee of his, Petr Kartashevskiy. Kartashevskiy, a Ukrainian, demanded 2.25 rubles for previous work he did, but Tsudichkis told him that nothing was owed to him. Kartashevskiy, in a drunken rage, proceeded to destroy merchandise in Tsudichkis' shop. Their fighting ignited a riot in which drunken Ukrainians began to stone and beat the Jews.[10] Pogromists entered several Jewish-owned taverns, breaking windows and furniture. Money, beer, vodka, and a variety of household items were stolen.

Jews were fiercely beaten in the marketplace. Two Jews subsequently died as a result of the beatings.[11] There is a story passed down through the Singer family of Letichev about their patriarch, Israel Singer, who was a *melamed* in the local *kheder*. He was coming home from *shul* when someone threw a stone at him from behind which struck him in the head. When he did not return home at his usual time, family members ventured out and found him lying unconscious on the street in a pool of blood. They thought he would die, but he gradually recovered to full health after the incident.[12]

The local police inspector Lukyan Vorontsov reported the pogrom to district police officer Zaytsov. After receiving a written request for military intervention from Zaytsov, the district



NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 18

AFFAIRS IN FOREIGN LANDS

THE JEWS AND THE NIHILISTS IN RUSSIA.

FURTHER ANTI-JEWISH RIOTS WHICH ARE SUPPRESSED AFTER MUCH TROUBLE—THE MURDERERS OF GEN. STRELNIKOFF —THE CZAR'S PACIFIC INTENTIONS.

ST. PETERSBURG, April 14.—The Governor of Podolia reports that anti-Jewish riots occurred at Balta on the 11th inst. He immediately proceeded thither with troops, and succeeded in suppressing the disturbances after several hours, but they were renewed during the night. Order was re-established on the 12th by reinforcements of troops. The Public Prosecutor has arrived at Balta. At Letitshev, on the 12th inst., the houses of the Jews were attacked. The ringleaders of the assailants were arrested.

The *Golos* reports that Mr. Oliphant, repre-

New York Times Article on the Letichev Pogroms. The 1882 Letichev Pogroms made front page news in the New York Times.

military leader Dorozhinsky sent 25 soldiers from the 3rd Battalion of the 48th Odessa Regiment to put a halt to the disturbances. Apparently, there was an delay in the response of civil authorities to end the pogrom due to bureaucratic delays and the difficulty of passing timely written orders between the various government authorities responsible for keeping the peace. The 25 soldiers were assisted by soldiers from the 1st Battalion of the Odessa Regiment, two companies of the 46th Reserve Battalion, and regular soldiers from Letichev.[13] In short, a relatively large contingent of soldiers were ultimately mobilized to end the pogrom. Approximately 20 pogromists were caught and imprisoned. But at nightfall a crowd of drunken hooligans gathered at the jail. Demanding the release of the prisoners, they threatened the authorities with more trouble if their demands were not met. The District Commissioner decided to release the pogromists to their homes. Some were registered for future judicial action.[14] However, despite warnings and military patrols on horseback at four locations around Letichev, a gang of 50 pogromists gathered on Zaletichevsky Street and proceeded to break windows in Jewish homes and to loot them. It was said that the air was filled with feathers from destroyed down beds.[15] The soldiers caught and arrested about 30 people. A similar disturbance occured in the village of Pukasovka which was stopped by the soldiers.[16]

April 1 was a day of tension. A crowd of peasants gathered at the sound of a special whistle. They attempted to loot a Jewish house but fled when soldiers appeared on the scene.[17] Similar gatherings occured on following days but they were broken up by soldiers.[18] The area was under military curfew: streets were closed for days and guards patrolled day and night.[19]

A brief account appeared in the Jewish newspaper, *Voshkhod*[20] "...furniture and glass windows were broken in three inns which served vodka, and in two homes. 40 people were arrested; order was restored at 12 o'clock at night."

Pogroms spread to other town in the Letichev District. On Sunday, April 4, a crowd of around 300 Ukrainian peasants gathered in Medzhibozh after the fair. Windows were broken in 5 Jewish homes.[21] The screams of the Jews led to the intervention of Medzhibozh soldiers and local Cossacks under the command of General Fofinov in order to disperse the crowd.[22] Few arrests were made. On April 5, 10 peasants were arrested out of a group of 30 who attacked the home of the Jewish tavern owner in Trebukhovtsy.[23] On April 6, arrests were made in Stavnitsa, Goloskov, Kopachovka, Markovtsy, and Lisorgorka for similar disturbances.[24] The official report of the disturbance in a Jewish tavern in Volkovintsy provides us with an insight into the perceptions of Jews in the minds of pogromists, and of the investigators:

The peasants said that the cause of disturbances was the quarrel between the Jewish pub owner and a peasant, to whom the Jew would not give 80 kopeks change.

The local peasants mostly complain that after the railway construction, there appeared too many newly-arrived Jews. They keep pubs both legally and illegally, taking away all the earnings of the peasants.

The moral aspect of the Christian-Jewish relationship can be illustrated by the following example. The Jews came to the government representatives asking for military protection. They said that the Volkovintsy thugs are instigated by Antonov, a retired police officer involved now in the trade business. The inquiry ascertained that Antonov was the best person in the town. He was smart, well-to-do, and was a good businessman.

This goes to show that the problems dealing with the mood of these aliens should be resolved with restraint and care to evade erroneous influences of the deliberate, hateful lies some of which can distort these sorrowful events as a grave accusation against the great Russian people.[25]

The Aftermath of the 1882 Pogrom

On April 11, the Governor of Podolia visited Letichev after visiting the devastation in Balta.[26] He was under orders from Count Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev, the Minister of the Interior, to investigate the disturbances and to establish legal procedures to punish those involved in the riots.[27] The Jewish delegates who met with the Governor requested that the soldiers not be withdrawn "because the masses of Christians haven't calmed down." According to the Jewish delegates, the major instigators of the disturbances in Letichev were retired Major Sakharov and Strelbitskiy (both had been seen with the pogromists before the actual riots).[29] In total, over 80 people were arrested, including five Jews. Most of the pogromists who were found guilty received very light sentences, typically from three days to one week. One of the murderers received a prison term of one month.[30] Ironically, four Jews were sent to prison until after Yom Kippur.[31]

The outcry in the press at home and abroad emerged anew after the bloodbath at Balta.[32] The largely anti-Semitic Russian press, as well as many Russian officials, blamed the Jewish victims for the pogroms. The perception of the Minister of the Interior Ignatiev was that the pogroms were due to the exploitation of the peasant masses by Jews. Order, according to Ignatiev, could only be brought to the Pale by restricting Jewish travel, trade, and commerce, especially in the liquor business.[33] His restrictive laws, although debated by the Committee of Ministers, were finally passed as "temporary decrees" on May 3, 1882. Jews were forbidden to move from their towns to other areas of the Pale; Jews could no longer purchase or lease land; and Sunday as a day of business was no longer permitted for the Jews.[34]

The debates of the Committee of Ministers, however, led to the declaration that the attacks on the Jews were not to be permitted. On May 10 the Senate, under pressure from several members of the Committee of Ministers (who placed blame on anti-Semitic police and local officials), declared to provincial

governors that local officials were to be held accountable for anti-Jewish violence in their districts. The forced resignation of Ignatiev on May 30, 1882 from the Ministry of the Interior resulted, at least in part, from his poor administrative handling of the pogroms.[35] His successor Count Dmitri Tolstoi, threatened local officials with prosecution if order was not maintained. The lenient prison sentences given to pogromists under Ignatiev's rule changed dramatically. Strict sentences were given to those found guilty during the pogrom trials during the summer of 1882.[36]

Conflicts between Jews and Christians simmered below the surface. For example, the incident concerning Gitman's Shul (see Chapter 3, Religious Institutions) took place during this period. This incident should be considered part of the same undercurrent of semi-official harrassment of the Jews that boiled over in the pogrom. However, the Jews of Letichev, and of other towns that suffered pogroms during the spring, tried to rebuild their lives. Charity funds were set up for victims. Lists of contributors were published regularly in the newspaper *Russki Evrei*. The contributors from Letichev,[37] were as follows:

L. Dubitski	5 rubles	S. Shtulboym	1 ruble
L. Gringolts	3 rubles	E. Sheynberg	50 kopeks
L. Pachuk	3 rubles	Kh. Shtulboym	50 kopeks
E. Bilik	2 rubles	Ikh. Shtulboym	50 kopeks
G. Kritsshteyn	1 ruble	Kh. Perelmiter	50 kopeks
M. Landa	1 ruble	L. Kalish	50 kopeks
Sh. Rabinovich	1 ruble	Kh. Asnis	50 kopeks
Sh. Shefel	1 ruble		

Other Jews abandoned the idea of spending their futures in Letichev. The first emigres from Letichev left after the pogrom. Such an example is the family of Aaron Kupstov. Kupstov was one of the town's wealthiest Jews.[38] He had donated the money to build Letichev's fire lookout tower. During the pogrom, a drunken Ukrainian fell from the tower. He was either severely injured or killed in the fall. The town authorities held Aaron Kupstov responsible for the accident. Afterall, the authorities reasoned that there would be no tower had he not provided the funds for it. The authorities started to expropriate some of his assets as punishment. Realizing that there was no future left for his family in Russia, Aaron paid the passage for all twelve of his children to emigrate to America.[39] Among the earliest Letichever immigrants to the United States, most of the family settled in Baltimore and Philadelphia, where they became prominent in the Jewish community. Because of this Letichev connection, Baltimore and Philadelphia became two of the more common destinations of many Letichevers.

The Letichev pogrom trials began in Letichev in July; the Jews requested a lawyer, "Reb Zev" from Kamenets-Podolsky. Despite the fact that he was told

by the Jews that his expenses could not be paid, he accepted the assignment and was sworn in on July 2.[40] The courthouse was crowded to the last seat, and also the street in front of the courthouse was filled with many Jews and Christians who waited anxiously to see the outcome of the trial. The arguments of Reb Zev were "like stones that he could throw against his opposition, who tried as hard as he could to throw dust in the eyes of the judges to dispute the testimony."[41] By Friday, July 9 the trial came to an end with many swift sentences against the pogromists. "To a great number of the Christian masses the outcome was as they had hoped because they knew that it was better to sit in peace and not listen to those who cause trouble."[42] What follows are detailed descriptions of the trial from *Zarya*, a Russian newspaper published in Kiev.



The family of Aaron Kupstov.
Aaron Kupstov and his wife Yetta are both seated. Photo was taken around 1905 in Letichev. Courtesy of Harriet Hollander.

Court Transcripts:

On July 5 and 6, a case was tried regarding Gunchak, Ruzhitskiy, Kostetskiy, and Snezhinskiy charged of plunder during the disturbances in Letichev on March 31, 1882. The essence of this case is: On March 31, Letichev citizen Bronya Aysenberg filed with the investigator of the First Division a complaint in which she declared that a crowd of people destroyed her property, broke windows, emptied a barrel of alcohol and stole 30 rubles in cash, 10 silver spoons and two clocks totaling 330 rubles.

Several witnesses were to prove the complaint. One of them, Tobis, said that on March 31 at 3 p.m. when he with several other Jews had been drinking beer at Aysenberg's tavern, some people started breaking windows of Aysenberg's house, the 5 persons, including a member of the city council (Gunchak) and Ruzhitskiy broke down the box with cash, took out several

banknotes and put them into his pocket, the change he threw on the floor. At the same time, Ruzhitskiy broke the lock on the safe and took out about a dozen silver spoons. Seeing that Gunchak had taken money, the witness (Tobis) asked him to stop the robbery saying, "You are a member of the city council, a respected person." But Gunchak threatened to stab him. The witness did not know the names of the others that burst into the room though he said that he could recognize them.

The other witness, Leyba Kogan, testified that he too had noticed in a rioting crowd a member of the city council (Gunchak) who broke open a money box, took out several banknotes, and put them into his pocket. Kostetskiy and Snezhinskiy who were there at the time picked up the change. Ruzhitskiy burst into the next room, broke a safe, and took out silver spoons. Trying to persuade Gunchak to stop the robbery, the witness even kissed his hands, but the response was only "go away before you get it too." Turning to Ruzhitskiy, Gunchak said, "Don't be afraid, it's my responsibility and I know what I am doing." Then he took the clocks and left addressing the crowd gathered in the street: "Come in, I'll soon be back." What was after that, the witness did not know, neither did he see anybody else taking part in this plunder. When Kostetskiy and Snezhinskiy were shown to him, he recognized Kostetskiy as a participant of the plunder, while he could not say anything against Snezhinskiy. Leyba Rozenblit confirmed Kogan's testimony, the difference being that Aysenberg's house was attacked at 12 or 1 p.m. and that along with spoons, the forks were also stolen. Grinberg testified that among the people attacking Jewish houses, he saw Gunchak. He did not know anything about plunder.

The persons charged of plunder of Aysenberg's property were Yakov Gunchak - a member of the city council, Toma Ruzhitskiy, Pavel Kostetskiy, and official's son Snezhinskiy. They did pleaded not guilty and produced the following explanation.

The defendant Gunchak said that during the disturbances of March 31 he had been home the whole day and never left the house. This could be corroborated by several persons who visited him at different times: non-commissioned officer Bekker who had been with him up to 2:00 p.m., Ostashevskaya, Orel, who left him only at night and at last his Jewish neighbor Kastev. Hd did not know why the Jewish witnesses would indicate him as a participant in disturbances and a culprit in plunder.

To that Gunchak added that a week after the disturbances, he was elected trade representative to check the licenses and since the Jews were trading mostly without licenses, they (being displeased with his activities) decided to get rid of him in such a way. A witness in this case, non-commissioned officer Bekker, testified that passing along the market square after 3:00 p.m. he saw the boys

breaking windows in Aysenberg's house, when he called on Gunchak (the latter was home with some visitors). He spent two hours there. When he left Gunchak, the disturbances had already stopped. This was corroborated by Ostashevskaya. The next witness, Orel, testified that he had been at Gunchak's house the whole day, and Gunchak had never left the house. The witness Kastev testified that he saw the disturbances but didn't notice Gunchak there. He knew that at the time Gunchak was having visitors.

The defendant Ruzhitskiy said that on March 31 he had been home the whole day, did not visit Aysenberg's tavern and this could be corroborated by witnesses Golshteyn, Liberman, Strusevich, Komar, and Zavadskiy.

The witness Golshteyn said that he did not know whether Ruzhitskiy had taken part in the disturbances. Liberman testified that Ruzhitskiy had not been among the attackers of Aysenberg's house. The other witnesses testified that on March 31 Ruzhitskiy was drunk and had never left his home.

The defendant Pavel Kostetskiy, 12 years old, explained that he had taken no part in the disturbances and spent the whole day catching fish. He was slandered by the Jew Kogan to spite his mother who wouldn't pay him 5 rubles.

The defendant Snezhinskiy testified that he was only a spectator and took no part in the disturbances.

Yakov Guchak is 38 years old, has two houses, is married and is a member of the city council. Toma Ruzhitskiy is 54 years old, married and also has two houses. Pavel Kostetskiy is 12 years old, and Snezhinskiy is 22 years old.

The chairman of the court was Major-General Ushakov, prosecutor was Captain Ivanov, attorney was non-commissioned officer Stutskiy. The accused pleaded not guilty and after that the interrogation of the witnesses started. This provided nothing new, so the debate opened only on the next day (July 6) at 10 a.m.

The prosecutor, addressing the court, used the witnesses testimony to accuse Gunchak, Ruzhitskiy, Kostetskiy, and Snezhinskiy, and demanded the maximum punishment.

The defense counsel was trying to prove the accusations groundless. He expressed hope that the Court would free the defendants who were arrested because of the unfortunate circumstances and partiality of the investigators.

The defense counsel continued that the stories told by the victims looked like "improvisations." It was hard to believe that the respected homeowners, which is the case with the defendants, would so bravely pick the other people's pockets. The testimonies were very uncertain, the desire to serve both sides was quite evident. These were paid witnesses.

Since the defense counsel could not find the sufficient proof to condemn the defendants, they asked the Court if not to free them, at least show them mercy.

The Court brought in a verdict of guilty towards Gunchak and Ruzhitskiy and decreed that Gunchak would serve in a convict labor gang for two years (the verdict would be suspended until his other cases were dealt with); Ruzhitskiy would be imprisoned for eight months. Kostetskiy and Snezhinskiy were acquitted.[43]

On July 8 a case was tried regarding Letichev citizen Ivan Filmanovich, and peasants Yakov Skripnik, Ivan Zluchevskiy, and Vasiliy Skripnik, charged with plunder during the disturbances in Letichev on March 31, 1882. The essence of this case is: On March 31 together with some other people the defendants burst into Shmuel Kurtsman's house, broke into a closet and took away clothes, linen, 42 rubles in banknotes, two pillows, and a featherbed totalling 161 rubles. Several witnesses were to prove the complaint. At the preliminary investigation they gave the following testimony. The victim Kurtsman said that on March 31 at night a crowd of 10 persons broke the windows in his house, while Filmanovich, Zluchevskiy, and the Skripniks burst into his house, broke furniture and took away the following things: Filmanovich took a frock-coat, a coat, his wife's fur coat and handed them over (at least it seemed so) to Gunchak. Asked to return the things, Zluchevskiy said: "Get away or I'll kill you." Kurtsman could not point out exactly the person who took the 42 rubles. Aside from the things mentioned, Filmanovich also took the fur coat of the victim. The witness Avrum Skolnik testified that in Kurtsman's roooms



Jews escaping from a pogrom in Podolia.
Sketch by S. Broling in *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Leipzig), May 20, 1882.

he saw Zluchevskiy and the Skripniks, the first holding a pillow, while the Skripniks were holding linens. The witness Leyzor Molitliviy testified that being at the mill near the tannery (which was near Kurtsman's house), he heard cries, ran to the house and saw the church leader Filmanovich climbing out of the window of Kurtsman's house holding Kurtsman's fur coat. Kurtsman himself was inside the house crying "help"[44] The witness Moshka Shandelman testified that he too saw the former town mayor come out of Kurtsman's house with some clothes and went to the marketplace. The witness Shenderovskiy told the investigators the story that he had heard from the victim himself.

The persons charged in the case were: Ivan Filmanovich — former town mayor and now the church leader, peasants Zluchevskiy and Skripniks charged with plunder pleaded not guilty and produced the following explanation.

Ivan Filmanovich testified that he did not take any part in the March 31 anti-Jewish disturbances and this could be corroborated by Burdishskiy, Voytovich, and Svetlova. He said that Kurtsman's false testimony was based on false words of some Jew from whom he (Filmanovich) had stopped buying ironware for the building of the church. The aforementioned witnesses corroborated his words and testified that on the day of the disturbances they spent the whole day at Filmanovich's house. The host had been home the whole day up to 9 p.m.

Ivan Zluchevskiy testified also that the evening and night of March 31 he had spent at home, never leaving, but he could produce no witnesses to corroborate this. Yakov Skripnik said that on March 31 some townspeople came to the village of Zavolk to persuade the peasants to go to town to beat up Jews. So out of curiosity he (Skripnik) joined this peasant crowd heading into town. He saw the crowd come up to Kurtsman's house and started breaking the windows. But he did not see Filmanovich there. Then part of the crowd moved to the other part of the town while the rest stayed at Kurtsman's house. What happened then in the house he did not know. He did not take part in plunder and was arrested only because he followed the crowd. Vasiliy Skripnik said that he had no idea why Kurtsman pointed him out as a participant in the disturbances. He was arrested at the time he was driving some Jew's horse from the field. Passing by Kurtsman's house he saw its broken panes.

The following interrogation of the witnesses did not add anything of importance. Then the debates started. The deputy prosecutor demanded the verdict "guilty" for all the defendants. While the defense counsel insisted on the flimsiness of the accusations, especially relative to Filmanovich. He said that in the indictment, Filmanovich was being accused of things incongruous with his age and social status.

According to the defense counsel, it was evident that the Jews were trying to draw into the case the outstanding members of the city council; now they

were accusing the former "head", but if it went on like that the new "real head" would find himself on the docket in about a month.

After the very prolonged discussions, the Court brought in a verdict according to which Filmanovich and Zluchevskiy were found guilty in breaking the windows in Kurtsman's house and destroying his property. Filmanovich would serve in a convict labor gang for three years while Zluchevskiy would serve in a convict labor gang for a year and a half. Skripnik was sentenced to two months imprisonment.[45]

On the same day, another disturbance case was tried. The Letichev citizens Nikolai Burdinskiy, Yakov Gunchak — for a second time, Filip Filmanovich (son of Ivan Filmanovich), were accused of breaking glass in the windows of Moshka Rapoport's tavern, "destroyed and plundered the property and goods" in the house causing damage equal to 749 rubles. Several witnesses were to prove the complaint. At the preliminary hearing, Moshka Rapoport said that at 10 p.m. several people came to his house and, since the doors had been shut, they broke the windows, entered the rooms, and demanded money. On refusal, they broke open a money box from which Burdinskiy pocketed 83 rubles in bills and 2 rubles in change and threw the rest out the window into the crowd. Then they broke into the closet, took out clothes, some of which they threw away and some of which they took for themselves. Then they destroyed his shop "and did the same with the goods in it" causing the damage totaling 749 rubles. The witnesses to this case were repeating the same words that passing Rapoport's house they saw the crowd breaking the windows, Burdinskiy and Filmanovich carrying out things and Moshka Rapoport begging them to return the things and stop the outrage. Aside from this, Burdinskiy, Gunchak, and Filmanovich were accused of breaking windows and doors of the tavern of Iosya Tretyak, entering his house, breaking the mirror, wall clocks, emptying a barrel of beer, breaking into the money box and the closet, taking 30 rubles in bills and various clothes, the damage totaling 285 rubles. At the preliminary investigation the victim Tretyak said that on March 30 at 10 a.m. a crowd came to his tavern and demanded vodka. They got drunk and left. However in the evening the people came again and started breaking doors and windows, then Burdinskiy and several others entered the house and before his own eyes broke into the money box, from which Burdinskiy took 30 rubles in bill; the others took clothes. At the time his wife and children were at his neighbors. The leader of the crowd was Burdinskiy.

The persons being accused in the process — Nikolai Burdinskiy, Yakov Gunchak, and Filip Filmanovich pleaded not guilty to the charges. They testified:

Burdinskiy: He saw the crowd making disturbances at Rapoport's and Tretyak's taverns but he did not take part in it and this could be corroborated by his witnesses — Gusak, Brigida, and others.

The defendant Gunchak testified that during the disturbances of March 30 he had been home the whole day and had the witnesses prove that he never left the house. He said that he was being falsely accused because the Jews hated him.

The defendant Filmanovich testified that during the disturbances of March 30 he had been home the whole day, which was confirmed by witnesses.

The witness Rachkova, while not being positive about the part that Filmanovich played in the disturbances, said that a week later Moshka Rapoport offered her 10 rubles if she testified that Filmanovich had taken part in the disturbances.

The case documentation contains the following data:

- Nikolai Burdinskiy, 50 years old, married, literate, has a house and a country estate.

- Yakov Gunchak, 38 years old, a member of the city council, married, has two houses, is under investigation in connection with the Aysenberg case.

- Filip Filmanovich, 23 years old, literate, single.

The interrogation of the witnesses did not add anything new, then the debates started. Opposing the accusation of the deputy prosecutor, the counsel for the defense asked the Court to pay attention to the fact that the testimonies of the Jews were practically the same.

The verdict was: Burdinskiy — imprisonment for a year and 4 months, Filip Filmanovich — 4 month imprisonment, Gunchak — acquitted.[46]

The Court tried a case of Boyko and Moroz, accused of breaking a window and stealing a 15 ruble blanket. The damage to Medzhibozh citizen Golshteyn totaled 23 rubles.

The Court verdict for Boyko and Moroz was a 2 month imprisonment for each.[47]

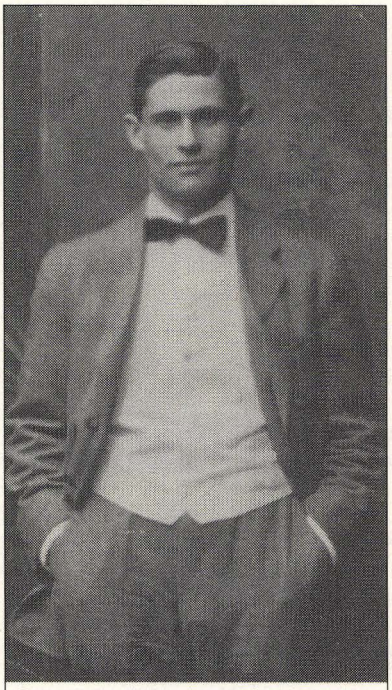
Pogroms During the Period 1896-1907

The 1882 pogrom trials left the Jews of the Letichev District somewhat relieved that justice had been served; however, the threat of renewed pogroms was a constant threat. For example, some drunken soldiers in Medzhibozh incited a riot of other soldiers and hundreds of peasants to attack five Jewish homes in 1896.[48] This prompted Letichev Jewish tavern keepers to close their businesses during the call up period a few months later, hoping to avert additional episodes

of drunken soldiers.[49] The next wave of serious pogroms against the Jews of Russia began in 1903, with the infamous pogrom in Kishinev.

The Kishinev Pogrom of 1903

The worst pogrom in this era took place in Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia, on April 6, 1903. This day was the last day of Passover and also Easter Sunday. Christians, accusing Jews of ritually murdering a peasant boy several months earlier in order to use his blood to bake matzah, erupted in a frenzy of drunkenness, murder, rape, and plunder. By the time the rioting ended on Tuesday, over 50 Jews had been killed, dozens of women were raped, hundreds were wounded and many were left homeless.The Kishinev pogrom "represented the first major pogrom of the twentieth century. By standards set later in the century,it is true, it was a relatively modest affair: far more massive attacks against the Jews would eventually make it seem mild."[50] The horrors of the pogrom led to international protests against the Russian government. The Kishinev pogrom made front page news in America and elsewhere in the west, flamed by a series of postcards widely disseminated showing the gruesome horrors of the pogrom. The nightmare of this pogrom, along with the subsequent Russo-Japanese War, encouraged U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt to personally intervene and consult with Tsar Nicholas II, ultimately being awarded the first Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. Amongst many of the Jews of Russia, the Kishinev pogrom signaled that America or Palestine must become their new homes.



Borris Vaynshtok.
Courtesy of Ben Weinstock.

Borris Vaynshtok, born in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan around the time of the 1882 pogroms, had been living in the Bendery District of Kishinev since 1894. He worked as a waiter in his uncle's tavern. As the military barracks was diagonally across the street from the tavern, Vaynshtok had become quite friendly with some of the soldiers and had learned many fighting techniques from them over the years. Hearing of the outbreak of the pogrom Vaynshtok joined the quickly-assembled self-defense group. As a soldier came galloping towards him on horseback, sword unsheathed and ready to strike,

Vaynshtok grabbed the soldier's arm and knocked him off the horse. Vaynshtok grabbed the sword and broke it over his knee. Wounded and bleeding, he fled from the angry soldier, and from the other horrors of the pogrom. He first hid in Kishinev, then secreted his way out of town after hearing that he was wanted for the destruction Tsarist property -- the sword. Traveling along isolated roads to Beltsy, Ataki, Mogilev-Podolsky, and other towns where he had relatives to hide him, he finally made his way back to Staro Zakrevsky Meidan. Several months later he married Tsiril Feldberg. Like many others in the Tsarist Empire, they fled for America shortly after the Kishinev pogrom.[51]

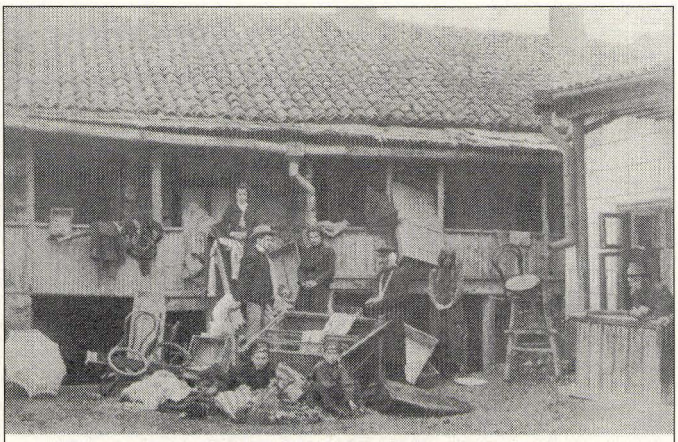


Kishinev pogrom victims.

The Pogrom Wave

A surprise attack by the Japanese on January 27, 1904 on two Russian battleships at Port Arthur, a naval base on the Yellow Sea now called Vladovostok, launched the Russo-Japanese War. The war soon proved to be a debacle for the Russian troops. Reports spread back through the Russian Empire of the defeat of Russian troops in battle after battle. Discontentment among the masses increased due to economic shortages caused by the war and lack of faith in the government. The anti-Semitic press accused the Jews of collaborating with the Japanese. By May new attacks on Jews began in many locales in the Pale. As revolutionary protests increased over the next year,workers began to strike. A strike of railway workers crippled the trains in Derazhnia for four days.[52] During this time many revolutionaries flocked to cities where the movement was strong. For example, Shimon Grubshteyn a young Jew from Staro Zakrevsky Meidan went to Odessa to secretly join the revolutionary movement. After being found with anarchist literature by the police, he was tried and imprisoned.[53] In January of 1905 in St. Petersburg, thousands of workers, trying to present a petition to Tsar Nicholas II, were fired upon by troops. This did nothing to quiet down the feeling of the need for the overthrow of the Tsar. Additional pogroms were later instigated by a group known as "the Black Hundreds, "a pseudo-patriotic band of vigilantes.

Although there were over 650 pogroms throughout the Pale from 1903-1907, fewer than forty occurred in Podolia.[54] Some in the Letichev District erroneously thought that pogroms would not take place. In the words of Rose Pesotta, "...those attacks, though they cast long shadows, seemed far away... St. Petersburg was more than eight hundred miles distant. And that remoteness spelled insulation and safety for our town, never the scene of anything more violent than a brawl inspired by too much vodka. We shuddered as we contemplated the atrocities in the cities. But the night would pass, next day the sun would shine, and life in Derazhnia would go on as before."[55] However, some attacks *did* break out in the Letichev District.



A house vandalized in the Kishinev pogrom.

Violence in the Letichev District

Threat of a pogrom led by the Black Hundreds took place in Zinkov in 1905 led to the formation of a self-defense group. Jews purchased guns and bullets in Proskurov. Rumors spread that the peasants of Petroshi (descendents of exiled criminals from the time of Peter the Great) would attack. A few Zinkov Jews went to Petroshi and influenced the progromists not to attack.[56]

In Derazhnia, a group of drunken hooligans tried to incite a pogrom by shouting "Kill the Jews!" in the marketplace. Although many Jews panicked, a small group of coopers immediately took their birch withes as weapons and beat back the attackers. The hooligans fled town, never to return.[57]

During Passover in Letichev in 1907, a group of drunken peasants began to force their way into Jewish homes, where they terrorized the Jews and stole their possesions. Samuel Pulier "stood with a big stick at the threshold of his father's house and fought with the marauders in order to protect his father, mother and three sisters from the robbers and rapists. He noticed that a police officer was standing nearby, saw his predicament and did not do anything to stop the pogrom. Pulier walked over to the police officer, slapped his face and

tore off his epaulettes. Pulier was thereupon arrested and the police wanted to put him in the same cell with the robbers. However, the entire Jewish community, *en masse*, walked to the chief of Police, bribed him and had Pulier locked up in a separate cell, thus saving his life (In a subsequent trial Pulier was acquitted of the charge of assaulting a police officer due to extenuating circumstances.)[58] The Jewish population was threatened with a renewed pogrom. Once again the Jews collected a huge sum of money, bribed the corrupt officials, and averted further violence.[59]

The 1917-1921 Pogroms

Overview

The 1917-1921 Pogroms were the worst and most violent acts against the Jews in the 20th century except for the Holocaust. If not overshadowed by the brutality of the Nazis two decades later, this infamous episode in history would not have been nearly forgotten today. These pogroms have their roots in the lack of civil authority stemming from Russia's tragic involvement in the World War I, the Tsar's overthrow, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the rise of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement. During the period, power changed hands 13 times in Letichev alone.[60]

At first, these events were not treated as seriously by the Jewish population as they ultimately turned out to be. For example, in Zinkov on May 1, 1917, a crowd of townspeople celebrated the overthrow of the Tsar by ceremoniously acting out the collapse of his throne with a certain young man by the name of Meyer acting the role of the Tsar. When the throne collapsed and Meyer was sent crashing to the ground, the triumphant crowd burst into laughter because seat of Meyer's pants accidently ripped open in the fall.[61]

Unfortunately, more terrible times were to come. The stage was set by the occupying army's apparent disregard for the rule of law and personal property of the indigenous people. For example, one young person returning to a small town in Podolia in July 1917 reported that the occupying army forceably bought farm goods and livestock at ridiculously low prices from subsistence farmers who subsequently starved because they could not feed their own families. Other merchants, taking advantage of the situation, would hoard essential supplies and attempt to profiteer from the misfortune of others.[62]

The following is a general overview of the situation in Ukraine reported upon as of the summer of 1919:

> The Civil War
>
> At the outset of 1919 an unparalleled wave of anti-Jewish riots - "Pogroms" - swept over Ukraine in connection with the civil war then raging. The story of this war may be boiled down in its main outline as below.

November 9, 1918 - Germany is convulsed by a revolutionary upheaval which is bound immediately to give rise in Ukraine (then under German military occupation) to a very acute political crisis; first of all to the uprising against the Hetmanship.

On Nov. 13, the Central Federation Ukrainia Tradeunions (Ucrentroproi) at its plenary session adopted a resolution to call a general political strike. Unorganized insurrectionary movements broke out in the Donetz River Basin wherever the Austrian troops were leaving the country. On Nov. 15 this mass movement broke out of the Tarashtcha Section, in the very province which contained Kiev. Guerrilla bands organized at all points under the command of Makhno, Liantukh, Grigoriev, etc. The "Directoriate" headed by Petliura assumed the leadership of the movement. The cities of Ekaterinslav, Kharkov and Odessa join the Directorate. Kiev is taken on Dec. 11.

However, simultaneously with the Petliurian movement, the Bolsheviks started a counter-movement. As early as the middle of November, the Ukrainian "Soviet" Government is organized at Kursk and takes the field against the Directorate. At the same time, the volunteer army begins its offensive, advancing into south-eastern Russia capturing berdiansk and Melitopol. By Dec. 18, the Allied Troops, having given battle to the Petliurians, take and occupy Odessa.

The Bolsheviks, advancing from North to South, capture Gomel, Gluchov, Sumy, Valuiky, Kupiansk, Kharkov, Ekaterinslav, and Feb. 2, 1919 - Kiev. The Directorate then gradually evacuates the entire Province of Kiev, crossing into the eastern borders of Volhynia and Podolia with its seat of government first at Zhitomir, then at Vinnitsa, and finally at Volochisk. On March 25, Derazhnia, midway between Zhmerinka and Proskurov was taken. Next, the Soviet troops reached Gusiatin at the Galician frontier.

However, at the beginning of March, Petliura, by marching from Sarny to Korosten, contrived to gain a strategical position - very seriously menacing Kiev. He captured Korosten, Malin, Irsha Station, and March 21 - Zhitomir. Reinforcements arrived in good time to settle this Peliurian breakthrough drive by April 1 and the above points were recaptured by the Soviets.

Meanwhile the Soviet troops occupied the South. March 17 Balzevo was taken, March 19 Makhno occupied Berdiansk, March 31 Melitopol, Ochakov, and Sivash. On April 6 Grigoriev entered Odessa, April 18 Sevastopol was occupied, and the April 24 Theodosia.

At the close of May, after Grigoriev's internal revolt against the Soviet government, the movement was reversed from South against North. Denikin occupied the Donetz River Basin - Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, etc. At the same time, Petliura repeatedly resumed his march against Kiev and in July

captured Zhmerinka. In general, however, the war in Volhynia and Podolia went on with alternate success and various places repeatedly changed hands.

The Pogroms

The civil war in Ukraine very soon began to drag into a wake of anit-Jewish outbreaks, which afterwards assumed the character of an extensive mass pogrom movement accompanied by acts of unspeakable and inconceivable ferocity and brutality. In connection with the external and internal fronts of the civil war, they may be classed into four groups:

1) Pogroms perpetrated by the Petliurians while engaged in war hostilities in capaturing or retreating from any place or during occupation.

2) Pogroms taking place after the retreat of the Petliurians from a given place and its occupation by the Soviet authorieties, and perpetrated by military units bolting from the main Petliurian army or by insurrectionary guerrilla gangs.

3) Pogroms perpetrated by whole military units of the Soviet army together with their commanding staffs, who had become traitors to the Soviet government and hoisted the banner of revolt against the same.

4) Pogroms by undisciplined and unstable communist units during the occupation of a given place while fighting Petliurians and gangsters.



Simon Petliura.
Petliura was the Ukrainian Nationalist leader of the Ukrainian militias that committed unspeakable attrocities against the Jews. He was assassinated in the streets of Paris in 1926 by Sholom Shvartsbard.

The pogroms of the first group were carried out principally within the provinces of Volhynia and Podolia, and , to a smaller extent, also in the provinces of Kiev, Poltava and Kherson. This difference in range is due to the the facts that the war waged against the

Petliurians in Eastern Ukraine (along the left shore of the Dnieper River) came to a close within a caparatively short time, so that the pogrom "mood" (i.e. the psychological disposition and feeling leading to pogrom outbreaks) had not time enough to develop its full possibilities. In Western Ukraine, however, the anti-Petliurian fight became a long drawn out affair.

The pogroms in the second group include anti-Jewish pillage outbreaks and large-scale slaughter carried out by a great variety of gangs headed by Struk, Sokolovsky, Selonyi, Mordalev and Golub - essentially branched-off sections of the Petlurian guerrilla troops acting on their own hook as free-lancers or in some way connected with the regular Petliurian forces.

The third group belong principally to the numerous pogroms perpetrated by Grigoriev and his henchmen.

The fourth group belong to such pogroms as the one at Rossava of March 3; at Zlatopol in May; at Korsten on March 13; and at Elisabethgrad on April 13.

All of the above cited pogroms may be reclassed chronologically (grouped by months). This new classification, far from clashing with the first one, will on the contrary and to a certain extent, give the latter added weight. And so the pogroms may be regrouped according to the double basis.

The last two months of 1918, during the first period of the Civil War (when the fight was headed mainly against Hetman Skoropadsky) were practically free from pogroms. The pogroms may be said to have begun with the new year of 1919.

Forms of Pogroms and Violence

Anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia prior to the 1919 period usually assumed the form of battering Jewish property (especially unfeathering of pillows), pillage, committing outrage and rape of women. Cases of murder were exceptional and still rarer were special brutal methods of murder. The 1919 pogrom epidemic was infinitely more ferocious in character. This is due to the fact that the pogromists not only profit by the connivance of the government (which used to be the case also during the former pogroms) but are now themselves the government. Whether a given pogrom is ordered by or traceable to the commanders of the regular Petliura regiments (Kozyr-Zyrka in Ovruch, Semosenko in Proskurov) or leaders (ataman) of various gangs, they, commanders or ataman are all the sole and sovereign masters of the given city or town and can do anything they please. The local Jewry found itself entirely unprotected.

Apart from this, the end of World War I put requisitions in vogue, while the revolution also inaugurated requisitions, contributions, and hostaging on a very large scale. All these new developments have to a very great extent diversified and enriched the methods and forms of the 1919 wave of pogroms.

The usual type of pogrom runs as follows. A gang breaks into a city or market town, scatters through the streets, dashes by groups into Jewish dwellings, kills anyone they find without distinction of age or sex, outrages women, extorts money, seizes everything that can be carried off, batters down ovens, smashes glass and other things in search of money and valuables. The first gang is followed by a second, then a third one, etc., until absolutely nothing is left that could be carried or carted away. Later on the work of destruction reaches the window panes, brickwork and beams. Both the killed and those left alive are stripped to their underwear and often even naked. A deputation of Jews or well-disposed Christians visits the powers that be to pray that the pogrom be stopped. The "powers" consent on condition that the Jews left alive pay in contribution. This contribution paid in, there come new demands to deliver so and so many pair of boots, so and so much meat, etc. At the same time groups of pogromists keep on terrorizing the Jews left over, extorting money, killing and committing rape. Finally, all the Jews without clothes, barefoot, without a penny in their pockets, rush to leave wherever chance will take them and finally flow together in the thousands in some neighboring city or market town.

This is the typical picture. The modifications in each case have to do only with the order in which the above acts appear, the method and character of killing, and the number of victims. Sometimes the contributions precede the slaughter, sometimes the Jewish residents escape with their lives before the gang arives, but their property is taken and destroyed. Sometimes the Jews are butchered to a man without distinction of sex and age (usually in small pieces).

The gangsters display fastidious taste, refinement and variety in their killing methods. The most frequent method is shooting dead by standing the victims "against the wall." For this purpose, the victims are not infrequently rushed to the railroad station beyond the limits of the city, to a cemetery, generally to some out of the way dumping place. But sometimes it's a pity to waste cartridges when the supply is small, and then the authorities order another mode of executions, such as using bayonets, sabres, forced drownings, hand grenades, burning, or being thrown from moving trains.

The total of all those who perished cannot be computed, as from a great number of locations there is either no information at hand or the figures obtained cannot be verified.

The wounds caused were extremely serious and multiple. The wounded rarely survive. Usually the pogromists finished them off by giving them the death blow and therefore the ratio of the wounded to the dead is far smaller than

is the case in war. Rape in June and July 1919 exceedingly increased in number. Gangs sometimes began their incursion, especially for outraging women, after everthing had been robbed to the last shred.

The loss of property damaged is beyond computation, but according to present prices is estimated at many billions of rubles. The overwhelming majority of market towns and villages have been totally cleared of Jewish property. In the cities only an insignificant part of the Jewry and their property were left. Many places were reduced to ashes. Other places suffered less from fires, but instead the houses were in ruins - windows battered out, sashes torn out, unshattered panes stolen - in the chaos and ruin.

Jewish Self-Defense

What measures did the urban and rural Jewry adopt to prevent pogroms? Did they show resistance to the pogromists? Was there any organized self-defense? The results obtained by the investigation of the pogroms even from this viewpoint disclose a very sad picture indeed. There was either no self-defense at all, or, when present, was not adequate or, at best and fighting bravely, was too weak to repel the attack of the progromists. Only at a few single instances (in market towns) the self-defense organization functioned successfully, beat off the attacks of the gangs and have so far prevented pogroms. Such lucky spots were: Bobopolis, Golta, Olviopol, Goloskovo, and Krivoe Ozero. However, at some of those places self-defense was organized only after the pogrom (Goloskovo, Krivoe Ozero).[63]

Jewish Revolutionaries

Benjamin Pulier described the Ukrainian Nationalists as "...'bandits.' These bands consisted of demobilized soldiers and other riff-raff who formed into cavalry groups and used to make pogroms on the Jews." Emanuel Pulier explained that they could not put together a Jewish self-defense force in Letichev because there were not enough young men and there were not enough guns and ammunition to supply them. His family owned a revolver, but it did them no good because they did not have any bullets. But even if they were able to organize a self-defense force, they were afraid of provoking the Gentiles into possibly more attacks on the community. With each change of government, the authorities would demand that arms be turned in. If one was caught with a gun, he could be killed on the spot.[64]

Emanuel Pulier reported the following:

A young Jewish man, working in a drugstore owned by friends of our family, suddenly resigned his position and actively joined the [Bolshevik] Revolutionary forces. No one would ever have expected that this quite unassuming man would ever become active. I knew him personally, seeing him quite often in my friend's house where he was having three meals a day as part of his salary. He never spoke, never associated with anyone and one would see him constantly reading while eating his meals.



Unidentified Jewish soldiers from Letichev.
Courtesy of YIVO.

This very unassuming young man, upon joining the Revolution, became one of its leaders. One bright, sunny day, ten prominent men in our town were arrested and a day later, brutally shot on the outskirts of the city. You can't imagine what a tremendous impact this incident caused to the city's population. Among the dead were a police officer, two Jewish merchants and others (I can't remember their names or occupations). One of the Jewish merchants was the father of a personal friend of mine. The rumor circulated that the young man from the drugstore signed their death sentences. There was no trial, no denunciation - simply a warning that the Revolution meant business and will stand watch to safeguard the conquest of the people.

Consequently, not long after, a reactionary group invaded the city and this young man was killed while hiding in a wagon of hay.[65]

This young man was apparently Naum Sandler, a worker in a pharmacy store-house who was appointed Commissar of Labor by the regional Bolshevik revolutionaries in 1918. Other members of the Letichev city council of the day included: Kuperman, cab-man Ios Sotskher, tailor Isaak Pergament, Perelmiter, Godshteyn, and Yakov Ratner became Commissar of Finances.[66]

Abraham Revutsky, the minister of Jewish Affairs in the Ukraine from 1918 to 1919, recalled in his memoirs :

> ... I began to solve the puzzle of why there had been an increase in deaths on the railroads concurrently with a quiescence in pogroms [in the spring of

1919]. I was travelling through Zhmerinka en route from Odessa to Galicia and found an order, dated at the end of December 1918. It was signed by Petliura as the highest-ranking military commander. That order did not have a word about Jews, but nevertheless I think it negated all our endeavors to combat excesses on the railroads. In it, Petliura gave notice that he was making all military station commanders responsible for careful surveillance of all passengers for those who might be suspected of espionage and for requiring from each more-or-less suspicious-looking person a certificate issued by the Ukrainian authorities. If it turned out that such an individual was without this identification, then he must be dealth with by military law.[67]

The Proskurov Pogrom

One of the worst attrocities of the Ukrainian Civil War took place in Proskurov, just outside of Letichev District on February 15, 1919. Estimates vary as to the number of Jews killed, from a low of 1,500 to a high estimate of about 6,500. This event was the worst single day mass killing of Jews this century prior to the Holocaust.



Wounded survivors of the Proskurov pogrom.

What follows is a list of Jews who were killed in the Proskurov pogrom who are documented as coming from the Letichev District. More than likely, these people themselves had fled before similar pogroms in their own towns, only to be caught in a particularly brutal pogrom in Proskurov:[68]

NAME	AGE	TOWN
Akselband, Moshe ben Nuta	52	Medzhibozh
Blekhman, Sima bat Zelig	42	Medzhibozh
Blekhman, Yakov	42	Medzhibozh
Blekhman, Yekhel Dov ben Yakov	18	Medzhibozh
Blekhman, Ezriel ben Yakov	14	Medzhibozh
Blekhman, Mekhlya bat Yakov	10	Medzhibozh
Blekhman, Rivka bat Yakov	9	Medzhibozh
Blekhman, Batya bat Yakov	6	Medzhibozh
Broitman, Pinkhas ben Shmuel	26(or 46?)	Medzhibozh

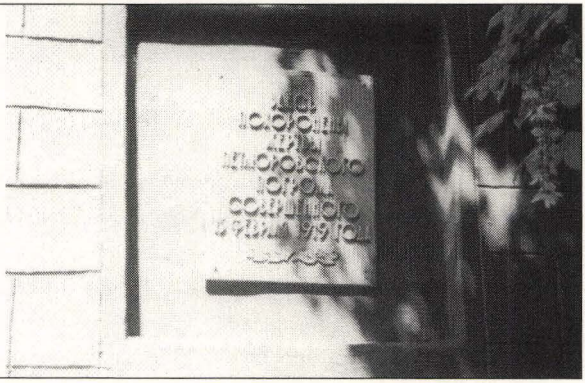
Gamarnik, Dovid ben Khaim	19	Letichev
Gelfand, Gitel bat Yakov Leib	31	Medzhibozh
Gluzberg, Tsiporah bat Moshe	19	Mikhalpol
Guberman, Sara bat Moshe	31	Zinkov
Guberman, Yokheved bat Tsvi	40	Medzhibozh
Kohen, Shmuel ben Zalmen	41	Zinkov
Pikavsky, Tsvi ben Nusin	53	Letichev
Valitsky, Dovid ben Khaim	39	Medzhibozh
Vaynshteyn, Raiza bat Khaim	19	Medzhibozh
Veitser, Frima bat Avraham	30	Letichev
Zaltsman, Aharon bat Itskhak	48	Mikhalpol
Zaltsman, Itskhak ben Aharon	8	Mikhalpol
Zeltser, Yakov ben Tsvi	70	Mikhalpol
Zeltser, Raiza bat Mekhel	51	Mikhalpol
Zeltser, Khaim ben Yakov	17	Mikhalpol

From another list[69] was the name of the following, who was wounded in the pogrom and was treated in the Proskurov Hospital - Tenzer, Sheina bat Yankel, 22, who was probably the daughter of Yankel Tenzer of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan; Yankel Tenzer had left the colony to live in Proskurov.

As was typical in pogroms of that era, Jews fled the slaughter anyway they could, typically by running to the next town. Medzhibozh was one place where



Mass grave of the victims of the Proskurov pogrom.



Inscription at the Proskurov pogrom mass grave monument.
Photo by D. Chapin, 1995.

many survivors of the Proskurov pogrom fled.[70] There was an old legend that said that the town of Medzhibozh was protected by the spirit of the Baal Shem Tov, who, from his grave in the cemetery, was always watching over the welfare of the Jews. When Petliura's forces were marching westward along THE ROAD FROM LETICHEV, they bypassed Medzhibozh and the slaughter occurred in Proskurov instead. This was credited to the protective spirit of the Baal Shem Tov by the locals.[71]

Letichev District Pogrom Chronology

• *Derazhnia, December 1, 1917*

The Executive Committee of the township of Derazhnia (Podolia), in their letter No. 73, dated December 1, 1917, state that the 267th Infantry Reserve Regiment and the 288th Perm Detachment ("Druzhina"), both garrisoned there, and also certain units of the 31st Army Corps which were passing throught the town, systematically looted and set fire to Jewish shops. The patrols of the 267th Regiment on duty and the militia did not interfere with the looters and in some cases even actively participated in the robberies.[72]

• *Derazhnia, December 1918*

The army of the Directorate that occupied Derazhnia beat the Jews, broke into their homes and shops, destroyed their belongings, raped their women, tortured the Jews who fell into their hands with tremendous brutality. This all happened in December 1918. The Jews of Derazhnia petitioned the Jewish community in Vinnitsa, which at the time was Petliura's capital, with a request to intervene on their behalf to stop what was happening. In January 1919 the Vinnitsa Jewish delegation approached the Chairman of the Directorate and told him about what was happening with the soldiers and what they were doing and they asked him to come out with an order to stop those things from happening. Based on the efforts of the leaders of the Jewish community in Vinnitsa came [an order to stop the pogroms].[73]

Cossacks from Bratslav arrived in Derazhnia by train Sunday night, January 5, 1919. They shouted "Jews are Bolsheviks" and pulled Jewish passengers off the train and Jewish residents from their homes in the streets near the train station. As they struck Jews with their rifle butts and stabbed them with their bayonets the Cossacks yelled, "Moishe, Leiba, Yankel, go to Palestine!" Jews were terrorized from three o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock in the

morning (January 6). Although many Jews were beaten and robbed, I know the names of only a few : Kusher; Lukatcher; and the Prebelsky brothers. As I departed from Derazhnia the head of the Jewish community there asked me to report this to the authorities in Vinnitsa.[74]

• *Derazhnia, January 1919*

During much of January, Petliurists attacked Jews at the train station.[75]

TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF VINNITSA.

The Commander of the Army Corps wrote the following decision upon your petition:

"You had better take all necesary steps: (1) That the members of the Derazhnia Jewish Community do not agitate in favor of the Soviets; (2) that nothing is done to defend the population of the district of Letichev, for in that case my Cossacks will consider the aremed forces of Letichev supporters of the Bolsheviks; and will exterminate them. But before all you must keep watch over and yourselves arrest all suspicious persons and agitators who are hostile to the Ukrainian People's Republic. In this way, you will prove yourselves true citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic, recognizing and supporting the Directory."

For my part, I have ordered an inquiry into the events of Derazhnia, January 1919.

Signed by the Chief of Staff of the 2nd Podolia Corps and the Chief of Section of the General Staff.[76]

• *Letichev, January 7- January 15, 1919*

Many Jews were beaten and 16 women were raped. The slogan identifying Jews as Bolsheviks and throwing on Jews the responsibility for all pro-Bolshevik actions was easily adopted by the commanders of the various Ukrainain army units, and a policy of anti-Semitc agitation in official proclamations was pursued by many of them. Ataman Volynetz, the commander of the "Petliura Gaisin District Detachment " in January 1919 issued a proclamation in the region of Medzhibozh-Letichev wherein he wrote: "By order of the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic [i.e., the Directory] I have come into the district of Letichev to assist the local authorities in their fight against the Bolshevik-Jewish bands."[77]

LETICHEV. Urgent telegram to the Jewish National Secretariat, Kiev, 3, Trekhsviatitelskaya Street.

Position Letichev tragic; people are robbed, assaulted, women violated, honorable innocent persons arrested, flogged. Civil authorities try to intervene, but powerless. On pretext searches houses broken into even at night; life complete standstill. Implore immediate help.

Jewish Community, Letichev[78]

TO THE JEWISH NATIONAL SECRETARY FROM THE KHMELNIK JEWISH COMMUNITY: Today, January 14, 1919, we gave to you the telegram from the Letichev Jewish community concerning the violence which is being committed upon the Jews of Letichev. We can add that in Letichev there has been seven days of anarchy. The peaceful inhabitants, who took no part in the political movements, are bearing severe misery. It is not possible to describe with words the terror which these Jews have had to endure. On January 12, twenty-one cases of rape and robbery occured. We ask you to pass the most severe measures to stop the pillage of the unlucky Jews of Letichev. The danger is immense and it is spreading to the surrounding towns and villages.

Signed :

E. Kuper; Moshe Mandel; Sirota; Grebelsky[79]



Orphans of a Petliuran pogrom in Podolia.

TO THE JEWISH NATIONAL SECRETARY FROM THE DELEGATE OF THE LETICHEV JEWISH COMMUNITY, JANUARY 19, 1919: I am informing you of the recent eight days of violence against the Jews of Letichev. The political life is different than that of other towns. Most party membership in Letichev is split between the Cadets and the

Zionists. The Bund has few members; it is comprised of young people and some craftsmen. The head of the Bund is Temkin, who appeared in Letichev with a detachment of the revolutionary army led by local commander Schterbluk. During the first days the detachment was occupied with arresting landowners. Ten landowners were taken out of Letichev and killed without a trial on the same day that Schterbluk went to Staro-Konstantinov. When he returned, he was offended that the decision was made to kill the landowners without him, but he was satisfied that the power was in the hands of the revolutionary staff. In order to reestablish his power as commander he informed the peasants that the power is in the hands of the Jews, despite the fact that not one Jew is in the local Bolshevik pary. He said that all Jews in Letchev must be killed.

Petliura's detachment appeared in Letichev from different sides and opened fire. Over four hundred people who happened to be on the streets were arrested. For twenty-four hours they were tortured and severely beaten with sticks. At the same time robberies and beatings took place in Jewish homes. When the soldiers came to Christian homes, they apologized for entering and then left. On the pretext of making searches they enter Jewish homes, steal all of the clothes and shoes, torture the Jews, and rape before the eyes of husbands and parents. Most victims state that this was done by officer Boiko. He arrested one old Jew--Eivin--who complained about the rape of his daughter. Boiko declared that Eivin would be killed at night. This ugliness has not stopped to yesterday, when I left Letichev. The Hetman demanded that the Jews deliver to him Sandler, the head of the Jewish Bund; otherwise, there would be further outrages against the Jews. The Hetman's staff went into the home of the wealthy Jew Krizshtein. The house was emptied of everything and then destroyed. Krizshtein lost 200,000 rubles. The Jews here are attacked, robbed, tormented.

Signed:

Ber Khaimovich Puler[80]

* * *

Memorandum from the Jewish National Secretariat in the Ukraine to the Minister for War of the Ukrainian People's Republic, January 1919.

Supplementary to the report presented herewith, the Jewish National Secretariat deem it their duty to give concrete instances of the measures which must be immediately taken by authorities to prevent and to stop pogroms.

1) There must be an immediate cessation of all announcements or communications emanating from the central authorities in which directly or indirectly wholesale charges are made against the whole or parts of Jewry of disloyalty to the Ukrainian People's Republic or of Anarchist-Bolshevist tendencies, as such charges serve to support and foment pogrom agitation in the province.

2) Committees of Inquiry with extensive powers having among their members representatives of the elected organs of the Jewish population (Jewish National Secretariat and the Jewish Community) must be appointed and sent immediately to establish the facts and to send those guilty to trial.

3) A grant of money must be made from State funds to compensate for damage done to the Jewish inhabitants who have suffered from the pogrom. The allocation of these grants must be carried out with the participation of central and local representative organs of the Jewish population.

4) All official persons who have organized or connived at the pogroms must be removed from office and sent to trial. Any sentence imposed by the court must be made public.

5) A special department having wide powers must be attached to the War Office to fight pogrom crimes. The National Secretariat must be enabled to apply to that section whenever an immediate intervention of the authorities may be necessary to prevent or stop a pogrom.

In addition to the above general measures, the Jewish National Secretariat have the honor of requesting you, Sir, to issue orders containing the following specific measures which are urgently required in a number of towns and townships and would probably stop or prevent pogroms:

1) To send telegraphic orders to Letichev (province of Podolia) removing from office and sending to trial Ataman Shtcherbluk and his assistant, the Officer Boiko, who are terrorizing the Jewish population. To order the local Commissar to take all necessary measures to stop the pogrom

[...]

All of the above measures are absolutely necessary and urgent. The Ukrainian National Committee is sure, Sir, that you will see to it that they are all carried out.

Kiev, January 1919[81]

• *Medzhibozh, January 12, 1919*

Many Jews were beaten by the Gaisin Batallion of Petliura.[82]

TO THE JEWISH NATIONAL SECRETARY FROM THE LETICHEV JEWISH COMMUNITY: A detachment went to Medzhibozh. Situation calm. Thank Commissar Kharusia for stopping this pogrom. Advise him to make an investigation.[83]

• *Volkovintsy, February 7-8, 1919*

Many Jews whipped by Petliurists.[84]

Our shtetl Volkovintsy is only 50 *sazhenes* from the railroad station. As such, we have little time to prepare ourselves when the pogromists arrived by train. Before daylight on February 7th, 1919, a group of bandits arrived with their arms



Wounded pogrom survivors from Podolia.

of destruction. They did not hesitate and rode right into the shtetl through all of the streets. There were many of them, and they made so much noise-- the townspeople became frozen with fear. The Jews were ordered out of their homes and gathered together. The murderers began beating everyone--blood gushed from those who were beaten . After 15 or 20 minutes, they were not satisfied with this ruthlessness, and they went from house to house searching and stealing. They called everyone out of their homes--people wanted to run from the hands of these murderers. Every Jew was frightened. Children became separated from their parents. Some people hid in cellars, attics, ditches. Others fled to the forest . Some ran to the cemetery, where they dropped from exhaustion and fear. They lost their energy and strength and suffocated in the snow. How lucky they were that the snow covered them and turned them into graves. We envied the dead, as they had found their peace...Some people ran to the local peasants, asking to be hidden--but they had no pity for their Jewish neighbors and did not provide shelter. Money was demanded from the Jews. Three or four broken Jews came out of their hiding places and awkwardly gathered some contributions. From that time we began counting our days of

darkness. Shortly afterward we heard of the devastation of the Proskurov pogrom, just a few train stations away...[85]

* * *

8,000 people live here; of that, 600 are Jews. The Jews engage in trades and businesses. The relationship between Jews and Christians was not full of hate. On February 7, 1919, a band of pogromist soldiers ordered the engineer to stop the train as they wanted to "deal with the Jews." They came into the shtetl and stayed 2 days. There were rapes and beatings. Their commander demanded money and goods. All of their demands were filled. The militia of the city was neutral and did nothing. The pogrom stopped on February 8. The one guilty for the pogrom was the Ataman Okhoroze--he was the one who had the train stopped so that his men could terrorize the Jews, "because the Jews are Communists." The Ataman demanded 40,000 rubles, which was paid...From then on, other groups came. Bolshevik groups came before Passover 1919 and demanded goods and money. Altogether, 8 different bands came to our town. The local Christians helped to agitiate the soldiers which arrived, saying that "the Jews are trying to take over the country." Eight days after Shavuos the Ukrainian Zaporozhians came to Volkovintsi. They demanded bread and pork. This demand was met. They demanded that only Jews should work everyday. After they left, Bolsheviks came and went, then another Ukrainian group , Tu-Taovits, came in July 1919. They arrested 34 Jewish hostages. 6 Jews were to be shot, but workers of the railroad interceded and saved them. 150,000 rubles were demanded--if it was not paid, the 34 arrested Jews were to be killed. Total devastation in our town: 5 million rubles.[86]

- *Zinkov, March-April 1919*

Many Jews beaten; many rapes.[87]

- *Zinkov, July 5, 1919*

Sokolov's men kill twenty-four; one hundred and fifty wounded.[88]

- *Mikhalpol, July 7-8, 1919*

The Third Regiment of Haidamaks of the Ukrainian National Army kill six; wound three; many rapes.[89]

On the 7th of July, the 63rd Haidamak division came to Mikhalpol. On Monday the 9th, Tuesday the 10th, and Wednesday the 11th, the Tarastanches (an Asiatic group)arrived. They all robbed, beat and terrorized the Jews. Women were gang-raped by soldiers. Children were struck with swords. The commandant was given 25,000 rubles, barley, bread, meat, chickens, but the violence did not end.

Five Jews were killed :

1. Yitzkhak Simes
2. Mishe Sirota
3. Mishes's son Khaim Sirota (a Zionist)
4. Hirsch, son of Zusya, Natanzon (a radical member of Poale-Tsion)
5. Yekhel, son of Moshe, Zeltser. He was taken out of the town and killed because he did not have any money.

Three Jews were wounded :

1. Yekhel, son of Moshe Gutman: 4 wounds.
2. Yitzkhak Tsinman: left hand broken; treated in the Proskurov hospital.
3. Khaim Baratz: 3 teeth knocked out.

Other groups also made pogroms:
Petliurist: pogrom lasted 48 hours.
Bolsheviks: pogrom lasted 72 hours.

The community made a summary of the damages. 20,000 rubles are needed for private credit; 20,000 rubles are needed for community repairs (the public bathhouse was destroyed.)[90]

• *Derazhnia, July 7-July 17, 1919*

REPORT TO THE COMMANDER OF THE UKRAINIAN ARMY ABOUT EXCESSES OF POGROMS: We have been informed about the pogroms which are occurring in Derazhnia and vicinity that the soldiers of the Republican army have been attacking innocent Jews. Life in Derazhnia is at a standstill. The Jewish community of Vinnitsa asks you to take measures that will prevent the repeat of such outrages.

signed , B. Fainshtein, President of the Vinnitsa Jewish community[91]

• *Kolonia Staro Zakrevsky Meidan, July , 1919*

On a Friday afternoon, a group of approximately 30 drunken soldiers of Petliura's army rode into town. The men were working out in the fields; most of the women in the town were at home preparing for the Sabbath. As the soldiers began firing their rifles, many townspeople bolted into the woods. Four men were killed. Khaskel Gorenshteyn, an old man who had two sons in America, had tried to hide behind a door when he was shot. Mordechai Bar, who taught Hebrew in the *kheder* was also killed. So was Morris Tenzer, approximately 22 years old and a young man named Shansky, aged 19. The soldiers had wagons in which they piled whatever goods they could steal. The soldiers intimidated the townspeople by placing guns to their mouths and threatening to shoot them if they were not given money or valuables. As people tried to escape from their homes they were attacked by soldiers. Sosya Kaliner's arm was slashed by a knife as she jumped out a window, fleeing from Petliura's men.

The pogrom left the town shaken but there were other incidents that occurred as well. On another occasion Yosef Zinshteyn was arrested with his cousin Nakhman Zinshteyn who was visiting from Medzhibozh. They were taken to the jail in Letichev, stripped naked, and were whipped. It was not until Yosef's father, Abraham, came with money and goods for a bribe that the two young men were released. At a later date some townspeople saw a lone armed soldier snooping around town, looking for things to steal. He became nervous and ran into the fields but was apprehended by Yosef and some others. The soldier was brought to headquarters in Letichev but was not disciplined.[92]

• *Goloskov, July 1919*

Beatings, robberies.[93]

• *Volkovintsy, July-August, 1919*

Petliurists hold Jews hostage for money.[94]

• *Zinkov, September, 1919*

Petliurists beat many Jews.[95]

• *Derazhnia, Early 1920*

Rose Pesotta's father, Isaak Peisoty, was killed by Petliurists. According to one story, after hearing soldiers knocking on his door, he opened the door of his house carrying bread and salt to greet them. He was shot dead in the doorway.[96] According to another account (which was probably more realistic), he was killed protecting his daughters from being raped by the soldiers. Refusing to reveal their hiding place, he was taken to another room of the house and shot.[97]

• *Zinkov, May 8, 1920*

Many beatings and rapes by Galicians.[98]

The shtetl of Zinkov has 1500 Jewish families. The relationship between the Jews and the Christians is not bad. The city, before the pogrom, was occupied by the local militia. No Bolshevik militia was there. No agitation to cause a pogrom occurred during the period of the Communist regime. When the front moved over to Zinkov, the Jews began to fear a pogrom. The populace hid in cellars and turned to Christians in an attempt to make a joint self-defense force. The Christians agreed but nothing ever happened.

When the Ukrainian divisions came in, they announced, "Beat up the Jews." The 6th, 7th, and 9th Divisions of the Zaporozhye Sitch passed through. The soldiers robbed the city. The peasants from the area only took that which the military left. They asked the Jewish community to pay 15,000 rubles to cover military expenses. Officially, they asked the Jewish community to give bread. Even the inspector of the 9th Division threatened that if the Jews don't give over everything, the Cossacks will "raise a little havoc." This was all carried out under open swords.

Three weeks passed. In the end, they left the city, and then the Bolsheviks came - who within two days robbed the entire city. They also turned to the Jews to give them oats and bread. Then they left the city. Afterwards, a Ukrainian militia entered the city - under the command of the Pole Diatchenko - with them was also the "Yesaul Bashka." They killed one Jeewish man and one Jewish woman. They robbed a few houses. Following this the Galitzianer militia came and it became a little calmer.

The total amount of damage to the Jewish community added up to 212,000 rubles. During the whole time of the unrest, the Jews only turned for help to the inspector for the commander who did not want to do anything at all. Along the way, one of them, afraid of Ataman Bashka, killed 5 Jews. One of the victims was a carpenter not associated with any political party. Bashka gave a fiery speech to the Jewish populace, full with hatred, in which he told them that they should all leave the Ukraine for Palestine, or he will kill all of them...[99]

* * *

Two and a half months ago the Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian army, together with Ataman Bashka came to Zinkov. That same day, they demanded of the poplulace of Zinkov that they should set up barracks for the sick soldiers, using funds of the community. If not, the soldiers will send hooligans into the city. It was understood that these demands were to be fulfilled within two hours. The next demand was to support the militia. On the second day, an officer came through. For 10,000 rubles, this officer agreed to pass his soldiers through quietly. (These were the same soldiers that robbed Solobkovelts the first time they went through.)

The Jews together with 100 others have to work from morning until late at night accumulating food and provisions in order that the soldiers should be satisfied.

Still the soldiers do their work: they go from house to house, robbing and confiscating everything. When the commander of the Mazepa Division, Samarsky, was the commander of Zinkov, he took 308,000 rubles from B. Vertsman and Yitskhok Fradis. They left a gift with Fradis - they split open his head.

The community tried everything to inform the high and mighty concerning what is going on, but there was not any response...

The wagon driver, Tsvi Ekster, was robbed of his horse and wagon. The family is left without a means to live...

By the second time they came into Zinkov, there were killings as well. They came to Avraham Roizenblit (a carpenter) in his house at night and demanded that he give up his sister. After finishing talking, They killed him, wounded his brother, and left his sister naked...[100]

• *Medzhibozh, Succos, 1920*

Petliurists kill eight Jews.[101]

When the revolution came and we were free, the pogroms began: Petliuira, Denikin, Chekesiya. They didn't come to fight the war, the first thing they did was to kill the Jews. Every group that came had another way of killing. The Chekesiyam had a way not to kill Jews with bullets. The bullets were too precious, so they used swords. The way they used to do it: the soldier would be on a high horse and he would have a big sword and as Jews passed by, especially children, they stuck the sword into the child and pulled them up to the horse,

then throw them down again. I saw children bleeding because they were taken like that. And adults too. Then another group would come and they would have another way of killing Jews. It went on and on and on all the time.

My mother used to earn the living because she was alone with five children. During that time nobody had bread because there was no flour. Because my mother had a little store where she used to sell cheap things to the Ukrainian peasants, she knew them well. Once she dressed up like a peasant and she went to one of the markets and she begged the peasants for things like wheat seeds. And she brought these to Medzhibozh, but the mill was confiscated. No Jews were allowed to use the mill. But my mother looked like a peasant, so they let her turn her wheat into flour. She came home with the flour and made bread. The dough was all made and she put it in the oven.

Just then there was an alarm and we had to run into the shelters. My mother didn't want to go because she wanted to save the bread. Because she refused to go



Victims of a pogrom in Proskurov, Nov. 20, 1920.
Victims of a pogrom by Petliura and Denikin. From left to right: Kupshik, unnamed, Mendel Zlotchin, Rapoport. The identified victims were probably from Letichev District. Photo courtesy of Dinah Foglia.

to the shelter, her brother Uncle Borukh slapped her on the face and carried her down to the shelter. After the alarm, when we came out of the shelter two days later, there was no bread left. That happened a few times.

We used to laugh about it later that everytime my mother bakes bread, we had to go hide in the shelter.[102]

Emanuel Pulier's description of the Polish invasion:

During this chaotic time, Poland, recently rising from the ashes of the First World War, attacked Russia hoping to annex the Ukraine while the Soviets were busily engaged in fighting the White Armies. Polish troops occupied Letichev and while there was a semblance of peace, the soldiers amused themselves by abusing the Jews. Their favorite thing was to cut off the beards of the old Jews and otherwise humiliate them.

Benjamin Pulier's description of the Polish invasion:

During the Russian-Polish War in 1920, the front was in our city for three months. The Poles were in the city and the Bolsheviks were besieging it and bombarding it every day. I still smile when I recollect how Manny and I used to count to thirteen after hearing each cannon shot because it takes thirteen seconds between the shot and the explosion of the bomb. The Bolsheviks were poor shots and the city sustained little damage.



The Pulier Family of Letichev, 1921. Standing: Emanuel Pulier and Benjamin Pulier. Seated Sarah Gershenzwit Pulier and Samuel Pulier. Courtesy of Suzanne Pulier.

I remember one morning at about 7:00 am I was hiding in our garden (we lived in the center of the city) and I saw a company of Polish soldiers running in the street about to attack the Bolsheviks. I saw many Polish soldiers fall to the ground pretending to be hurt because they were afraid to attack, and their officers clubbed them with their rifle butts.[103]

Chapter Notes:

1. Aronson, I. Michael, 1990, *Troubled Waters:* University of Pittsburgh Press, p. 51.
2. In Russian, the word for riot is *bezporyadki* - less severe than a pogrom.
3. *Russki Evrei*, Sept. 1881, column 1342, correspondence from I. Shvartsman of Medzhibozh. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport.
4. *Russki Evrei*, Oct. 1881, correspondence from I. Shvartsman of Medzhibozh. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport.
5. Ibid.
6. The dates are given according to the Russian (Julian) calendar. Add 12 days to convert to the modern (Gregorian) calendar.
7. Dubnow, Simon, 1973, *History of the Jews, Vol. V:* Thomas Yoseloff Publishers, p. 533-540.
8. *Russki Evrei*, April 1882. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport.
9. *Russki Evrei*, No. 15, April 1882, columns 552-553. Translated from Russian by Leonid Rapoport. In some court documents, it was stated that the pogrom began at 9 pm.
10. GAKhO (Governor's Archive, Khmelnitsky Oblast), delo 5953, p. 242-243 (police report). Translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.
11. The deaths were not mentioned in the official police report. One death was referred to in Kantorshtik's April 4 correspondence in *HaMelits*, 13/25 April, column 276, translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg. Two deaths are mentioned in his correspondence of April 11 in *Russki Evrei*, No. 15, April 1882. The dead were not identified; however it is possible that one of them was named Yakov Rosenblat (Personal correspondence with Boris Feldblym, Aug. 7, 1997).
12. Told to Pauline Zimmerman Chapin by her mother, Dena Singer Zimmerman (Israel's daughter).
13. GAKhO, delo 5953, p. 248-253 (counselor's report). Translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.
14. Ibid, p. 242-243.
15. *HaMelits*, 13/25 April 1882, Translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg.
16. GAKhO, delo 5953, p. 242-243.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. *HaMelits*, 13/25 April 1882. Translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg.
20. "Pogrom chronicle," *Voshkhod*, No. 15, Friday, April 9, column 373. The account was brief because the Letichev events were mild in comparision with other pogroms happening at the same time, such as the one in Balta.
21. Ibid.
22. *Russki Evrei*, April 1882, column 630, Medzhibozh correspondence from I. Shvartsman.
23. GAKhO, delo 5953, p. 253-254. Translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid, p. 257-258. Translated from Russian by Leonid Shpirt.
26. *Russki Evrei*, April 11, 1882, correspondence from Kantorshtik.
27. Ignatiev correspondence, Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, microfilm HMF 159.
28. GAKhO, delo 5953, p. 140.

29. Ibid.

30. *HaMelits*, 13/25 April 1882. Translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg.

31. Ibid.

32. cf. *New York Times*, April 15 and April 22, 1882.

33. Klier, John D., and Lambroza, Shlomo, 1992, "The pogroms of 1881-1884," in *Pogroms: anti-Jewish violence in modern Russian history:* Cambridge Univ. Press p. 40-41.

34. These so-called "temporary" decrees remained in effect for over 25 years, until the Russian Revolution in 1917.

35. Berk, Stephen M., 1985, *Year of Crises, Year of Hope:* Greenwood Press, p.75.

36. Ibid.

37. *Russki Evrei*, June 1882, No. 27, by Ios. Kantorshtik.

38. He and his children are listed in numerous registers at the time. Even the name "Kupstov" is Russian for "merchant".

39. Harriet Hollander interview, July 1993, Dallas, Texas. Harriet is the great-great-granddaughter of Aaron Kupstov.

40. *HaMelits*, 27 July (8 Aug.) 1882, p. 588. Article by Kantorshtik. Translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. *Zarya*, Kiev Court News, July 24, 1882, from the Provisional Department of Kiev Military District Court in Letichev, by *Zarya* Staff Correspondent, translated from Russian by Leonid Shpirt.

44. In the Russian, it says "Gvalt" which is the transliterated Yiddish expression for "Oh my."

45. *Zarya*, Kiev Court News, July 25, 1882, from the Provisional Department of Kiev Military District Court in Letichev, by *Zarya* Staff Correspondent, translated from Russian by Leonid Shpirt. Addtional witnesses in the case were Srul Kleyman and Feropont Shenderovsky.

46. Ibid. Addtional witnesses in this case were Shneyer Rapoport, Volko Shmukler, Shlomo Tretyak, and nobleman Lishinsky and Ponovsky.

47. Ibid.

48. Benyamin Lukin, editor, 1997, *Sto Evreiskikh Mestechek Ukraini*: *Podoliya*: St. Petersburg-Jerusalem, p. 149.

49. *HaMelits*, 8 (20) Nov 1886 #246, p. 3. Article by Meir Kantorshtik. Translated from Hebrew by Michael Meiberg.

50. Judge, Edward H.,1992, *Easter in Kishinev: Anatomy of Pogrom*, New York University Press, p. 145.

51. Interview, David Weinstock, 1996.

52. Pesotta, Rose, 1958, *Days of our Lives*: Excelsior Publ., Boston, p. 73.

53. GARF, Moscow, police records (Fond 102), file on Grubshteyn.

54. Shlomo Labroza, "The Pogroms of 1903-1906," in *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*: edited by John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 228. See also, *America Jewish Yearbook, 1906-1907*, "From Kishinev to Bialystok," in which some, but not all, of the pogroms are listed.

55. Pesotta, Rose, 1958, *Days of our Lives*: Excelsior Publ., Boston, p. 72.

56. Yoshpa, Nakhum, "The self-defense organization in Zinkov," p. 64-66, from *Pinkas Zinkov*. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

57. Pesotta, Rose, 1958, *Days of our Lives*: Excelsior Publ., Boston, p. 22.

58. Unpublished manuscript about Benjamin Pulier, courtesy of Suzanne Pulier.

59. Benjamin Lukin, editor, 1997, *Sto Evreiskikh Mestechek Ukraini*: *Podoliya*: St. Petersburg-Jerusalem, p. 118.

60. Ibid.

61, "How Tsar Nikolai II was dethroned in Zinkov", by Moshe Garber, p. 77. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

62. *Izvestiia*, No. 120, July 31, 1917, From Golder, Frank Alfred, 1964, *Documents of Russian History - 1914-1917*; Peter Smith, Gloucester, MA., p. 381.

63. Excerpts from Report by the Head of the Information Branch, Committee of the Russian Red Cross Society for the relief of Pogrom Sufferers. Written during the summer of 1919, Joint Distribution Committee Records (Record Group 256).

64. Unpublished memoir of Emanuel and Benjamin Pulier of Letichev. Provided by Suzanne Pulier.

65. Ibid.

66. Central Archives of the October Revolution, Kharkov, fond 1792, inventory 1, file 39, p. 115-119. Listed in Oslikovskay, E.S., 1978, *Bolshie Sobytiya v Malenkom Gorod* (Big events in a small town): Kiev. This book is about revolutionary events which took place in 1918 Letichev.

67. Revutsky, Abraham, 1998, W*renching times in Ukraine: Memoir of a Jewish Minister:* translated by Sam Revusky and Moishe Kantrowitz, Yksuver Publishing, Newfoundland, Canada, page 225.

68. *Khurbn Proskurov (Sacrifice in Proskurov)*, 1924, New York; names extracted from p. 77-104 by Ben Weinstock.

69. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, document #35342, entry #42 (in French).

70. *Bagrovaya Kniga*, 1922, p. 151-153.

71. Interview of Dora Zichroni by Asher Fischman, Jerusalem, 1996.

72. Committee of the Jewish Delegations, 1927, *The Pogroms in the Ukraine Under the Ukrainian Governments (1917-1920)*, p. 7. This particular account also noted that the Chairman of the Jewish Council in Kiev sent a telegram to the Jewish National Secretariat noting the pogroms in several towns including Derazhnia that took place during October 17 and 18, 1917.

73. *Megillat HaTevah* (1927), p. 62.

74. Report of A. Glikman of Vinnitsa, eyewitness to events in Derazhnia. Translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.

75. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, Document #35375.

76. Committee of the Jewish Delegations, 1927, *The Pogroms in the Ukraine Under the Ukrainian Governments (1917-1920)*, Annex No. 9, p. 131.

77. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, document #35844.

77. Committee of the Jewish Delegations, 1927, *The Pogroms in the Ukraine Under the Ukrainian Governments (1917-1920)*, Annex No. 11, p. 133. (Ukrainian original in Archives Jewish National Secretariat, Ukraine)

79. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, document #29831. Translated from Yiddish by J. Michoel Ronn.

80. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, document #29832. Translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.

81. Committee of the Jewish Delegations, 1927, *The Pogroms in the Ukraine Under the Ukrainian Governments (1917-1920)*, Annex No. 19, p. 167-169. (Original report is preserved in the archives of the Jewish National Secretariat of the Ukraine.)

82. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, Document #35375.

83. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, document #29830. Translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.

84. Wiesenthal, Simon, 1987, *Every Day Remembrance*: Henry Hold & Co., N.Y.

85. Report of the Valkevinitz Helfs Committee. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

86. Reported by M. Kutar, for M. Siegal. Dated December 21, 1919. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

87. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, Document #35382.

88. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, Document #35375.

89. Wiesenthal, Simon, 1987, *Every Day Remembrance:* Henry Hold & Co., N.Y.

90. Reported by R. Shvalboim, September 1919; received by the Central Committee November 23, 1919. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

91. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, document # 29100. Translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.

92. Based on interviews with Joseph Stein and Roza Vaks.

93. *Bagrovaya Kniga,* 1922, p. 151-153.

94. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, Document #35377.

95. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, Document #35375.

96. Pesotta, Rose, 1944, *Bread upon the Waters*: Dodd, Mead & Co., NY, p. 15.

97. Leeder, Elaine, 1993, *The Gentle General - Rose Pesotta, Anarchist and Labor Organizer*: SUNY, Albany, p. 31.

98. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, Document #35375.

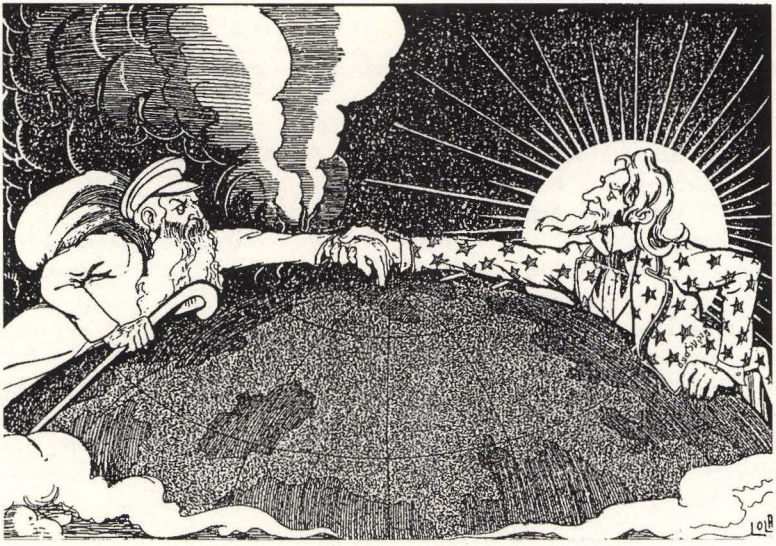
99. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, document #29138. Material which came through the Joint Distribution Committee" editor in Sept. 1922, Berlin. Refers to events which happened in 1919-20. Translated from Yiddish by J. Michoel Ronn.

100. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, document #29135. Material which came through the Joint Distribution Committee" editor in Sept. 1922, Berlin. Refers to events which happened in 1919-20. Translated from Yiddish by J. Michoel Ronn.

101. YIVO, Tcherikover Archive, Document #35379.

102. Interview of Dora Zichroni by Asher Fischman, Jerusalem, 1996.

103. Unpublished memoir of Emanuel and Benjamin Pulier of Letichev. Provided by Suzanne Pulier.



13

Immigrants

by David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

Introduction

The Road from Letichev was one of the routes over which a nearly endless river of humanity passed on their way out of Russia. Next to the Holocaust, the largest change in Jewish life in Eastern Europe was due to the tearing apart of families through immigration. Husbands left their wives, siblings separated, and children left their parents in their abandonment of their miserable shtetl life for *Goldene Medina* - The Golden Land of America. We will never know exactly how many Jews from the Letichev District passed down The Road from Letichev to seek a better life. It may have been as high as one-quarter to one-third of the Jewish population of the day.

The first wave of people to leave the Letichev District occured after the 1882 pogroms. Immigration floodgates opened as the Russian government allowed Jews to leave in order to solve their "Jewish Problem." America was more than willing to take in these immigrants. There was very little paperwork involved and no immigration quotas. Once pioneering family members arrived in America, their reports and money sent back to their homeland encouraged more to make the difficult journey.

Immigration continued in the 1890s and early 1900s. By then an industry grew up around the immigration process, with middlemen and steamship price wars of the lucrative human trade.The fear caused by the 1903 Kishinev pogrom convinced more Jews that Russia was not a safe place to live, and thousands more

left. The seven years of upheaval (beginning in 1914) renewed interest in coming to America but many unfortunate souls were limited by American immigration quotas imposed just after World War I. The people who had limited financial resources wound up in France or England, while some of those hampered by quotas tried for Argentina, Cuba, Venezuela, Uruguay, or other countries.[1]

THE JOURNEY TO AMERICA

The following is an oral history of one person's journey from Letichev to America.[2]

> In 1903 when Dena Singer Zimmerman was 18, her husband Morris left Letichev for America to set up a new life for his family. Dena found out after he left that she was pregnant with her second child. A few months later, the baby, Rose, was born but within six months, she was dead of the dreaded childhood disease, diphtheria. Morris, now in Baltimore, never saw this child except in a



Dena Singer Zimmerman, 1904. This photo, taken in Letichev, was sent to her husband Morris, who was already in America. Dena was only 17 years old in this photo. The baby was born after Morris left for America in 1903. Shortly after this photo was taken, the baby died of diptheria. The older child, Betty, is shown with a doll in traditional Ukrainian peasant dress. A year after this photo was taken, Dena and Betty immigrated to America. Courtesy of Pauline Zimmerman Chapin.

photograph. Dena had to rely on her family, and especially her *melamed* father, Israel, for emotional support. She was his favorite daughter.

During one period, letters failed to arrive from Morris in America. Dena became worried that something terrible had happened to Morris, so she visited a fortune teller. The fortune teller told her not to worry; even though there was a terrible fire, Morris was fine. Sure enough, the next letter she received from Morris told her about the Great Baltimore Fire.

When the tickets arrived from Baltimore in 1905, Dena was unprepared for what faced her. She was young and had never been very far from Letichev. Her father hated to see her leave. The ways of the outside world were strange and difficult for her to comprehend. All she knew was that her husband thought America was a world of opportunity and prosperity and that living in Russia was a hard life with no future. As she left, she knew she would probably never be able to return. She realized she would never see her beloved father again.

Afraid to venture alone, Dena traded in her tourist class ticket for two steerage class tickets (at a price of $25 each) so that her 19 year-old sister-in-law, Zecil, could accompany her. The road out of Eastern Europe was torturous. Dena, Zecil, and Betty first took a wagon to the train station. This took several days. Once in the train station, an agent met them to handle the complex travel arrangements. Miraculously, Zecil met her cousin Beryl Klein on the train. Beryl was young, married and was emigrating alone to Baltimore. Beryl was happy to join the women for companionship. Zecil and Dena found Beryl to be indispensable in helping them carry the baggage and the youngster, Betty.

After a long journey and various connections, they arrived in the city of Brody on the Russian-German border. In Brody, the immigrants received their passports and exit visas. They then took a special train, the emigrant train (with fourth-class cars) non-stop across Germany. The emigrant train did make frequent stops, but it's human cargo was not allowed to leave the train until it arrived at it's destination port. German inspectors frequently boarded the train and checked the passengers' papers. Freight and other passenger trains had the right-of-way over the emigrant train and the train spent much of the time waiting on sidings for the other trains to pass. Finally, the train arrived at Rotterdam, Holland — the termination of the emigrant train.

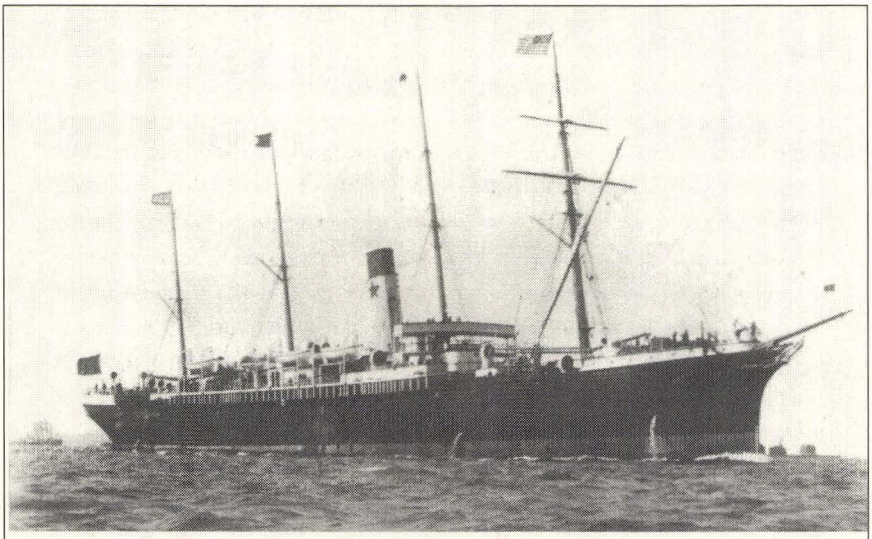
Rotterdam was then, and still is today, a bustling international seaport. Rotterdam provided the travelers their first taste of the modern world. They mingled with people from all over Europe. Many different languages were spoken. The dress was varied and unusual. The markets provided a huge variety of fresh foods. The women had never encountered such quantities or varieties back in their poor village in the Ukraine. There were oranges, apples, lemons, and a strange yellow fruit that seemed to be popular. Dena bought one and took a bite out of it. Oh, how bitter! "So many people are buying this, it must be

good. Maybe you peel it like an orange," said Dena. Dena peeled back its skin and sure enough it tasted sweet and delicious. This was her first banana.

At Rotterdam, they boarded a ferry ship for Hull, England. At Hull they took the train across England to Liverpool. Liverpool was the port of embarkation for the ships of the Cunard and American Lines. Morris had purchased tickets for Dena on the American Lines during a price war. Prepaid steamship tickets purchased for tourist and steerage class were good for travel on any ship of the line. The ticket holder only needed to show up at the port of embarkation and specific space reservations were then made on a first-come, first-served basis. They waited in Liverpool five weeks for space on a ship to take them to America. During this time, the local HIAS immigrant aid society took care of them. Finally, they boarded the ship S.S. Friesland.

The S.S. Friesland was a 16 year old ship and was showing her age. Originally built for the Red Star Line, she was purchased by the American Line in 1903. In 1905 the S.S. Friesland was making regular trans-Atlantic runs between Liverpool and Philadelphia. A complete round trip took about a month. She was a typical passenger ship of the era. She had masts for sails and could run under either steam power or the wind.

Steerage class was the humblest accommodations on the ship. It was crowded and stuffy. Typically, it consisted of several compartments in the bow



S.S. Friesland.
Originally built for the Red Star Lines in 1889, the Friesland was recommisioned in 1903 for the American Lines. She had a clipper-type bow but a powerful triple expansion steam engine, a major advance in its day. The Friesland carried 300 tourist class and 600 steerage class passengers. Photo courtesy of the Steamship Historical Society Collection, Univ. of Baltimore Library.

and stern sections of the ship. The stern compartments, in particular, were the noisiest and least desirable as they were directly above the screws and the engines. Each compartment was one huge room the width of the ship and about seven feet high. The room was filled with a framework of iron pipes which formed a double tier of six-foot by two-foot berths. Between the maze of berths were very narrow aisles. Each compartment could accommodate as many as one hundred passengers. Men were berthed in separate compartments from the women and children.

Open deck space for steerage passengers was very limited, and situated in the worst part of the ship — subject to the most violent motion, to the dirt from the stacks and the odors from the hold and galleys. Passengers from each steerage compartment were allowed on deck for a short period every day. Otherwise, the passengers had to stay below. Most immigrants laid on their straw-filled mattresses of their berths for most of the voyage. While most of their luggage were checked as cargo, passengers were allowed to carry some of their provisions, but the space was totally inadequate. Most passengers had to share their berths with their baggage. The only provisions for eating were shelves or benches along the sides or in the passages of the sleeping quarters. Toilets and washrooms were completely inadequate; salt water only was available. The ventilation was poor and the air was fouled by the smells of vomit, odors of the unclean, the reek of food, and the awful stench of the nearby toilet rooms.

All was not grim, however, as there was a sense of excitement in the air. There were women, children, the elderly — a cross-section of the poorest people from Europe. Many had similar backgrounds. These people each had a different story to tell. Many families had suffered atrocities from pogroms. Many were leaving Eastern Europe because of the lack of religious or economic opportunity. Many young men were escaping being drafted into the army. All were eager to arrive in the promise land to begin a new life. There were constant card games, much music and occasional dancing. People talked constantly about the future and the immigration procedures. Many passengers began learning and practicing a few English words, phrases and sentences.

The ship took eleven days to travel across the stormy Atlantic Ocean. In better weather, it should have only taken about eight days. Both Dena and Betty became seasick. Betty couldn't keep any food down, and people were afraid she would die. She became the talk of the ship. The ship's doctor attended to her. One lady who was traveling in tourist class gave her oranges to eat — oranges were considered luxury items. Betty was revived by the oranges as this was the only food she could hold down. Finally, the ship arrived in America.

Once in port, there was the waiting and anxiety. "Will I be turned away?" "How will I know what to do?" "Will my husband be there?" A team of inspectors boarded the ship. They conducted a preliminary examination of those

on board to determine if the ship was infected with contagious diseases such as cholera, yellow fever, or typhoid. Tourist class passengers were examined first in the ship's salon. These passengers were discharged immediately to the customs office on the pier.

Dena and her entourage had to wait for hours in the cramped quarters of steerage for the processing of tourist class passengers. Finally, one group at a time, it was time for the steerage passengers to be processed. The inspectors examined each person in cursory fashion. If there was some obvious affliction, a letter was chalked on the immigrant's shoulder. These people were segregated from the others and told to go into a holding room on the dock for further examination. If the case was severe, the immigrant could be placed in quarantine, or worse, be sent back to Europe.

Next it was Dena's turn. She passed the initial inspection and was given landing tickets. Struggling under the weight of her baggage and carrying Betty, she exited the ship. Down on the dock, she entered a large receiving room. There she faced more long lines and another battery of medical inspectors looking for any affliction which might exclude the immigrants from entering America.

Men and women were separated into two lines. The doctors worked in groups of three. Two worked as pairs at the head of the line. They examined the people starting from the feet and working up. They questioned the people. Any sign of defects, both physical or mental, could result in a chalk mark on their shoulder. The third doctor was the "eye man" — the most dreaded of the doctors. He examined each immigrant's eyes, looking especially for trachoma, a contagious, incurable infection which could lead to blindness. Anyone chalked for trachoma would be barred from entering the country. Dena, Zecil, and Betty again passed all medical inspections. Upon leaving the medical inspection room, they were rejoined with Beryl.

In the next room was the legal inspection. Again, long lines and waiting. The legal inspector, in fluent Yiddish, asked Dena her name and other questions, some of which were incomprehensible. He typed the answers on her landing ticket. "Are you able to read or write?" "How old are you?" "What is your final destination in the U.S.?" "Do you have a ticket to your final destination?" "Did you pay for your own passage?" "Do you have any money? How much?" "Were you ever in prison, an almshouse, or supported by charity?" The legal inspector then asked for $1.00 Head Tax and let the party go.[3]

After passing this inspection, the exhausted and hungry immigrants were admitted and given a large brown bag containing a salami, a loaf of bread, and other food items. The group was directed to another room. Here was a bewildering series of concessions. There was a money changer, baggage handlers, a railway ticket counter, food vendors. Morris was there to greet his wife and his young daughter, whom he had last seen as an infant. What a reunion! A young couple was finally reunited after 2 long and eventful years.

Rose Pesotta from Derazhnia carefully described her journey across Europe in 1913:[4]

> ...on a chilly morning, we departed on the early westbound courier-train. The whole family except Yosale, the baby, was at the station, and all my friends came to see me off. Mother wept silently, and I knew shat she was thinking: The second daughter is going away; who knows what will happen to her? I shed no tears. But I was far from being at ease....
>
> The coaches in the train, antiquated and creaking, were of wood and square-ended like American box-cars. They were dingy, with dim light coming from a few kerosene lamps hanging from the ceiling. Knowing from previous journeys how quickly the lamp chimneys became smoke-blackened, father had brought an ample supply of thick candles, so that he could read newspapers, and I my books, in the evenings.
>
> Our car was designed for use both as day coach and sleeper. Log bunks were arranged in two tiers, the bottom ones serving as seats in the daytime. At night I slept in one of the top bunks, while dad, alsways a light sleeper, lay below, ready on the instant to thwart any possible attempt to abduct me, or to steal our belongings.
>
> All too slowly the train made its way via Zhmerinka to Kazatin, where our car was switched to another train which proceeded with innumerable stops across Poland. Often we were sidetracked for hours to let eastbound freight trains go by. It was whispered that they carried military materiel from abroad in exchange for grain from Russia.
>
> Night followed day, and day followed night. Our car was like a beehive, people coming and going constantly. At each stop I jumped off and hurried into the station buffet to fill the kettle with hot water for tea, which we sipped leasurely so it would last until the next halt. And at meal times we opened the food hamper and ate the appetizing fare that mother had provided - herring, roast meat, chopped goose liver, whole wheat bread, cherry and raspberry preserves, apples, and honey cakes....
>
> Presently we were informed that we sould have to wait at Ivangorod a couple of hours for a connecting train. I felt the need of exercise, and without

Portion of a song sung by residents of Letichev District to the immigrants leaving for America (remembered by Vladimir Goykher):

Zai gezint	Be well
Fur gezint	Travel well
Forgetszhi nit	Don't forget us
Fun keynem	Not anyone
Farges nit vos du bist a rov's azin	Don't forget that you are the son of a rabbi

telling Babushka or dad...I set forth with Adler's niece and nephew and other passengers to explore the town. Eager to streatch our legs, we took a short cut along a path through a field. On my return, with candy and fruit, I was sternly reprimanded by my parent, who had been fearful that the white slavers had got me. He had gone around the town looking for me and describing me to everybody he met. I had never seen him look so worried.

At last we reached Sosnovitsy, the Polish-Russian border town. Our train came to a stop on the Russian side. A wall divided the station, and a gate divided Russian Poland from Prussia, with a gendarme on either side. Babushka and I were to proceed across Germany to Antwerp...

Dad now gave me his final instructions, to avoid strangers, to keep a sharp eye on my belongings, to eat sparingly of sweets, and to go to bed at my regular hour. He reminded my grandmother that she was to watch over me carefully.

We said goodbye as the locomotives on both sides of the border puffed in our ears. I hugged my father close, and tears blinded me. Until a few minutes before I had been elated; now I realized that I might never see him again. He, too, was crying...

After we parted at the frontier, I thought of many things I might have said to hime. Yet all I could say then was: "Father dearest, forgive me and please take care of yourself."

In the last instant, as I looked up at him, he seemed all at once to have grown older. I stopped for a moment irresolute. Then I forced myself to walk on, straight ahead. I had made my choice. There could be no turning back. The gate closed behind me, shutting out my past.

The German train was a revelation compared to the Russian cars we had left, with their dim kerosene lamps and crude upper and lower bunks for sleeping. We were directed to a roomy and pleasant compartment, brightly illuminated by electricity and provided with a wash-basin and toilet. As the wheels began to move, the conductor, young and handsome, came in to ask for tickets. Instead of having me break my tongue trying to speak German, he did his best to converse in Russian. Throughout our journey, he dropped in repeatedly to entertain us....

There was a stopover in Berlin, so Babushka and I took a stroll with a guide along Unter den Linden and rode around the German capital in a phaeton. I marveled at the glass sidewalks that one could walk on and not break through. Beneath the glass, the guide told us, were banks, restaurants, and shops. Everywhere we turned were new shining wonders. I could not know that within my own lifetime all that formidable grandeur would lie in ruins, or that Berlin would be a city divided between the East and the West.

We stopped briefly in Brussels, and here too were beauty and order, and hundreds of persons on bicycles.

The train seemed to gather increased speed as we began the last stage of our railway journey, and my excitement grew as we neared the port of embarkation. When we arrived at Antwerp, we were met at the station by a Red Star Line representative who spoke Russian fluently. He told us that a cabin had been assigned to us on the second deck of the steamship Finland, which would sail on Saturday, two days hence. We both had tickets entitling us to second-class passage, a luxury rarely enjoyed by emigrants coming from the ghetto-communities of Russia. Esther [my sister who came before me] had gone steerage because no one in our family knew what the word meant. The district agent had sold dad a steerage ticket for her, though he would readily have paid for second-class. Esther had said nothing at the time about her hardship on the voyage; but she had made it a point to send me a second-class ticket, and had given me suggestions on how to be comfortable aboard ship....

When we got to the pier [on Saturday], the ship was about to cast off. We rushed up the gangplank, and the last ropes that held the Finland to the wharf were loosed. The ship band, hidden somewhere, struck up a stirring march and some of the longshoremen began to dance as we moved into the rain and fog. In a moment, the city of Antwerp was lost to our view.

Rose Pesotta then described life onboard ship to America:[5]

The Finland was a huge vessel...and it was scheduled to do the three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine miles from Antwerp to New York in eleven days.

We of the second class occupied the 'tween deck, with the first-class quarters above us and the steerage below. Our dining room and deck were kept scrupulously clean, and the sheets in our berths were crisp and snowy white, bu the tiny cabin which Babushka and I shared with tow other women was a bit dingy. The porthole was shut tight to keep the ocean waves out....

There was hardly room in our cabin for the four of us to move about, so we devised a system of going to bed and getting up in relays, two at a time. And we used the public washroom for ablutions in preference to the undersized basin and water tap in the cabin.

If there were some physical discomforts, neither Babushka nor I minded them for this was a great adventure for both of us. We were on our way to a new world, a new life; we were escaping to the Golden Land. I didn't know that how great was the surge of people like us to the United States at that time. In the fiscal year ending in mid-1914, a total of 255,660 left the Russian Empire and Finland, mostly Jews fleeing pogroms.

The rain stopped toward evening and the sea was smooth. I spent the rest of the day exploring our part of the ship, moving about the deck, looking over

the passengers, making new acquaintances, and marveling at the wonder of it all.

Here was a conglomerate group numbering several hundreds, American, French, Scandinavian, German, German-Jewish, and Russian-Jewish folk. Some of the Americans had been spending vacations in Europe; others fitted our idea of what business men from the States should look like. We immigrants kept to ourselves because of the language barriers, but several in our crowd spoke French or German or both fluently. Friendships ripened rapidly, and the ones who knew the other's tongue became our liaisons with the ship's crew and the "foreigners," those whose language we did not understand.

Every seat was taken in the spacious dining room that evening, and this was generally true whenever the weather was fair. The lights were bright, the table linen good, the fare wholesome and plentiful. Kosher cooking was provided for all who wanted it, and for the venturesome there were new foods to try, mostly French, German, or American dishes...

By sundown the first day, I had made several friends among Russian Jewish boys and girls of my own age. After dinner we gathered in a corner of the dining room and sang together, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish



Meideners on the ship to America.
This rare on-board photograph shows refugees from Medzhibozh and Volkovintsy (previously from Staro Zakrevsky Meidan) on the S.S. United States, March 1921. From left to right: Frima Stein (Zinshteyn), David Ezekiel Weinstock, Galla Zinshteyn Weinstock, Betty Bashkow, Riva Weinstock Bashkow. The little girl in front is Dora Bashkow. Photo taken by Jacob Simon Bashkow. Courtesy of Dinah Foglia.

songs. Others joined us, including four musicians, who played an accordion, a mandolin, a guitar, and a balalaika. As our chorus grew, so did our repertoire, ballads and love lyrics giving way to revolutionary songs. Nor did we youngsters lack an audience. Numerous older passengers were appreciative listeners.

But our gaiety was interrupted rudely and dampened when the ship ran into rough weather and a wave gushed through a port-hole, soaking a score of us to the skin...

Whenever the weather was favorable, we walked or sat on the deck in comfortable reclining chairs, covered by warm blankets. Talking or singing, we were often noisy, and my grandmother did not always approve of our antics...

At eleven each morning hot bouillon was served on deck, with tiny crackers. The deck steward, an American lad, slim-hipped and broad-shouldered, was friendly, and made an effort to speak our language, employing broken German and a few words of Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish. He was an obliging chap, always ready to serve us.

From hearsay we knew what the first-class quarters on the Finland were like. The cabins were all outside, and much roomier than those in our part of the ship; the food was better; there was a music room in which concerts were held, and a smoking room.

Rough days of course brought seasickness. Most of our fellow passengers lay in their berths or deck chairs groaning. Babushka, who was never ill, tried to comfort the sufferers, ministering to them and joking with them. Sipping lemon juice and eating garlic were recommended as preventatives of *mal de mer*. None of the immigrants dared contradict a woman of her wisdom and authority. Hadn't she lived through an Odessa pogrom, and hadn't she dwelt in Kishinev, scene of world-shaking atrocities?

Once, with our cabin steward as escort, I visited the steerage, where hundreds of third-class passengers were huddled in a atmosphere thick with stench. Men, women, and children sat in bunks or on hard bences hugging bundles containing all their worldly possessions, including food, which kept them from going hungry on the voyage. The meals supplied by the shipping line in steerage were meager. It was difficult to breathe as we stood inside the doorway of the big dim-lighted cabin; even now, I feel faint as I recall the misery spread before me. Those people looked tired and worn; many of them were ill; and who wouldn't be, I thought, in this airless place? Some of the faces seem to come back to me - a pious Jew praying - a hulking peasant cleaning his pipe - children playing on the bare floor. Has any artist ever painted a picture of steerage voyagers? It would take a master like El Creco or Goya to do justice to their sufferings. A small section of the open lower deck was assigned to them, and on sunny days, they would file out, as many as possible crowding into that tiney open space, to drink in fresh air. Looking down from our deck, I viewed

those wretched creatures with a heavy heart; to me it was like gazing into a prison yard.

We turned from this depressing scene to make the rounds of the deck. There was something awe-inspiring in gazing out over the boundless ocean, with nothing between us and horizon but water except the dolphins and porpoises that swam alongside the ship. Long hours would go by, with the Finland steadily plowing along. Then, out of nowhere, another vessel would loom in sight; near or far, it was cheering to watch. Even more so were the ships that passed in the night, their lights shining....

At breakfast on the eleventh day, we were told that the Finland was nearing its destination. Excitedly we began repacking our luggage. That morning immigration officers on board examined our papers, and checked to see if each of us had enough funds to prevent him or her becoming a public charge. I carried my precious money in a little bag, ten rubles, five American dollars in those days.

As the passengers were discharged by the officials, they hurried out onto the deck. By noon we could discern on the far horizon what appeared to be a yellow cloud which grew larger and larger as time passed. In mid-afternoon we could make out towering spires of many shapes, the dimly etched skyline of Manhattan. At dusk we came through the Narrows. A couple of tiny tug-boats now joined our liner, puffing alongside. Soon myriad windows in the city ahead suddenly became illuminated as if by the magic touch of Aladdin's lamp. To me the sight was truly a golden vision....

Then I turned and saw the most wonderful sight of all. And with tearful eyes and an inner surging I looked upon the Great Lady of Promise - the Statue of Liberty - holding high the torch of freedom.

Our ship the Finland docked at Eighteenth Street in the Hudson River in New York. My sister Esther, who was already an American citizen, met us on the pier, and we fell into each other's arms with joy and tears. She cleared our luggage with the customs men quickly, and outside on the street hailed a taxi.

"Are we going to Ellis Island new?" I asked.

"Don't talk foolishness," my sister said. "It is enough that I had to go there six years ago. Why do you think I sent you a second-class ticket? Only steerage passengers, or those who have no one to take them home, are taken to Ellis Island."

Then there is this humorous story from turn-of-the-century Derazhnia:[6]

...Israel Selfner came back from America and created a sensation in Derazhnya. He was one of a party that had crossed the ocean with [my sister]. Before he left home he had been just a helper in his father's store, a person of no consequence, a sleepy-head, always drowsy, a *paifer* in the language of the Jews, and a lazy good-for-nothing, a *liadashee*, as the Russians would put it. Now everybody in town stopped to greet him and to comment upon his changed appearance.

He wore a tailor-made suit, patent-leather shoes, black derby hat, stiff high white collar, and a long, bright-colored necktie. The four-in-hand tie and the collar and shirt were strange to us, for in Derazhnia all young men wore Russian blouses, with embroidered fronts and high soft collars. What impressed everybody most were Israel's several gold teeth. Youngsters and grown-ups alike would ask him to open his mouth, and he would gladly oblige so that we could see those jewels in all their glory.

Where had he gotten so much money to spend on himself? He had worked at a sewing machine, as a maker of men's clothing, he said, and wages in America were big...Everything in America was big, he went on -- and at night the streets were almost bright as day, with all the electricity that the Americans burned. He had been to the theatre and had seen Jewish plays and great Jewish actors...and he had eaten fine big Jewish meals in places called restaurants. He spoke with authority about America and Americans, and there was no one to contradict him. No one else in Derazhnya had been in the United States. Now I feel sure that he had seen little of New York except the Lower East Side garment section and the harbor.

Soon Israel Selfner introduced us to a new game for boys only, an American game known as baseball. From part of an old quilt he fashioned a tight heavy ball, which he covered with a smooth piece of sheepskin. Then he commanded several boys, who had developed a high respect for him, to requisition rolling-pins from their mothers' kitchens.

Taking the group to a flat open space near the river, he picked out the biggest and longest rolling-pin and demonstrated how the Americans threw the ball and hit it with a club called a bat. The boys tried to hit the thrown ball, but failed. "I'll show you how it's done," said Israel. He swung the rolling pin and hit the ball lustily. It soared into the air in a long arc, and crashed through a window of the nearest house. The irate owner then pursued Israel, and held him as a hostage until a brother brought the glazier to replace the broken glass.

Why, his acquaintances asked, had Israel come back, if wages were so good in America? He had become homesick, he told them. New York was wonderful, and it would be easy to get rich there, but it wasn't like Derazhnia. He couldn't sleep as well in New York.

"Money isn't everything," Israel averred. "So I came back."

NOTEWORTHY LETICHEV DISTRICT IMMIGRANTS

Joseph Barondess (1867-1928)

Joseph Barondess may not be a household name today, but in his day he was a powerful and famous leader of the Jewish community. He was one of the earliest American labor organizers, a Socialist, politician, businessman, and an ardent Zionist. He rubbed shoulders with the rich, famous, and politically powerful of his day alongside impoverished immigrants who slaved away in sweatshops.

Born in 1867 in Bar, Podolia, the son of Rabbi Judah Samuel Barondess and Feige-Mintze Goldman Barondess.[7] His connection to Medzhibozh is not entirely clear, though it is certain that his wife Amma (Anna) Zifels, whom he married in 1885, was by his own admission born and raised there.[8] Perhaps Joseph Barondess spent some time in Medzhibozh, as his father was remembered as a rabbi there.[9] In any event, he somehow met his wife there and emigrated shortly thereafter. He felt enough affiliation with the town to help support the

August 5th, 1912.

To His Excellency Woodrow Wilson,
Governor of the State of New Jersey.

My dear Governor,

Answering your kind invitation to attend the notification exercises on Wednesday next, would say that I consider it a privilege and it will give me pleasure to at the ceremonies and greet the next President of the United

With personal regard, I beg to remain.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

Jos. Barondess

Letter from Joseph Barondess to Governor Woodrow Wilson.
At the time of this letter, Woodrow Wilson was embarking on a successful presidential campaign.







Joseph Barondess.
Various portraits of Barondess. Upper left - as a young man; upper right, -as a fiery labor leader; left - later in life as an elder statesman. Portraits courtesy of the American Jewish Archives.

landsmanshaften society with his help and contributions and was fondly remembered by fellow Medzhibozhers.

He immigrated to England shortly after his marriage to Anna and soon became involved in the British trade union movement.[10] With his wife and baby girl, the 24 year old Barondess arrived in New York in 1888 around the time of the Great Blizzard, with just $10 in his pocket.

He rented a cellar appartment and each week he earned $5 for 91 hours worth of work making 900 children's garments.[11] The working conditions were horrible and in 1890 he organized the first strike by cloakmakers which spanned more than one shop. After 8 weeks, the strike was successful and a new labor union was born - the Cloakmakers' Union. After the successful strike, Barondess remained committed to the union and it remained an active organization, unlike other labor unions of the day which tended to disband after the end of a strike. With this act, Barondess became a full member of the Socialist movement - which merely meant that he was an active member of the liberal labor movement. A tough and imposing figure, Barondess commanded the absolute loyalty of his union. The union soared in membership as the Barondess was successful in gaining concessions from the employers - the minimum wage was raised and the length of the workday was cut.[12]

In 1891, 12 members of the union's executive board - including Barondess - were arrested. All the board members, with the exception of Barondess, were set free. Barondess was sentenced to 21 months in jail for extortion, which was a trumped up charge - he was framed by the police and the employers. Believing that the sentence was unfair, the other unions, including the non-Jewish unions, staged large-scale protests throughout New York.

While out on $20,000 bail (a substantial sum in those days), Barondess fled to Canada. Realizing that his cowardice would cost him union support, he returned shortly thereafter, admitting his mistake to his people. Barondess never had to serve the sentence, because he was pardoned by the Governor, acting on petitions signed by thousands of union members.[13]

Infighting within the union about political leanings led to the polarization of cloakmakers into anarchist and socialist factions. Barondess - a socialist - was no longer interested in leading the union. By 1894, Barondess union career had ended but his political career was just beginning. With the retirement of Barondess, the Cloakmakers' Union soon collapsed. In 1897, he helped found the *Jewish Daily Forward* - a newspaper still in existence today. It was founded as a voice of the Social Democratic party.[14] In 1904, Joseph Barondess ran for office in the 9th Congressional District under the Socialist party ticket. He lost the election but won a respectable 20% of the votes, considering that his district was heavily Republican and votes often controlled by Tammany Hall.[15]

Shortly thereafter, Barondess began his business career as an insurance broker. The 1903 Kishinev pogrom reawakened his Jewish zeal, and he became an ardent Zionist. He contributed money to numerous charitable causes. Barondess became known for his generosity. He often assisted Jewish groups to help them solve difficult problems.[16] By 1907, Barondess left the ranks of the Socialist party with a

statement that he felt the AFL had largely succeeded in solving the problems of the working man.[17] In 1910, New York Mayor Hylan appointed him a commissioner on the Board of Education. He ended up serving two four-year terms.[18]

Barondess help found the American Jewish Congress and served as various officers of the representative body. Later he became its honorary president. In 1919, he participated in the American Jewish Congress' delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. This conference led to the Treaty of Versailles.[19]

Responding to the brutal progroms in the wake of the Ukrainian civil war of 1919-21, Barondess helped organize a relief mission to Medzhibozh. A letter regarding this mission shows his ties to that town:[20]

> July 1st 1920
>
> My dear Dr. Bogen:[21]
>
> Permit me please to present to you the bearer of this, who is going to Medgiboze, State of Podolsk, as a delegate of the United Relief Committees of the "landsmanschaften" of the above named town, in the interest of relief. He is a very respectable merchant and a perfect gentleman. He goes to Medgiboze at his own expense. I have, outside of the general interest that I have in war relief work, (even though Mr. Warburg[22] did not consider me kosher to go to Ukraine in the interest of war relief on the excuse that I am emotional) the additional interest that Mrs. Barondess was born and raised in that town, and I have done my bit to make the campaign of these "landsmen" a success.
>
> Mr. Bernstein will explain to you further the object of his mission and I will thank you for anything you may be able to do for him.
>
> As ever, Very Sincerely Yours
> Joseph Barondess

Barondess responded charitably and energetically. He was the chairman of the Defense Fund Committee which raised $4,000 to defend Sholom Shvartsbard, a Jew who lost family members in the pogroms and who assassinated of the viciously anti-semitic President of the Ukrainian Directorate, Simon Petliura in 1926.

During this time, Barondess continued to attend to his insurance business. His correspondence files show that he spent an equal time with casualty insurance problems as he did helping his fellow Jew. He wrote numerous letters of recommendation, sought clemency for incarcerated Jews, and found jobs for various acquantances who approached him on a daily basis. He continued his charitable work through fundraising activities and through public speeches.[23]

As a means of example of Barondess' elegant persuasive style of writing and his philosophy about charity, here is a quote of one such letter from 1913. It is

interesting to note that many of the same issues brought up in this letter still ring true today:[24]

Feb. 5, 1913
Mr. Robert Heyman
c/o Alperin
166 Henry St. N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 28th inst. written in Yiddish script on eight pages in regard to the unfortunate woman, Mrs. Harrison of 280 Madison Street, whose husband is at the Mt. Sinai Hospital and she and her four children are suffering from need and privation.

It is because your letter is written in the tone of a protest against the United Hebrew Charities and also because your letter conveys the impression that everyone connected with the United Hebrew Charities is either heartless or cruel, or both, - that I have determined to write you at length on the subject: but before evertything else, I want to assure you that I am going to take up the case of Mrs. Harrison in whom you are interested, with the United Hebrew Charities and that organization I know will do what is right; not because I shall submit the case to it, but because of the merits of the case itself.

It may not be amiss for me to repeat once more what I so often said publicly and privately: that charity at best is only a paliative. Charity does not cure the evil but staves it off and postpones it for another time.

Scientifically, it has been demonstrated that charity can neither diminish nor do away with poverty. Charity degrades the taker and elevates the giver. Charity often times is instrumental in pauperizing the one who receives it, and makes him lose his confidence in himself, his self-reliance and his possibility to succeed in his struggle to stand on his own mettle.

But when you see a miserable child, roaming in the street in need of raiment and food; when you see a sick teetering person who is in need of immediate help, all philosophy must come to an end and the promptings of your heart must be obeyed to help the unfortunate at once, no matter whether that help is going to result in permanent improvements of the condition of the unfortunate or not. You must remember that while a person who is unfortunate enough to be in need of help is grateful for any assistance that is forthcoming to him, at the time when he is applying for it: - when his pains are over, when his troubles are over, he forgets the favor that was done to him and the spirit of revolt is asserting itself within the heart of that man, who is right when he says that willing as he always was and is to do his share for Society, Society ought not to permit him to suffer for want of food, raiment and medical treatment.

As time progresses, this feeling of gratitude is gradually becoming diminished until the beneficiary finally reaches a stage of antagonism to the very person who has been his benefactor. Such is human nature and it cannot be changed, at least not until our present system of Society, under which we are living, will underdergo a considerable change. Those who are aiming at a system of Society where every man, woman and child will be required to do only that which is possible for them to do and to receive from Society in return that which is necessary for their maintainance, - are the true prophets of our time, and I have sufficient faith in humanity that some day, not far distant, this burning and troublesome question will be answered. But until that time comes, it is improper it seems to me for a man who is capable of thinking, to denounce at random everybody who is engaged in the work for the alleviation of the conditions of suffering humanity.

Who should be better qualified to speak of the work of the United Hebrew Charities: you who have only heard one side of the case and have only been interested in one or two cased that have claimed your attention, or myself, who is coming daily in contact with that organization and with the men and women who are engaged in doing its work?

BARONDESS LAUDS VERDICT.

Chairman of Defense Fund Acknowledges Gratitude to France.

Joseph Barondess of 1,440 Broadway, who was Chairman of the Defense Fund Committee and through whose efforts $4,000 was raised for the traveling expenses of witnesses and other expenditures incident to the trial of Samuel Schwartzbard in Paris, said yesterday of his acquittal:

"We Jews never compliment an act of violence. We have had our suffering for more than 2,000 years and we have always bided our time and waited patiently for a better and juster day. We have lived to see Ford's recantation and the present disintegration of the Klan, and we could well have afforded to wait also for justice to be done to the Jewish people in the Ukraine.

"But the American public must bear in mind that in hundreds of cities and villages where the Jews dwelt massacre upon massacre was carried out with impunity by organized bands of Petlura's army. In one instance, in the town of Proskulross, there were 6,500 men, women and children killed in one day.

"Petlura was in walking distance from that town, but all the supplications of the Jewish leaders who called on him to stop the massacres were in vain.

"Schwartzbard served in the French Army with distinction. He was wounded on the battlefield, and when he returned to his home in that town fifteen of his relatives were slaughtered right in front of his eyes and 6,500 victims were buried in one fraternal grave, called in Russia 'Bratskia Mogila.'

"Schwartzbard knew that a civilized world wsa not acquainted with these atrocious acts for which Petlura was responsible. He decided to do away with Petlura, not for the purpose of revenge but to bring these horrors to the attention of the civilized world.

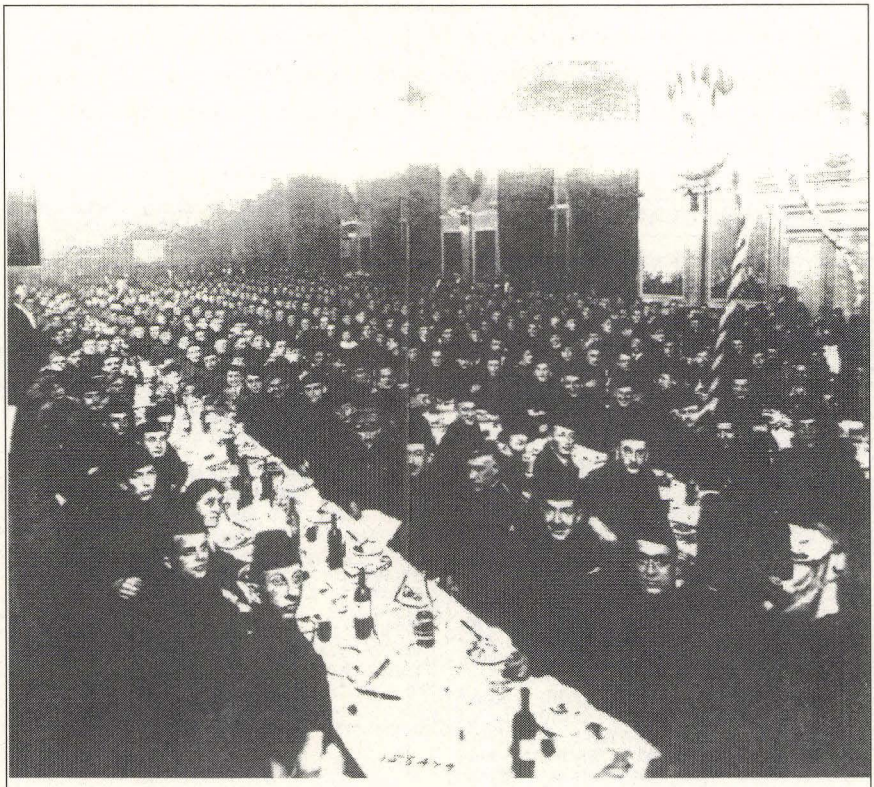
"That he accomplished this purpose is shown by the verdict of the French jury, and for that verdict we are grateful to the Republic of France, where the cradle of human liberty was first placed."

New York Times interview with Joseph Barondess.

This article from Oct. 27, 1927, shows Barondess' elequence of expression and his passion with respect to the verdict in the Schwartzbard trial.

I think you will agree with me that I ought to know better than you the conditions as they exist, and taking that for granted, I want to say that I know of no institution, Jewish or non-Jewish anywhere in the United States or in any other country that is doing so much good with the limited means at its disposal, as does the United Hebrew Charities.

This too must be borne in mind that the United Hebrew Charities is always working under a deficit. The largest majority of the Russian, Galician, Roumanian and Hungarian Jews who are capable of contributing to charity do not at all discharge their duty to their less fortunate fellow men and I can tell you that you do not find on the membership roll of the United Hebrew Charities even a respectable minority of those persons who are capable to contribute charity.



Passover Seder held for American Troops in 1919.
This seder, in the midst of WWI, was held in Paris. In attendence were notable Jewish personalities including Chaim Weizmann, Abe Cahan, and Joseph Barondess. Photo courtesy of the American Jewish Archives and the U.S. National Archives.

With regard to the German Jews, who have always been the largest contributors to charity, - those who always had the interest of Judaism at heart, - they are gradually dying out and disappearing. Their children hide themselves under the excuse that they are assimilationists; that they believe in the total disappearance among and the absorbtion by the American people of the Jew, in other words, the total obliteration of the identity of the Jew and for that reason they persistently refuse to contribute to Jewish charities.

The general manager of the United Hebrew Charities is Mr. Morris D. Waldman, - a man whom I have known intimately for many years and with whom I come into daily contact in matters of communal interest; and I want to assure you that if ever God made a perfect man, Mr. Waldman comes as near to it as any man whom I have had the good fortune to know.

I know almost every official and worker of the United Hebrew Charities intimately and I can say for them that they are a body of good, honorable men and women, and I do not have the least hesitancy in telling you that you were very unjust in speaking of them in this disparaging manner that you did. Since it is human to err and divine to forgive, I hope that as you will become acquainted with the work of that institution, you will consider it your duty to give due apology for your unfair criticism of the United Hebrew Charities and of the people connected with it.

Again, I want to assure you that I will give the subject matter of your letter my best attention and beg to remain,

Very truly yours,
Jos. Barondess

On June 19, 1928, Joseph Barondess died after a long illness. He was 65. Barondess was survived by his wife Anna, two sons Benjamin and Edward, and two daughters, Jean Barondess Zuckerman (a famous opera singer) and Susan Barondess Adler.

At his funeral, eulogies were given by former Mayor Hylan and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise - perhaps the most renown Jewish-American clergyman of the day. Over 25,000 braved rain to pay tribute. Graveside ceremonies were performed by Rabbi Khaim Bick, newly arrived from Medzhibozh. Joseph Barondess was buried at Mount Carmel Cemetery, Brooklyn.

In testament to his charity work, over 22 different charities took out ads in the New York Times expressing sorrow over his death. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, then the president of the World Zionist Organization telegraphed a tribute which was also published in the New York Times.[25] Indeed, the entire Yiddish press mourned his passing, even those which often criticized him while he was alive.[26] Strong-spirited, Joseph Barondess was one of the most humanitarian crusaders of his generation.

Rose Pesotta (1896-1965)

Rose Pesotta was born Rakhel Peisoty in Derazhnia on November 20, 1896, the daughter of Masya and Izaak Peisoty, who was a grain merchant and treasurer of the local credit union. As a youth Rose observed how her father, angered by the raising of the price of matzoh every Passover by the bakers of Derazhnia, formed his own matzoh bakery for the members of the credit union. After three years of fighting, the bakers gave in and kept their prices low during the holidays. The idea of social equality became a guiding light in Rose's life. She came to America in 1913 and soon went to work as a shirtwaist maker. Joining Local 25 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Pesotta joined in strikes against the deplorable working conditions that existed in sweatshops. Rose's sister Esther worked at one time for the Triangle Shirtwaist factory, where a few months later 146 employees died (including two young ladies from Derazhnia) when a fire broke out in 1911.



Rose Pesotta.

By 1920 Rose was a skilled factory worker, union participant, and an executive of the union. As she delved further into the Socialist cause, she corresponded with Sacco and Vanzetti, Emma Goldman, and labor leaders like John L. Lewis. During the Roosevelt Administration, she rose to be the National Vice President of the ILGWU. As a top ILGWU official she helped to organize strikes in factories in many towns and cities in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico. Pesotta wrote two books about her life: *Bread Upon the Waters*, published in 1944, and *Days of Our Lives*, published in 1958. She died in 1965.[27]

Morris Weinberg (1876-1968)

Born in Kolonia Staro Zakrevsky Meidan in 1876 to Gavril and Rivka (Safir) Vaynberg, Morris Weinberg came to America in 1894. He found a job as a copy boy for the Yiddish newspaper *Abendblatt*. By 1900 he founded the Metropolitan News Delivery, and later the Weinberg News Delivery Company in Brooklyn. He quickly branched into publishing, launching *The Brownsville Jewish Post*. In 1914 he founded the well known Yiddish newspaper *Der Tog* (The Day), with Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, the philanthropist Jacob H. Schiff, and Schiff's son-in-law Felix Warburg. The leading Yiddish writers of the time wrote pieces which appeared in *Der Tog*: Sholom Aleichem, Sholem Asch, Sh. Niger, Jacob Glatstein, Chaim Zhitlovsky, Ephraim Auerbach, Chaim Greenberg, and many others. Despite Weinberg's passion for the Yiddish language, his ultimate goal was to "Americanize" the Jewish immigrants of New York's Lower East Side.



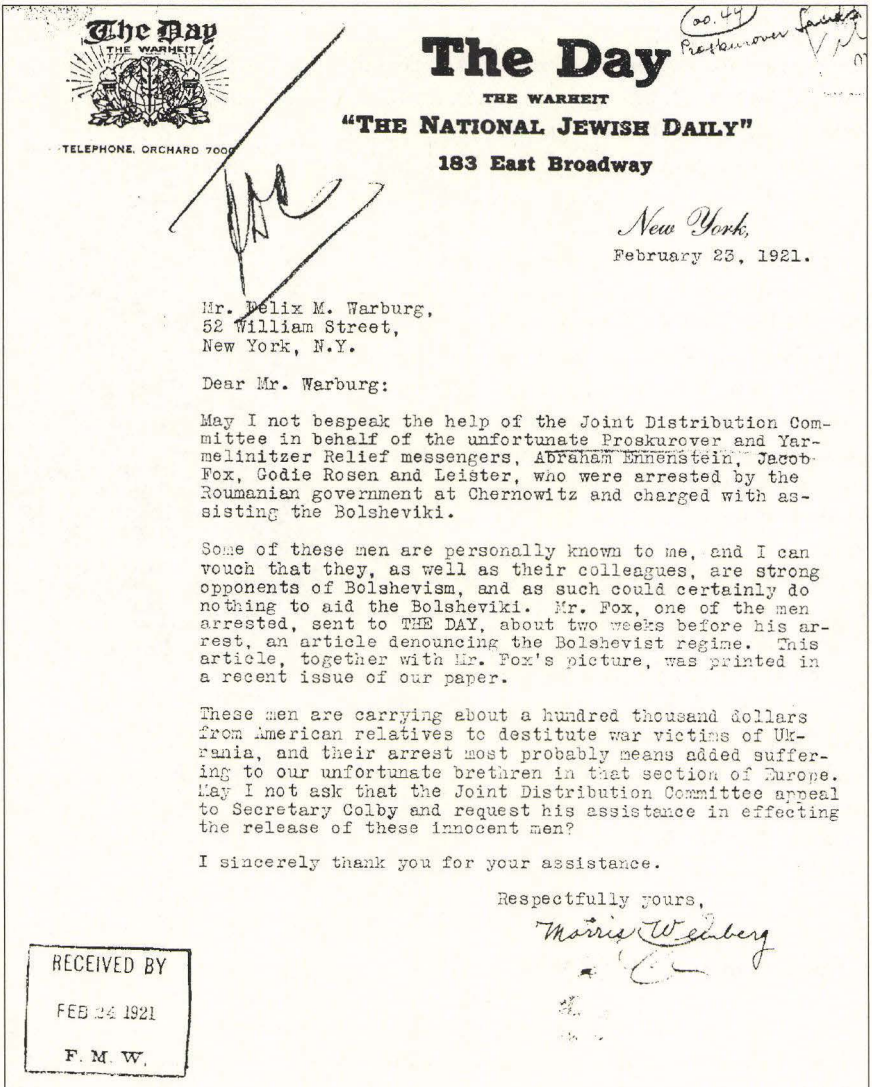
Morris Weinberg.

Over the years Weinberg acquired several other Yiddish newspapers, which merged with *Der Tog*: the *Wahnheit*, the *Tageblatt*, and in 1953, the *Orthodox Morning Journal*. Weinberg was the founder of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, the Brownsville and East New York Dispensary, the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, and the National Hebrew School *Machziki Talmud Torah*. He also engaged in real estate development. He died in 1968.[28]

Oscar Williams (1900-1964)

Oscar Williams (his pen name) was born in Letichev, son of Mouzya and Khana (Rapoport) Kaplan and immigrated to the U.S. as an infant. He was the grandson of Abraham Joshua Heshel Rapoport (of Zinkov) and Sosia Giller (of the Letichev Giller family).

Oscar Williams was a poet, some of whose work was published in *Golden Darkness* in 1921. Soon after, he gave up poetry and became an executive in an advertising agency for 16 years. After a mysterious illness in 1937, Williams returned to writing. He is best remembered as the premier English-language poetry anthologist, having published more than 30 such works. His anthologies include *Immortal Poems of the English Language*, *The Mentor Book of Major American Poets*, and its companion *The Mentor Book of Major British Poets*.



The Day
THE WARHEIT
TELEPHONE, ORCHARD 7000

The Day

THE WARHEIT

"THE NATIONAL JEWISH DAILY"

183 East Broadway

New York,
February 23, 1921.

Mr. Felix M. Warburg,
52 William Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Warburg:

May I not bespeak the help of the Joint Distribution Committee in behalf of the unfortunate Proskurover and Yarmelinitzer Relief messengers, Abraham Ennenstein, Jacob Fox, Godie Rosen and Leister, who were arrested by the Roumanian government at Chernowitz and charged with assisting the Bolsheviki.

Some of these men are personally known to me, and I can vouch that they, as well as their colleagues, are strong opponents of Bolshevism, and as such could certainly do nothing to aid the Bolsheviki. Mr. Fox, one of the men arrested, sent to THE DAY, about two weeks before his arrest, an article denouncing the Bolshevist regime. This article, together with Mr. Fox's picture, was printed in a recent issue of our paper.

These men are carrying about a hundred thousand dollars from American relatives to destitute war victims of Ukrania, and their arrest most probably means added suffering to our unfortunate brethren in that section of Europe. May I not ask that the Joint Distribution Committee appeal to Secretary Colby and request his assistance in effecting the release of these innocent men?

I sincerely thank you for your assistance.

Respectfully yours,
Morris Weinberg

RECEIVED BY
FEB 24 1921
F. M. W.

Letter from Morris Weinberg, publisher of The Day.
In this letter, Weinberg asks Felix Warburg, the head of the Joint Distribution Committee, to influence his organization to intervene to free some arrested relief workers.

These three volumes are classics and are still used today as texts in college-level courses. These bestselling books, first published in the 1950s, have been through innumerable reissues and printings. During his lifetime, his books sold more than two million copies, a nearly unheard of amount for a poet.

Oscar Williams (and his poet-artist wife Gene Derwood) sponsored an annual $15,000 poetry award which bears their name.

In his later years, his seedy home near Wall Street, served as a mecca for young poets. Asked how he chose the poems used in his anthologies, he said, "How do you pick one girl to marry? In poetry it's divine polygamy. Generally, when a poem stays with me a long time that poem delivers the goods."

Throughout his life, Oscar Williams eschewed his Jewish background. This was one of the reasons he changed his name. He was always mysterious about his origins, but his family knew the true story. He was buried by an Episcopal Church in 1964.[29]



Oscar Williams.

Rabbi Samuel M. Blumenfield (1901-1972)

Rabbi Samuel M. Blumenfield was born in Letichev on September 13, 1901, the son of Max and Fanny (Waxman). He came to New York in 1919 and within six years earned his B.S. at City College; by 1930 he completed his Rabbinical degree. Blumenfield's lifelong love affair with Jewish education led him to numerous teaching and administrative positions in New York and Chicago: instructor at the Jewish Theological Seminary; Director of the Department of Youth and Educational Board of Jewish Education; Dean and Director of the College for Jewish Studies; Director of Jewish Education for the Jewish Agency; and many other consulting positions. A dynamic speaker, he



Rabbi Samuel M. Blumenfield, 1968.

toured to many parts of America and Israel, lecturing on issues pertaining to Jewish youth, Zionism, and the future of American Jewry.

Blumenfield also wrote several books: *Master of Troyes: A Study of Rashi, the Educator*; *Maimonides, the Educator*; *John Dewey and Jewish Education*; and *Hevra Vehinuch Beyahudat America* ("Education in the American Jewish Community"). Scores of articles were contributed to *Encyclopedia Britannica* and other encyclopedias and magazines. Rabbi Blumenfield died March 1, 1972.[30]

David H. Kurtzman (1904-1977)

David H. Kurtzman was born in Letichev on January 11, 1904, the son of Moshe and Hanna (Wolson) Kurtzman. His father, a member of the relatively wealthy Kurtzman merchant family, tried to get David (the youngest of eleven children) enrolled in the gymnazia of Letichev. However,the quota for Jews was filled and David was forced to leave Letichev in 1915 to go to school in Odessa. The next few years were filled with harrowing escapes during the violence of the Russian Revolution and subsequent pogroms. In 1920 he returned home to join his sister and her husband as they fled to America. They arrived in Philadelphia in 1921, joining an older brother who had come earlier.



David Kurtzman.

He worked for two years to pay for passage for his mother and another sister to America. He enrolled in school and within a few years earned his degree as an accountant. His thirst for knowledge led him to complete his Ph.D., which helped him to land teaching positions. By the late 1930s he was the director of research of the Pennsylvania Economy League, an organization which studied government finance. Kurtzman's career continued to advance: he was a member of the Governor's Tax Advisory Committee, the Pittsburgh Mayor's Advisory Committee, president of the Jewish Family and Children's service, and later Pennsylvania 's Secretary of Administration. In 1966 he became acting chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh. He died in 1977.[31]

Bernard I. Goldstein (1880-1953)

Bernard I. Goldstein was born in Derazhnia on April 3, 1880, the son of Isiah and Bobe Goldstein. He studied for a time to be a rabbi, but he found a career in journalism to be more satisfying. He became a correspondent from Kiev for several leading Jewish newspapers, including *HaMelits*. In 1897 he immigrated to Canada where he became the founder and editor of *Der Kanader Yid* ("The Canadian Israelite", which later became *The Israelite Press*) the first Yiddish daily in Winnipeg. He later became the editor of *Der Veg* in Detroit. In 1921, he became a featured contributor to *Der Tog / The Day* in New York. He remained on the staff of *The Day* until his death. Goldstein also wrote over 50 serial novels in Yiddish.[32]

Archibald Silverman (1880-1966)

Archibald Silverman was born in Zinkov on March 5, 1880, the son of Max and Sima (Plotka) Silverman. With his family in 1890, he immigrated to Providence, Rhode Island. Together with his brother Charles and a measily sum of $5 borrowed from his father, Archibald founded a jewelry business in Providence in 1897. Silverman Brothers jewelry store prospered and became one of the largest jewelry manufacturers in America. In 1945, Silverman Brothers won an award from the U.S. military for its production of more than 26 million insignia and decorations for the armed forces during WWII. In addition, Silverman Brothers produced surgical instruments and fine parts for warheads during the war.

Archibald Silverman rose to become a wealthy philanthropist and civic leader in Rhode Island. He was active in various financial institutions and owner of various real estate properties in Providence. He was on the board of several commercial and charity organizations. He was an active leader in Jewish and Zionist causes.[33]

Your reservation has been made for the

Award Dinner

honoring

Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Silverman

for outstanding community service

sponsored by

ROGER WILLIAMS LODGE B'NAI B'RITH

We are looking forward to greeting you Sunday, March thirteenth, nineteen hundred and sixty at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel Ballroom.

Morris Zimmerman (1876-1959)

Morris Zimmerman was born in Letichev on December 10, 1876, the son of Khaim and Minda (Rokhman) Tsimerman. Born to a family of leather and luggage craftsman, he was the first in his family to immigrate to America in 1903. He settled in Baltimore, Maryland and worked at a variety of luggage manufacturing jobs. He was successful enough to bring over the rest of his family from Letichev. An ardent Zionist who dabbled in Socialist groups, he was eventually blacklisted by the manufacturers for his union activities. In 1914 he founded Zimmerman's Luggage Shop because he could not obtain employment elsewhere. This shop later became Howard Luggage Co. During WWII, due to smart buying, he was able to stockpile pre-war luggage and maintain an inventory when other luggage shops could not obtain merchandise. This produced large profits and enabled Morris to retire. Howard Luggage Co. still exists today. It is now the oldest continuously-owned family business in Maryland, now operated by Morris' grandson and great-grandson.[34]



Morris Zimmerman, 1910.
Courtesy of Stephen Zimmerman.



The Zimmerman Family, 1908.
This family photo was taken in Letichev. From left to right: Ben Zimmerman, Minda Rokhman Zimmerman, Max Zimmerman, friend of Sura Leah, Sura Leah Zimmerman, Mitya Zimmerman. Missing is Morris Zimmerman, who had left for America five years earlier. Courtesy of Ben Zimmerman.

Landsmanshaftn

Due to the loneliness and fear of being in America, away from loved ones in the old country, newcomers naturally sought each other out. At times they banded together merely to socialize. Other times it was to accumulate funds for sick *landsleit*, to purchase burial plots, and/or to send money back home to the shtetl. Hundreds of *landsmanshaftn* sprung up, representing the many shtetlach of Eastern Europe. Some groups became quite large and well organized (such as the Zinkover society), with branches in Israel as well. Although most were in New York, a few were also in Philadelphia. Some of the groups had spinoffs of separate societies for female members.

Fortunately, some records of the organizations for Letichev District towns have been preserved. For others, the only proof of their existence is a document or two, or a small cemetery plot. We have tried to present as much of this information as possible. One interesting aspect of studying the histories and members of these groups is the "Americanization" of names. Descendents of the old Khariton family of Medzhibozh became "Harryton"; Zinshteyn usually became "Stein"; and Kaliner became "Calin" or "Collin". More common surnames, such as Zilberman, Zeydman, and Vaynberg, were softened to Silverman, Seidman, and Weinberg. The same can also be said for first names. Yitskhaks became Isidores, Hershels became Harrys and Batyas could be Beatrices.[35]

The following is a list of United States *landsmanshaftn*, grouped by town of Letichev District.[36]

Derazhnia

• *Erste Drazhnier-Podolier Young Men's Progressive Society (New York)*

This organization was formed in 1913 with 23 members. By 1938 the membership was 135, but twenty percent were not *landsleit*. Meetings were held on the first and third Saturdays of each month at 151 Clinton Street, NYC. According to the charter, the purpose was:

> To promote fellowship and extend acquaintances by means of having meetings and discuss and receive reports of the conditions, pecuniary and otherwise of all the members of the organization, and voluntarily assist aid any member and friend in financial distress. Develop the members intellectually by means of discussing and lecturing on topics that tend to develop, promote and better the human being, and do other things which will tend to accomplish the objects set forth above .

According to the Certificate of Incorporation, December 22, 1914, the first officers were :

Alec Barenfeld	242 Stanton Street, NYC
Abraham Gnatowsky	439 Graham Avenue, Brooklyn, NY
Elias Feinerman	713 East 6th Street, NYC
Nathan Feldman	147 Stanton Street, NYC
Fanny Mendelewitz	279 South 2nd Steeet, Brooklyn, NY
Dr. Jacob Mendelewitz	279 South 2nd Street, Brooklyn, NY
Samuel Sepress	104 Mc Kebben Street, Brooklyn, NY

In 1920 the secretaries were E. Feinerman, 71 E. 6th Street, NYC, and A. Ignatwosky, 135 Forsyth Street. In 1938 the secretary was E. Moser, 1322 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn, NY. Burials are at Montefiore Cemetery (Block 32, Gate 615/S).

Names inscribed on the gate:[37]

Eliahu and Keile Feinerman
Pini and Keile Gitman
Yehuda Leib and Miriam Feldman
Jacob and Reizel Zipranitz
Isaac and T. Goldstein
Jacob and Reizel Glansky
Sam and Beila Cypres
Max and Fannie Fox
Moshe and Gitel Weiner
Jacob and Rosa Fox
Aryeh Leib Axelrod
Abraham Axelrod
Blima Axelrod
Gitel Axelrod
Yekheel and Shlima Bortskhuk
Yonah and Anna Ackerman
Jacob Tepper
Eliahu Tepper
Menashe and Miriam Schectman
Sam and Nekhama Mintz
Tsvi and Blima Kraver
Sam and Nekhama Horenstein
Jacob and Bessie Ackerman
Shlomo and Rachel Waksman
Moshe and Blima Hershfeld
Sol and Sheva Gluzman
Ben and Pauline Bernstein
Khaim and Rebecca Becker
Gus and Minnie Sandler
Gitel Sokolow
Eliahu and Feige Sokolow
Velvel and Sara Kushner
Yekheel and Rachel Polishuk
Israel and Khaika Vigler
Abe Breiman
Abraham and Munie Gnatowsky
Israel and Gussie Shames
Sam and Rebecca Olenofsky
Leizer and Mekhlya Melamud
David Goldstein
Joseph and Kate Weissman
Moshe Leifer
Moshe and Gitel Rapoport
Velvel and Rachel Gluzman
Alter and Yenta Horowitz
M. Gluzman
Motel and Bella Veiger

Burials (as of January 1998):

Ackerman, Abe
Ackerman, Anna
Ackerman, Bessie
Ackerman, Daniel
Ackerman, Harry
Ackerman, Jacob
Ackerman, Joe
Adelman, Beckie
Adelman, Sam
Arenson, Sarah
Axelrod, Abraham
Axelrod, Gussie
Axelrod, Harry
Becker, Beckie
Becker, Golda
Becker, Hyman
Becker, Ida
Berger, Becky
Berger, Max
Berman, Archie
Bernstein, Abraham
Bernstein, Benjamin
Bernstein, Pauline
Bernstein, Pearl
Brownstein, Benjamin
Brownstein, Sarah
Cohen, Ida
Cohen, Isidore
Cohen, Meyer
Cohen, Mollie
Cohen, Ray
Cohen, Zelig
Cohen, Ziesel
Cypres, Beckie
Cypres, Sam
Dinetz, Nessie
Dolobofsky, Joe
Draizen, Eli
Draizen, Louis
Dreisen, Dora
Fahnrich, Adolph
Fahnrich, Hannah
Feinerman, Elias
Feinerman, Rebecca
Feldman, Celia
Feldman, David
Feldman, Jacob
Feldman, Mary
Fierstein, Charles
Finkelstein, Isaac
Firestein, Bertha
Fishbein, Pauline
Fox, Ethel
Fox, Fannie
Fox, Max
Friedman, Bernice
Friedman, Nathan
Furman, Jacob
Furman, Lillian
German, Morris
Gershfeld, Hyman
Glaser, Rose
Glaser, William
Glassman, Mary
Goldman, Jessie
Goldman, Morris
Goldsmith, Eva
Goldsmith, Isidore
Goldstein, Beckie

Goldstein, David
Goldstein, Jacob
Goldstein, Morris
Gruber, Jennie
Harris, Anna
Hershoff, Bessie
Hirsch, Lena
Katz, Isidore
Katz, Sadie
Kindelson, Ethel
Lattman, Max
Lattman, Miriam
Leifner, Bertha
Leifner, Morris
Lelpner, Lena
Meister, Isaac
Meister, Lena
Mintz, Jacob
Mintz, Rebecca
Mondshein, Fannie
Olanofsky, Jacob
Polansky, Harry
Polansky, Yetta
Polishuk, Charles
Polishuk, Rose
Rapoport, Joseph
Rapoport, Sonia
Sander, Isaac
Sander, Sarah
Sandler, Tillie
Sandler, William
Schamis, Gussie
Schamis, Sam
Shatzman, Miriam
Schectman, Malke
Schectman, Menashe
Schectman, Miriam
Schectman, Morris
Schendelson, Celia
Schendelson, Joseph
Schoichet, Jacob
Schoichet, Paula
Shames, Lena
Shames, Sam
Snitkin, Ben
Snitkin, Rebecca
Sokolow, Gussie
Sokolow, Issy
Solney, Sarah
Sussman, Ida
Sussman, Louis
Sussman, Sarah
Tepper, Ann
Tepper, Jacob
Tessler, Ida
Tobias, Irving
Weiner, Gertie
Weissman, Joseph
Weissman, Kate
Winocur, David

Additional burials are in Beth El Cemetery, Paramus, New Jersey.



Gate to the Erste-Derazhnier Podolier Society cemetery section.
Montefiore Cemetery, New York. Photo by Ben Weinstock.

• *Erste Drazhnier-Podolier Progressive Ladies Auxilliary (New York)*

This society was formed in 1936 with 16 members; by 1938, the number was 60. Twenty-five percent were not landsleit. Meetings were held on the first and third Saturdays of each month at 40 East 7th Street, NYC. In 1938 the secretary was A. Ackerman, 904 Avenue L, Brooklyn, NY. In the 1940s the President was Mrs. G. Weiner, 305 Jerome St., Brooklyn, and the Secretary was Mrs. J. Goldman, 1758 East 5th Street, Brooklyn.


1942-43 לשנה טובה תכתבו תש"נ

Ersht Droshner Podoler
Ladies Auxiliary

Wishes you
A Happy and Prosperous New Year

MRS. J. GOLDMAN,
Secretary

Kolonia Staro Zakrevsky Meidan

• *Jewish Mayden Verein (New York)*

This organization was incorporated in 1935. The initial membership was 45; by 1938 the membership had increased to 50. Meetings were held on the last Sunday of each month at 91 East 4th Street, NYC. Prior to the formation of this group, landsleit belonged to other societies, such as the Valkevinitzer-Podolier Aid Society. The Verein disbanded in 1984. YIVO has many records (RG 1289).

According to the Certificate of Incorporation the first directors were:

Joseph Stein, 345 Montgomery Street, Brooklyn, NY
William Weinstock, 250 Crown Street, Brooklyn, NY
Harry Weinberg, 250 Crown Street, Brooklyn, NY

Witnesses:

Asha (Menashe) Belinsky, 2313-86th Street, Brooklyn, NY
Borris Weinstock, 1257-44th Street, Brooklyn, NY

Listing of members, 1935-1984:

Bernard Aspler
Bertha Aspler (Mrs. Aspler's family, the Magids, were landsleit)
Rivka Bashkow (Becker)
Menashe Belinsky (born in Medzhibozh)
Albert Berman
Isidore Blonder
Martha Blonder
Mary Bran
Yetta Branowitz
Max Branowitz (Bran)
Minnie Brill
Morris Brill
Marion Brodsky
Martin Brodsky
Seymour Bulkin
Isaac Calin (originally Kaliner)
Morris Calin (originally Kaliner)
Joseph Collin (originally Kaliner)
Ethel Dicker
Irving Dicker
Ann Dinesman
Mike Dinesman
Minnie Dinesman
H. Fader
Sam Feldman
Nathan Feldman
Murray Feldman
Joseph Fishbein
Florence Garfinkel
Lee Gaynor
Martha Gaynor
Morris Gaynor
Joseph Gershgoren
Julius Gershgoren
Max Gershgoren
Morris Gershgorn Gaynor
Sam Gittleman (from Letichev)
Sarah Goldberg
Sasha Goldberg
Isidore Gorenstein
Meyer Gorenstein
Boris Hoffman
Jean (Gussie) Horowitz
Hyman Horowitz
Leonard Kaminer
Sam Kasten
Anna (Schwartz) Kolinsky (of the Schwartz family of Meiden)
Harry Kolinsky (not from Meiden)
Louis Kollman
Rose Kollman
Meyer Koton
Rose Koton
Joel Kovitz (son-in-law of Joseph Stein)
Sarah Kramer
Frank Kramer
Benjamin Kurtzman
Rebecca Kurtzman
Dr. George Lerner
Joseph Levy
Betty Levy
Martin Levy
Celia Levine
Sam Levine
George Levinson
Harry Liebman
Jacob Lichtman
Louis Magid
Rubin Magid
Meyer Marcus
Robert Mausser
Rose Meyerowitz
Sam Mittman
Mae Moschitsky
Minnie Natchpolsky
Morris Natchpolsky
Jack Neutuch
Rae Neutuch
Cheryl Ogle
Milton Peck
Morris Peck (not born in Meiden)
Ruth (Schwartz) Peck
Mollie Pfeffer
Irving Preizer
Mrs. Proctor
Becky Rigrod
Jack Rigrod
Morris Rubinstein
Joseph Rubinstein
Rose Schein
Chaika Schwartz
David Schwartz
Ida Schwartz
Max Schwartz
Morris Schwartz
Fanny Schultz
Ray Seedman
Charles Shapiro
Frank Shapiro
Nathan Shapiro
Sam Shapiro
Charles Siegel (originally Ekheel Zinshteyn)
Sonia Siegel
Celia Simon
Sam Simon
Albert Stein
Major Bernard Stein (son of Joseph Stein)
Clara (Bleyvas) Stein
Joseph Stein (originally Yosef Zinshteyn)
Morris Stein (born Moshke Zinshteyn in Medzhibozh)
Nathan Stein (born Nakhman Zinshteyn in Medzhibozh)
Susan Stein Kovitz (honorary member as she was born in 1935, the year of the founding of the Verein)
Julius Steinfeld
Margaret Ullman
Tillie Wachs
Albert Wagner
Dorothy Wagner
Adele Wakstein
Harry Wakstein
Albert Wall
Harry Weinberg
Morris Weinberg
Borris Weinstock
David Weinstock
Isaac Weinstock
Leon Weinstock (son of Borris Weinstock)
Munie Weinstock
Rae Weinstock
Solomon Weinstock
William Weinstock
Gussie Weintraub
Louis Worth (not born in Meiden)
Sophie (Weinstock) Worth
Dorothy Weinsoff
Louis Weinsoff

From 1946 to 1948 hundreds of dollars were collected, which went for packages of supplies for the few remaining Meidaners in Russia who had survived the Holocaust by escaping to Kazakhstan and other points east. Among those who received aid were: a relative of Joseph Stein ; a grandchild of Mekhel Shoekhet;

a cousin of Mrs. Branowitz. In the early 1950s money was collected for the erection of a memorial gate in Beth David Cemetery, Elmont, Long Island.

List of those buried in the plot of the Jewish Mayden Verein at Beth David Cemetery, as of November 1997:

Aspler, Marian (Miriam bat Eliezer), 12/15/22-4/3/93
Bass, Dr. Joseph (Yosef ben Pesakh), 2/4/09-4/9/77
Blonder, Martha (Misha bat Israel), 10/23/98-7/1/68
Bran, Helene (Yenta Leah bat Dovid), 8/25/18-10/5/68
Bran, Max (Menakham Mordekai ben Alter Tsirel), 9/15/12-5/28/81
Branowitz, Harry (Alter Tsirel ben Avraham Moshe), 1883-1939
Branowitz, Yetta (Yenta bat Yekhezkal), 1884-1960
Calin, Esther (Ester bat Binyamin haLevi), 7/23/05-6/10/88
Calin, Morris (Moshe ben Mordekhai), 11/4/98-3/27/95
Collin, Joseph (Yosef ben Mordekhai), 9/15/93-11/9/73
Collin, Sarah (Sara bat Tsvi), 12/22/00-11/9/73
Dicker, Ethel (Etel bat Barukh), 11/18/09-12/31/95
Dicker, Irving (Ezra ben Yakov), 11/9/05-1/31/70
Dinesman, Dora (Dvora bat Mordekhai), d. 3/30/44, age 40
Dinesman, Michael (Yekheel Mekhel ben Shlomo), d. 12/3/64, age 59
Feldman, Harry (Tsvi Hirsh ben Todros), 8/15/00-9/15/54
Gaynor, Eric Jay (Yakov ben Elisha), 10/29/62-4/4/94
Gershgoren, Becky (Rivka bat Simkha), d. 7/7/71, age 73
Gershgoren, Julius (Yudah ben Yosef), d. 12/5/78, age 77
Gershgorn, Morris Gaynor (Moshe ben Yosef), d. 2/4/74 age 79
Gershgorn, Rebecca (Rivka bat Moshe), d. 5/27/53 age 58
Gittleman, Doris (Dvora bat Benyamin), 11/19/12-11/30/94
Gittleman, Samuel (Shmuel ben Yirmiahu), 3/3/11-10/7/94
Goldberg, Louis, 1911-1986
Gorenstein, Meyer (Meier ben Khazkel Izaak), d. 3/20/60, age 75
Gorenstein, Mollie (Malka bat Aharon Yosef), d. 11/29/62, age 75
Hoffman, Boris (Barukh ben Itskhak), d. 8/8/63 age 70
Hoffman, Mollie (Malka bat Itskhak Tsvi), 2/3/84 age 84
Horowitz, Jean (Freide Dina bat Yehezkal), d. 1/4/62 age 53
Kaliner, Isaac (Itskhak ben Mordekhai), 1903-1975
Kalman, Louis (Eliezer ben Dov Ber), d. 12/14/64
Kolinsky, Anna (Khana bat Moshe), d. 12/19/63 age 59
Kolinsky, Harry (Tsvi ben Yakov), d. 11.26/63 age 61
Kramer, Celia (Rukhel Tsiril bat Noakh), d. 1/24/68 age 47
Kramer, Sarah (Soibel bat Yehuda Leib), d. 12/18/55 age 65
Kurtzman, Benjamin (Barukh ben Khaim Moshe), 3/15/82-9/20/43
Kurtzman, Rebecca (Rivka bat Reuben), 7/16/89-1/27/79
Levy, Joseph (Yosef ben Dovid haLevi), 3/14/99-1/4/70
Lichtman, Eva (Khaiah Sara bat Yakov), d. 6/23/67 age 68
Lichtman, Jacob (Yakov ben Yekhezkal), d. 9/30/69 age 77
Liebman, Harry (Aharon ben Shimon), 1884-1937
Magit, Bertha (Brukha bat Yosef), 8/15/03-2/8/90
Meyerowitz, Ida (Khiah bat Eliahu), d. 7/5/45 age 76
Natchpolsky, Minnie
Natchpolsky, Morris (Moshe ben Itskhak Leizer),d. 1/8/52, age 67
Neutuch, Elias (Eliahu ben Dov), d. 2/29/56 age 66
Peck, Morris (Moshe ben Melekh), d. 6/11/76, age 73
Peck, Ruth (Rivka bat Moshe Yakov), d. 10/12/79, age 77
Proctor, Thomas (Moshe ben Yoel), d. 6/19/40, age 71
Schultz, Fannie (Feige bat Yoshua Usher), d. 4/8/37
Schwartz, Anne (khana bat Shabatai), 6/17/12-1/17/66
Schwartz, David (Dovid ben Moshe), 6/10/05-8/2/68
Schwartz, Ida (Khiah bat Menakhem Mendel), d. 1/9/60, age 82
Schwartz, Morris (Moshe Yakov ben Yosef), d. 8/31/47, age 76
Seedman, Ray (Rukhel bat Sholom), d. 9/6/41, age 42
Siegel, Charles (Yekheel Mekhel ben Avraham), 3/18/93-6/12/73
Siegel, Max (Mordekhai ben Israel), 1881-1940
Siegel, Sonia (Sima bat Shulim), 8/12/01-10/25/67
Simon, Celia (Tsirl bat Avraham), d. 1.20/54 age 63
Simon, Samuel (Shabatai ben Khanokh), d. 3/27/44 age 73
Stein, Beatrice (Batya bat Yekheel), d. 8/12/61, age 53
Stein, Clara (Kreindel bat Avraham Aharon), 1897-1984
Stein, Joseph (Yosef ben Avraham haKohen), 1895-1989
Stein, Morris (Moshe ben Eliahu), 7/2/96-11/4/84

Wahl, Gussie Weintraub (Gitel bat Mordekhai haKohen), d. 5/2/52 age 70
Wakstein, Adele (Shananita bat Shlomo Moshe, 5/1/00-12/4/85
Wakstein, Harry (Zindel Tsvi ben Shlomo), 7/29/98-1/3/69
Weinsoff, Dorothy (Dvora bat Tsvi Hirsch), d. 9/27/75, age 68
Weinsoff, Louis (Yehuda Leib ben Yosef), d. 10/8/65, age 61
Zinger, Evelyn (Khaiah bat Avraham Leib),6/7/34-1/27/95

Dinah Foglia recalled the dedication of the Jewish Mayden Verein plot in Elmont:[38]

> The dedication of the plot in Beth David Cemetery stands out in my memory. It was a very hot day. Most of the members were there. Lunch and beverages were provided and needed because of the heat and the length of the ceremonies. After what seemed like endless prayers, the minion marched seven times around the whole plot to dedicate and sanctify it.

Letichev

• *First Letichever Benevolent Association (New York)*

This organization was formed in 1902. Meetings took place at 93 Pitt Street, NYC. The directors were:

Israel Black (a.k.a. Isidore Black), 272 Delancey Street, NYC
Chaim Macker, 11 Market Street, NYC
Nathan Rabinowitz (a.k.a. Newman Rabinowitz), 1 Pitt Street, NYC
Jacob Sachs, 105 Goerck Street, NYC
Isaac Weitzman, 93 Pitt Street, NYC

• *Latichever Young Friends / Eternal Young Friends (New York)*

This organization was founded in 1907. Meetings were held on the first and third Wednesdays of each month at 91 East 4th Street in New York. The original directors were:

Davis Binter, 81 Delancey Street, NYC
Isidor Mordkowitz, 303 E.8th Street, NYC
Louis Mordkowitz, 303 E. 8th Street, NYC
Isidor Toporofsky, 35 Essex Street, NYC
Isaac Watkin, 8 Allen Street, NYC
Max Weiner, 120 Cannon Street, NYC

In 1938 the secretary of the group was I. Marx, 750 Grand Concourse, Bronx, NY. In 1948 the Latichever Young Friends changed the name of the organization to "Eternal Young Friends." This legal procedure was taken care of by landsman Hyman Trachtenberg, 758 New Lots Avenue, Brooklyn, NY. At that time the president and secretary of the group were Max Weiner and Samuel M. Miller, respectively. Additional burials took place at Wellwood Cemetery, Farmingdale, Long Island.

• *Letichever Progressive Society (New York)*

This society was organized in 1911 with 180 members. Meetings were held on the second and fourth Sundays of every month at 151 Clinton Street. In 1938, the secretary was I. Lieberman, 7201 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn, NY.

The society was incorporated in 1924. In 1926, the Letichever Progressive Society acquired title to the cemetery lots in Montefiore Cemetery from the surviving trustees of the First Letichever Lodge No. 224, Independent Order Brith Sholom. The Letichever Progressive Society was dissolved during 1976. At that time each living member was given a deed and their name and grave assignment was registered with the cemetery. Records of the Letichever Progressive Society are archived at YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York.

The following is a list of the available information indicating the name, grave number and their last known address. We are sure that since 1976 many of the living members on this list have died.

Beth David Cemetery, Madison and Benjamin Ave., Section "H" , Block "6", Dated Nov. 7, 1934 (revised Feb. 2, 1950), Map 1024

Name	Line/Grave	Deceased Date
Left Side:		
Magidson, Esther	E/1	May 8, 1940
Blaystein, Minnie	E/2	Feb. 3, 1944
Gerner, Anna	E/3	Sep. 20, 1940
Burstein, Chaia	E/4	Jun. 3, 1946
Gerber, Eva	E/5	Dec. 8, 1948
Blaustein, Claire	E/6	Dec. 14, 1948
Pesark, Julia	E/7	Mar. 18, 1949
Glassman, Paula	E/8	Dec. 22, 1949
Pugatch, Sheimas	E/9	Aug. 1, 1946
Palty, Bessie	F/1	Feb. 21, 1950
Kaplan, Dora	F/2	Oct. 15, 1950
Gold, J.	F/3	Aug. 14, 1954
Gold, W.	F/4	Nov. 28, 1970
Baum, David	F/5	Mar. 28, 1965
Baum, Sarah	F/6	
Pesark, Rose	F/7	
Cohen, Frieda	F/8	
Cohen, Samuel	F/9	
Finkelstein, Ida	G/1	Dec. 12, 1958
Bernstein, Lena	G/2	Mar. 29, 1959
Elson, Dora	G/3	Sep. 11, 1963
Lumish, Rose	G/4	Feb. 26, 1962
Anshil	G/5	Jul. 30, 1963
Greenberg, Abraham	G/6	
Greenberg, Sarah	G/7	Dec. 12, 1968
Kurtzman, Florence	G/8	Feb. 7, 1966
Kurtzman, Benjamin	G/9	May 5, 1961
Blank	H/1	
Smith, David	H/2	
Smith, Anna	H/3	Apr. 20, 1968
Lumish, Sarah	H/4	
Lumish, Morris	H/5	May 1, 1967
Sutter, Allan	H/6	
Sutter, Rita	H/7	Aug. 15, 1968
Batalin, Betty	H/8	
Batalin, Harry	H/9	Nov. 20, 1973
Kaplan, Hyman	I/1	
Kurtzman, Robert	I/2	Jul. 18, 1970
Kurtzman, Edna	I/3	Dec. 3, 1969

Goldman, Murray I/4 Jun. 21, 19??
Goldman, J. I/5
Birnbach, Harry I/6
Birnbach, Wife I/7
Abramson, A. I/8
Abramson, Bessie I/9
Fishman, Neil J/1
Pesark, Herman J/2
Pesark, Jennie J/3
Orenstein, Frieda J/4
Orenstein, Harry J/5
Grodin, Sam J/6
Grodin, Rose J/7
Orenstein, Ella J/8
Orenstein, Harry J/9
Lieberman, Stanley K/1
Blank K/2
Blank K/3
Rosenzweig, Lillian K/4
Rosenzweig, Benjamin K/5
Sobelman, Martin K/6
Sobelman, Laura K/7
Raskin, Millie K/8
Raskin, Julius K/9
Blank L/1
Blank L/2
Moorash, Sadie L/3
Schrage, Sarah L/4
Schrage, Nathan L/5
Berman, Paul L/6
Berman, Iris L/7
Mark, Anita L/8
Mark, Paul L/9
Penner, Eve M/1
Penner Sam M/2 About 1984
Bletter M/3
Bletter M/4
Bletter, Sydney M/5 1984
Bletter, Gladys M/6
Steiner, Rachel M/7
Steiner, Lena M/8 Apr. 18, 1969
Steiner, Janet M/9 Oct. 4, 1971
Penner N/1
Penner N/2
Reisman, Celia N/3
Reisman, Samuel N/4
Reisman, Paul N/5 Jun. 6, 1959
Reisman, Rose N/6 Mar. 3, 1960
Zeff, Rose N/7 Oct. 11, 196?
Zeff, Jacob N/8 Feb. 3, 1958

Right Side:

Goldman, J. B/13 Apr. 3, 1958
Blank B/14
Blank B/15
Berkowitz, Adele B/16 Dec. 9, 1960
Koplick, Ruth B/17
Koplick, Susan B/18
Blank B/19
Blaystein, Morris CD/13 Aug. 15, 1940
Burstein, Morris CD/14 Sep. 15, 1940
Feldberg, Louis CD/15
Berkowitz, Abe CD/16 Apr. 1, 1948
Koplick, Bertha CD/17 May 21, 1971
Koplick, Max CD/18 Apr. 18, 1939
Selin, Louis CD/19
Rosen, Julius E/10 Apr. 29, 1943
Rosen, Minnie E/11
Schmergel E/12
Schmergel, Joseph E/13 Aug. 31, 1948
Wolfstein, Hyman E/14 Nov. 13, 1949
Kaufman, Isadore E/15 Sep. 23, 1951
Kaufman, Sarah E/16 Sep. 16, 1956
Omensky, Max F/10 1954
Omensky, Sarah F/11
Schmergel, Mollie F/12
Schmergel, Esther F/13
Goldberg, Lena F/14
Siegel, Ida F/15 Feb. 27, 1972
Siegel, Benjamin F/16 Feb. 21, 1960
Rubin, Irving G/10
Rubin, Bella G/11
Blank G/12
Greenfield, Isidor G/13 Feb. 2, 1967
Greenfield, Rose G/14
Landsman, Eva G/15 1
Landsman, Max G/16 Mar. 2, 1964
Mendelowitz, Gussie H/10
Lumish, Max H/11
Lumish, Ruth H/12
Glick, Sam H/13
Glick, Anna H/14
Sheriff, Rose H/15 Feb. 14, 1966
Sheriff, Joseph H/16 Sep. 9, 196?
Lapson, Nathan I/10
Lapson, Julia I/11
Pelzman I/12
Pelzman, Benjamin I/13 Aug. 28, 1976
Sunshine, Rubin I/14 Oct. 13, 1969
Sunshine, Bella I/15
Rosen, Sophie I/16
Dorfman, William J/10
Dorfman, Gertrude J/11
Wangel, Rose J/12
Wangel, Joseph J/13
Sheldon, Joseph J/14
Gottleib, Mayer J/15
Gottleib, Lee J/16
Berke, Morris K/10
Berke, Faye K/11
Berke, Toby K/12
Berke, Benjamin K/13
Kaufman, Janet K/14
Kaufman, Janet K/15
Blumenfeld, Pauline K/16
Wiener, Jack L/10
Wiener, Wife L/11 .
Kaufman, Sylvia L/12
Kaufman, Max L/13
Kaufman, George L/14
Kaufman, Dorothy L/15
Blank L/16
Goldberg, Carl M/15

Montefiore Cemetery, Block "89", Dated June 14, 1943

Left Side:

Chadorow, Sonia	2/1	
Nemerofsky, Ida	2/2	Dec. 4, 1947
Wangel, Minnie	3/4	
Sirof, J.	4/1	Jul. 31, 1916
Sirof, L.	4/2	Jul. 10, 1939
Wangel	4/3	Aug. 4, 1932
Sherman, H.	4/4	Feb. 1, 1924
Shtulbaum, Y.	4/5	Nov. 22, 1922
Weitzman, L.	5/1	Nov. 11, 1916
Lieberman, B.	5/2	May 25, 1919
Rosenthal, W.	5/3	Nov. 13, 1919
Omansky, I.	5/4	Feb. 17, 1920
Kupchick, R.	5/5	Aug. 30, 1921
Zmora, N.	6/1	Apr. 28, 1924
Sheriff, H.	6/2	May 12, 1974
Malkiman, J.	6/3	May 12, 1974
Finkelstein, M.	6/4	Nov. 5, 1926
Greenhof, J.	6/5	Jan. 17, 1927
Fishman, J.	7/1	May 27, 1929
Kupchick, R.	7/2	Sep. 29, 1928
Lieberman, N.	7/3	Oct. 10, 1928
Nemerofsky, N.	7/4	Jan. 9, 1929
Chaplick, M.	7/5	
Zuckerman, D.	7/6	Apr. 29, 1933
Rosenfeld, H.	8/1	Feb. 17, 1937
Greenberg, H.	8/2	Oct. 8, 1936
Siegel, Edith	8/3	Jun. 23, 1945
Siegel, I.	8/4	Apr. 2, 1936
Horowitz, M.	8/5	May 22, 1931
Pugatch, M.	8/6	Apr. 16, 1939
Bletter, I.	9/1	Nov. 29, 1937
Rochlis, F.	9/2	Jan. 15, 1938
Rochlis, Bella	9/3	May 28, 1958
Trolman	9/4	Jul. 10, 1953
Trolman, I.	9/5	Feb. 6, 1939
Lieberman, Louis	9/6	Dec. 12, 1946
Roberts, N.	10/1	Nov. 27, 1940
Langer, H.	10/2	Jan. 21, 1943
Langer, Anna	10/3	May 20, 1946
Itzkowitz, Jennie	10/4	Apr. 11, 1951
Itzkowitz, Isaac	10/5	Aug. 20, 1957
Rimer, Meyer	10/6	Jan. 29, 1964
Birnberg, Nechomo	11/1	May 12, 1952
Birnberg, Nathan	11/2	Oct. 9, 1943
Finkelstein, Julius	11/3	Nov. 20, 1943
Chadorow, Nathan	11/4	May 30, 1945
Glassman, Isaac	11/5	Jan. 6, 1946
Lieberman, Isidor	11/6	Apr. 11, 1958
Lieberman, Miriam	11/7	Sep. 19, 1955
Shames, David	12/1	May 26, 1947
Shames, Alexander	12/2	May 9, 1952
Shames, Minnie	12/3	Apr. 21, 1968
Needleman, Dora	12/4	May 11, 1962
Needleman, Sam	12/5	Jan. 27, 1947
Lieberman, Louis	12/6	Aug. 19, 1965
Lieberman, Anna	12/7	Oct. 13, 1957
Feinberg, Anna	13/1	Dec. 2, 1952
Ellman, Bessie	13/2	Nov. 30, 1951
Finkelstein, Rebecca	13/3	Mar. 23, 1951
Wald, Fannie	13/4	Oct. 25, 1992
Wald, Jack	13/5	Jul. 9, 1966
Rosen, Morris	13/6	May 14, 1948
Binger, Lilly Rosen	13/7	
Bletter, Esther	14/1	Mar. 18, 1966
Bletter, Rubin	14/2	
Bletter, Nathan	14/3	Apr. 23, 1964
Bletter, Bertha	14/4	Mar. 15, 1988
Weiner, Sonia	14/5	Jan. 3, 1956
Rosofsky, Rebecca	14/6	1997
Rosofsky	14/7	
Krutt, J.	15/1	Mar. 13, 1932
Weiner, Harry	15/2	Jul. 9, 1951
Shenker, Isidor	15/3	Dec. 13, 1942
Shenker, Rachel	15/4	Feb. 4, 1952
Fisgayer, C.	15/5	May 20, 1938
Fisgayer, M.	15/6	Jan. 23, 1929

Right Side:

Grushoff	3/1	Jul. 6, 1919
Kitry, P.	3/2	Feb. 26, 1919
Latman, C.	3/3	
Latman, S.	3/4	Apr. 19, 1946
Sirata, R.	3/5	Aug. 5, 1933
Herman, P.	3/6	Mar. 14, 1924
Kupchick, E.	3/7	Jul. 29, 1925
Kupchick, Y.	3/8	Apr. 26, 1939
Blank	4/1-8	
Dinowitz, H.	5/1	Dec. 21, 1938
Itzkowitz	5/2	Oct. 5, 1918
Itzkowitz	5/3	
Siedman, S.	5/4	Nov. 22, 1922
Sherman, R.	5/5	May 2, 1920
Horowitz, R.	5/6	Jun. 18, 1921
Kagan, R.	5/7	Feb. 23, 1922
Zuckerman, S.	5/8	Mar. 3, 1922
Malkiman, S.	6/1	Dec. 1, 1937
Malkiman, Y.	6/2	Dec. 28, 1933
Malkiman, J.	6/3	Dec. 6, 1920
Trolman, N.	6/4	Jan. 7, 1921
Gordon, S.	6/5	Sep. 4, 1925
Greenberg, I.	6/6	Feb. 6, 1928
Goldberg, R.	6/7	Dec. 18, 1929
Katz, N.	6/8	Jan. 22, 1940
Feinberg, A.	7/1	May 30, 1938
Cherney, S.	7/2	Apr. 1, 1938
Rosenfeld, A.	7/3	Dec. 14, 1953
Norshover, F.	7/4	Nov. 16, 1933
Chadorow, C.	7/5	Jul. 18, 1933
Chapler, R.	7/6	Aug. 29, 1932
Pugatch, F.	7/7	Nov. 20, 1930
Rimer, B.	8/1	Nov. 17, 1942
Pugatch, G.	8/2	Jan. 6, 1965
Mettler, B.	8/3	Aug. 5, 1942
Wiener, S.	8/4	Jun. 7, 1942
Kupchick, S.	8/5	Jun. 9, 1940
Rosen, A.	8/6	Sep. 2, 1936
Lieberman, F.	8/7	Jul. 8, 1934
Malkiman, R.	9/1	Jan. 5, 1943
Greenberg	9/2	Aug. 1, 1960
Greenberg, Julia	9/3	Dec. 14, 1950
Siegel, Rose	9/4	Feb. 5, 1947
Nudleman, Sarah	9/5	Apr. 13, 1946
Lieberman, Sarah	9/6	Apr. 3, 1945
Weitzman, S.	9/7	May 12, 1943

Weissman, Hyman	10/1	Jul. 7, 1955	Bletter, Robert	11/5	Jan. 8, 1976
Weissman, Sarah	10/2	Jan. 28, 1947	Lieberman, Jack	11/6	Jul. 24, 1975
Gold, Clara	10/3	May 19, 1950	Lieberman, Sylvia	11/7	
Gold, Charles	10/4	Jan. 13, 1957	Shenker, Morris	12/1	Aug. 10, 1972
Goldberg, Harry	10/5	Oct. 28, 1963	Shenker, Rose	12/2	Feb. 9, 1974
Chadorow, Sam	10/6	Jan. 16, 1960	Fishman, Celia	12/3	Apr. 23, 1967
Chadorow, Sadie	10/7	Feb. 28, 1956	Sheldon, Sarah	12/4	Nov. 12, 1961
Baronfeld, Isidor	11/1	Dec. 20, 1972	Sheldon, David	12/5	Sep. 4, 1974
Baronfeld, Bella	11/2	Nov. 14, 1970	Boxer, Isidor	12/6	May 1, 1961
Chadorun, Anna	11/3	Sep. 17, 1969	Boxer, Anna	12/7	Dec. 8, 1960
Blank	11/4				

Burials of the Latichever Progressive Society, Mt. Zion Cemetery, Queens, New York (path 42, right):[39]

Names of Officers and Members inscribed on the gate (Note: No date seen--part of the gate has been damaged; also, many of the words are missing):

Ex-Presidents:
Harris Zaks
Khaim Goldman
Pessya Blumenfeld

President:
Moshe Strikavsky

Vice-President:
Khaim Veigman

Cashier:
Isaac Naiman

Secretary:
Shoel Frenkel

Trustees:
Eliahu Sheindelman
Moshe Leib Feld
Moshe Dovid Greenberg

Doctor:
Shlomo Ganz

Members (Note: This list is incomplete, as some names are illegible.):
Khaim Applebaum
Aharon Anshine
Khaya Liba Anshine
Zev Anshine
Yosef Orenstein
Abraham Bergman
Yehuda Leib Bergman
Zalman Baron
Shlomo Black
Nakhum Balter
Zev Balter
Nakhum Burstein
Itskhak Green
Yakov Goodis
Shalom Dilman
Moshe Draz (?)
Beryl Derevsky
Akiva Haberberg
Yehudah Goldman
Makhman Rabinovich
Abraham Feldberg
Yekheskal Zaks
Yosef Blumenfeld
Natan Skner
Aharon Glick
Yehudah Goldman
Avigdor Miterstein
Yeshua Zeidman
Yeshua Vaserman
Dovid Zilberman
Zushya Zilberman
Moshe Zilberman
Hirsh Toporoff
Yakov Trup
Abraham Yakelson
Max Landman
Aizik Luksenberg
Tsvi Luksenberg
Meir Lipman
Pinkhas Leder
Zev Sirota
Khaim Sirota
Yakov Polansky
Shmuel Pinerov (?)
Abraham Fineman
Khaim Kaplan
Tsvi Kaplan
Khaim Kaplan
Moshe Kaplan
Yakov Kats
Eliahu Koifman
Moshe Koifman
Yisroel Reisman
Israel Reisman
Meir Raber
Aharon Schechtman
Yeshua Sternberg
Moshe Shats
Eliezer Shekman
Pinkhas Shenker
Abraham Vald
Yakov Vald
Isidore Wasserman

Burials:

Abramson, Beckie, d. 3/30/30 age 39
Abramson, Charlotte, 2/7/32-1/30/33
Applebaum, Hyman, d. 3/1/63 age 83
Applebaum, Minnie, d. 5/31/49 age 65
Anshine, Morris, d. 12/24/33 age 26
Berger, Louis, d. 10/23/29 age 55
Berman, Clara, d. 7/3/65 age 94
Berman, Louis, d. 5/29/19 age 50
Black, Daniel, 12/25/97-5/27/46
Black, Gussie
Black, Israel, d. 10/16/17 age 48
Black, Louis , d. 7/3/31 age 51
Black, Minnie, d. 1/2/41 age 62
Black, Rebecca, d. 7/23/36 age 66

Bloomenfeld, Adelle, d. 6/19/45 age 65
Bloomenfeld, Baila, d. 9/18/39 age 92
Bloomenfeld, Joseph, d. 7/26/62 age 82
Blumenfeld, Benjamin, d. 10/16/62 age 87
Blumenfeld, Frieda, d. 9/28/45 age 54
Blumenfeld, Rachel, d. 11/21/09 age 32
Boorstein, Nathan, d. 10/15/52 age 71
Boorstein, Sophie, d. 12/15/51 age 72
Chodorow, Annie, d. 5/19/22 age 35
Coff, Abraham, d. 9/30/41
Coff, Menucha, d. 12/25/41
Cohen, Louis, d. 6/27/50 age 69
Cohen, Nettie, d. 9/8/47 age 64
Cohen, Rivka Rachel
Dorfman, Esther
Dorfman, Nathan, d. 4/30/31 age 59
Elson, Benjamin, d. 7/29/29 age 48
Farber, Bertha, d. 8/18/53 age 53
Farber, Jack, d. 9/30/46 age 51
Feld, Becky Fox, d. 6/6/54 age 86
Feldberg, Abraham, d. 5/4/31 age 72
Feldberg, Bella, d. 3/1/28 age 60
Feldberg, Louis, d. 1/23/21 age 48
Feldberg, Rachel, d. 3/21/60 age 78
Fell, Anna, d. 5/22/22
Finkelstein, Judith, d.5/6/31 age 8
Flaum, Beverly
Fox, Harry, 6/12/92-4/6/62
Fox, Sadie, d.10/6/38 age 44
Furman, Yetta, d. 4/18/49 age 51
Gidsey, Becky d. 3/15/19
Gidsey, Jack, d. 2/4/18 age 48
Gidsey, Sarah, d. 4/7/41 age 70
Gilden, Bertha, d. 8/27/20 age 8 1/2
Glick, Fannie, d. 8/31/52 age 76
Glick, Harry, d. 6/21/41 age 67
Glick, Rose, d. 3/11/11 age 10
Gold, David, d. 2/25/30 age 73
Goldenberg, Abraham, d. 8/13/37 age 63
Goldberg, Max, d. 3/8/17 age 19
Goldman, Ida, d. 9/7/55 age 70
Goldman, Max, d.1/5/39 age 55
Goldstein, Ethel, d.5/12/35 age 60
Goldstein, Joseph, d. 12/18/46 age 78
Goldman, Chaim
Goldman, Rudolph, 6/16/06-9/11/67
Goldman, Sarah
Goodis, Bessie, d. 1/2/17 age 16
Goodis, Harris, d. 1/24/32 age 68
Goodis, Mary, d. 10/18/51 age 85
Greenberg, Lena, d.9/22/32 age 45
Greenberg, Morris, d. 4/8/27 age 42
Haas, Bertha, d. 11/9/43
Herman, Harry, d. 7/27/27 age 42
Horowitz, Fannie, d. 8/17/21 age 35
Hyman, Rosie, d. 9/14/33 age 36
Kaplan, Annie, d. 2/13/17 age 41
Kaplan, Fannie, d. 2/15/25 age 44
Kaplan, Fannie, d. 4/2/64 age 80
Kaplan, Fanny, d. 3/30/57 age 72
Kaplan, Ida, d. 7/21/67 age 72
Kaplan, Harry, d. 12/20/47 age 65
Kaplan, Henry, d. 12/30/46 age 66
Kaplan, Morris, d. 5/18/48 age 74
Kaplan, Wolf, d. 6/29/26 age 51
Katz, Eva, d. 8/11/73 age 84
Katz, Harry, d. 1/18/20 age 9
Katz, Herman , d. 3/12/35 age 46
Kaufman, Anna Krell, d. 2/16/35 age 59
Kaufman, Jacob, 5/6/15-10/11/29
Kaufman, Mary, 2/17/92-3/9/71
Kaufman, Samuel, 12/19/90-7/8/55
Kogan, William, d. 6/28/17 age 55
Kurtzman, Bernard, 7/15/25-4/11/30
Kurtzman, Nathan, d. 11/30/45 age 65
Kurtzman, Samuel, d. 3/23/34 age 74
Kurtzman, Yetta, d. 2/11/54 age 72
Lumish, Mollie, d. 7/12/40 age 75
Luxenberg, Beckie, d. 11/14/52 age 77
Luxenberg, Golda, d. 10/11/50 age 63
Luxenberg, Harry, d. 5/14/28 age 46
Luxenberg, Isidore, d. 1/8/40 age 70
Macktas, Bessie, d. 12/3/20 age 84
Macktas, Morris, d. 9/24/20 age 53
Mishkin, Rebecca, d. 1/13/49 age 67
Mishkin, Samuel, d. 7/5/58 age 79
Miterstein, Mary, d. 7/31/25 age 17
Miterstein, Rebecca, d. 9/22/46 age 77
Miterstein, Victor, d. 5/31/38 age 72
Newman, Isaac, d. 4/1/14 age 62
Okranik, Cillia, d. 9/12/13 age 30
Orenstein, Joseph, d. 10/13/35 age 58
Ornstein, Pauline, 1885-1971
Patchen, Adolph, d. 8/25/43 age 69
Patchen, Sarah, d. 2/20/43 age 67
Perlman, Dora, d. 3/18/49 age 62
Perlman, Harry, d. 10/18/40 age 13
Rabinowitz, Esther, d. 3/4/09 age 37
Rabinowitz, Julia, d. 1/15/19 age 60
Rabinowitz, Nachman, d. 6/26/24 age 74
Reisman, Annie, d. 1/2/40 age 80
Reisman, Esther, d. 5/12/75
Reisman, Morris, d. 12/31/20 age 38
Reisman, Samuel, d. 2/11/44 age 59
Reisman, Rose, d. 4/17/65 age 75
Richer, Florence, d. 11/26/59 age 75
Richer, Harry, d. 11/2/44 age 81
Richer, Rubin, d. 4/3/22 age 14
Riveliss, Gittla, d.4/15/42 age 83
Rosenzweig, Louis, d. 4/16/22 age 36
Rothman, Isaac, d.12/27/24 age 60
Rovinsky, Ida
Rumanick, Isaac, d. 6/6/21 age 43
Sak, Celia, 7/4/08-3/19/28
Schandelman, Harry, d. 2/4/25 age 55
Schectman, Harry, d. 12/5/54 age 72
Schectman, Sarah, d. 5/7/47 age 61
Schenker, Eva, d. 6/14/33 age 61
Schenker, Pincus, d. 4/21/45 age 76
Sckuler, Aaron, 1876-1934
Sckuler, Dora, d. 3/2/21 age 43
Seidman, Edith, 2/5/84-7/20/49
Seidman, Samuel, 2/2/78-11/21/61
Setlow, Aaron, d. 4/30/25 age 49

Shapiro, Bessie, d. 8/22/54 age 68
Silver, Rachel, d. 1/20/39 age 86
Silver, Shloim, d. 4/1/40 age 87
Skner, Nathan, d. 5/11/32 age 59
Skner, Rebecca
Sobelman, Sam, d. 2/25/41 age 63
Sobelman, Sarah, d. 6/4/36 age 58
Socoloff, Minnie, d. 5/23/57 age 88
Sokoloff, Morris, d. 2/18/32 age 55
Steinback, Necham, d. 1/8/14 age 70
Sternberg, Ethel, d. 12/25/56 age 80
Sternberg, Isidore, d. 8/30/20 age 29
Sternberg, Louis, d. 10/29/26 age 58
Sternberg, Sam, d. 10/18/38 age 70
Suckel, Benjamin, d.11/4/23 age 53
Suckel, Ruchel, d. 1917
Toporoff, Harry, d. 9/13/47 age 85
Toporoff, Rose, d. 8/27/29 age 65
Trub, Anna, d. 3/30/59 age 73
Trub, Jacob, d. 1/31/47 age 70
Trub, Joseph, d. 8/16/34 age 24
Trub, Morris Nathan, d. 12/28/30 age 18
Tubis, Pearl
Wald, Abraham, d. 3/20/53 age 72
Wald, Benjamin, d. 1/14/33 age 80
Wald, Celia, d. 1/30/36 age 53
Wald, Ida, d. 9/23/29 age 72
Wasserman, Isidore
Weber, Harry, d. 2/1/35 age 65
Weber, Minucha, d. 10/31/61
Weigman, Anna, d. 4/29/95
Weigman, Hyman, d. 3/18/53 age 69
Weigman, Ida, d. 6/18/42 age 58
Weinstock, Benjamin, d. 5/27/38 age 41

There are additional burials of the Letichever Progressive Solidarity Society in Wellwood Cemetery, Farmingdale, New York.

• *Letitchever Mutual Aid Association (New York)*

This society was incorporated on March 27, 1914, with the following directors:

Abraham Aronoff, 325 Broome Street, NYC

Nathan Chodrow, 333 East 8th Street, NYC

Philip Margulies, Bergen Street and Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn, NY

Morris Rosen, 191 McKibben Street, Brooklyn, NY

Sam Seidman, 1517 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, NY

Samuel Sobelman, 157 Second Street, NYC

Max Weiner, 343 East 8th Street, NYC

• *Letitchever Progressive Literary Club (New York)*

This society was also incorporated on March 27, 1914. The directors were:

Jacob Javitz, 64-66 Avenue C, NYC

Isidore Brustein, 315 East 10th Street, NYC

Nathan Chodrow, 303 East 8th Street, NYC

Abraham Goldinhershel, 591 East 141st Street, NYC

Frank Harryton, 301 Second Street, NYC

Benjamin Krupnik, 899 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, NY

Elias Krupnik, 899 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, NY

Bernard Schumer, 85 Delancey Street, NYC

Philip Weinstein (a.k.a. Peretz Weinstein), 137 Clinton Street, NYC

• *The Letichever Beneficial Association (Philadelphia)*

The Letitchever Beneficial Association (Philadelphia) was founded in 1920 and incorporated in 1926. It still exists today and its membership consists primarily of first generation Americans (ie. sons and daughters of the immigrants from Letichev). Its function today consists of maintaining reserved burial plots in two cemeteries.

Other Members, compiled from various sources including minutes and Yiskor notices:

(Abbreviations: NKS = No Known Survivors; LB = Letichev Born)

Ackerman, Clara d. 1964 NKS
Ackerman, Isadore d. 1971 NKS
Alper, Andrew d. 1971
Alper, Miriam Mayerowitz LB
Blitman, David d. 1969
Blitman, Dora
Bruslofsky, Morris d. 1958
Bruslofsky, Paula
Bugash, Hyman
Bugash, Ida d. 1970
Burnstein, Sam (Bernstein ?)
Burnstein, Gertrude
Burstein, Israel d. 1969
Cherry, Mary Mayerowitz LB
Cherry, Nathan d. 1965
Cohen, Frank
Cohen, Mary
Easter, Abe inducted 1968 d. 1984
Edelman, Harry
Erivman, Harry Israel's son, d. 1960
Erivman, Israel d. 1978
Erivman, Sarah d. 1973
Farber, Hyman
Farber, Israel
Fine, Lee
Fishman, Dorothy
Fishman, Jay
Fishman, Joseph d. 1971
Fishman, Leyah d. 1965
Fox, Anna d. 1960
Fox, Bertha
Fox, Max d. 1979
Fox, Rebecca
Fox, Samuel
Fox, Victor d. 1979
Gerson, B.
Glass, David
Glass, Anna Farber
Glass, Samuel
Goldstein, Jack
Gordon, Mildred
Gordon, Morris d. 1969
Grad, Eleanore d. 1965
Greenstein, Celia joined 1967, d. 1972
Greenstein, Diane
Greenstein, Ethel joined 1967, d. 1972
Greenstein, William related to Nerenbergs
Hymowitz, Alter (Isadore) d.1984
Hymowitz, Benjamin
Hymowitz, Stella
Kahn, Frank
Kalter, I. (Kaller ?)
Kemerash (Kamerash or Kamrash?)
Katz, Bertha d. 1978
Katz, Carl d. 1965
Katz, Eva
Katz, Isadore d. 1971
Katz, Jack d. 1978
Katz, Mae d. 1979
Katz, Samuel d. 1974
Kopelson, Abe d. 1972
Kronberg
Kuhn
Kuphoff
Kuptsow, Albert a rabbi?
Kuptsow, Anna d. 1966
Kuptsow, David d. 1976
Kupstow, Eva d. 1980
Kuptsow, Fannie d. 1942
Kuptsow, Hyman d. 1958
Kuptsow, Mollie d. 1976
Kuptsow, Nathan d. 1957
Kuptsow, Sol d. 1965
Kurtzman, Dora
Kurtzman, Eva
Kurtzman, Isadore
Kurtzman, Israel
Kurtzman, Sam
Kutzlofsky, Louis
Lerner, Hyman d. 1971
Lerner, Sarah d. 1991
Levin, Freda (Fanny?)
Levin, Jack
Levin, Joseph d. 1961
Levin, I.
Levin, Max d. 1968
Levin, Rebecca d. 1966
Levin, Sarah
Levinthal, David joined 1968
Levis, Becky
Levis, Mary
Lipshits, Ben Zion
Lubask
Lunsk, Harry
Lunsk, Tillie
Marinoff, Morris d. 1977
Marinoff, Sylvia
Masors, Esther d. 1967
Matles, Abraham
Matles, Al suspended Feb. 1963 for non-payment of dues
Nadler, Robert
Neremberg, Harry d. 1960
Neremberg
Oronowitz, Albert
Pastman, Ida
Pastman, Joseph d. 1964
Paull, Bessie
Peperman, Sara
Plam, Annette
Plam, Maurice hired as recording sec'y beginning in 1963. Not from Letichev. d. 1977
Pomerantz, Sophie d. 1973
Rabinowitz, Isador d. 1972
Rabinovitz, Israel report from Russia Oct. 1960
Rabinowitz, Morris
Rabinowitz, Naomi
Reses, Harry
Reses, Joseph d. 1960
Reses, Pearl
Reses, Tessie d. 1968
Rosen, Max
Satin, Morris
Schwartz, David d. 1966
Schwartz, Edith
Schwartz, Goldie d. 1964

Schwartz, Herman d. 1969
Schwartz, Hyman
Schwartz, Isadore
Schwartz, Sofie (Sima)
Segal, Max suspended Feb. 1963 for non-payment of dues
Shankman, Clara d. 1975
Sharf, Isaac
Sharf, Rose
Shamus, Ben (Shames ?) d. 1965
Seidman, Benjamin (Zeidman ?) d. 1975
Seidman, David
Seidman, Fannie d. 1960
Seidman, Harry d. 1975
Seidman, Rebecca
Sherman, Frank
Shifrin, Jacob not from Letichev d. 1975
Shifrin, Sophie
Sirata, A.
Silverman, Anna Ostacher LB, d. 1976
Silverman, Goldie
Silverman, Harry son of Louis
Silverstein, Mollie d. 1987
Silverstein, Morris d. 1970
Sobel, Celia d. 1955
Spivack, Charles d. 1977
Spivack, Dorothy
Stein, Abe
Stein, Mollie d. 1986
Tabak, Abe d. 1957
Tabak, Lillian
Tabak, Sam d. 1975
Tator, James (Tatron or Tatres ?)
Trachtenberg, Ida d. 1970
Trachtenberg, Philip d. 1962
Uhnz, Paul (Uhrey or Uhry ?)
Wernow, Tamie Silverman LB
Weiner, Becky d. 1990
Weiner, Benjamin d. 1966
Weiner, Louis denied sick benefits because chronic illness made him ineligible, d. 1965
Weiner, Max
Weiner, Mollie d. 1967
Weiner, Morris d. 1984
Wine, William
Wolf, Jacob
Zietz, Ed d. 1985
Zietz, Sal d. 1985
Zeman, Bernard
Zeman, Edith

Charter Members and their Addresses in 1926:

Boorstein, Israel 1501 West Montgomery Avenue
Bugash, Hyman 2533 South Philip Street
Farber, Frank 859 North 3rd Street
Fishman, Samuel 2533 South American Street
Fox, Zeidel 2510 South Marshall Street
Kamrash, Isaac 738 South 4th Street
Kamrash, Moishe 2627 North Hollywood Street
Kurtzman, Sam 718 South 4th Street d. 1956
Lipschitz, Benjamin 5811 Pine Street
Lumish, Max N.E. Corner 7th & Jackson Streets
Merlin, Max 1921 Westmoreland Street
Parnes, William 2533 South Philip Street
Reses, Harry 2521 South Sheridan Street
Schwartz, Benjamin 2533 South Philip Street
Schwartz, Samuel 2533 South Philip Street d. 1956
Segal, Max 2531 North 30th Street
Shames, Benjamin 3967 Pensgrove Street d. 1965
Shames, David 3967 Pensgrove Street
Shames, Joseph 3848 Wyalusing Avenue
Sharf, Abraham 284 South 56th Street
Sharf, Isaac 284 South 56th Street
Silverman, Louis 220 Shunk Street
Silverman, David 220 Shunk Street d. 1960
Weiner, Gershen 4228 South 3rd Street d. 1986
Weiner, Louis 3836 Brown Street d. 1965
Zuckerman, Benjamin 1516 South 2nd Street

Past Presidents (incomplete):

Pomerantz, Max	1936, 1959-62	d. 1962; not from Letichev
Reses, Harry	1926	
Reses, Samuel	1958, 1964	d. 1964
Silverman, Morris	1931, 1963-76	d. 1973

Letichever Grave sites, Mt. Sharon and Mt. Jacob Cemeteries, Philadelphia (1994):

Name	Line/Grave	Deceased Date
Mt. Sharon Cemetery, Section "I":		
Kuptsow, David	121/1	Feb. 14, 1976
Kuptsow, Eva	121/2	Oct. 30, 1980
Kuptsow, Mollie	121/3	Nov. 6, 1976
Kuptsow, Solomon	121/4	July 1, 1965
Tabac, Sam	123/1	Oct. 30, 1975
Sobel, Celia	123/2	Oct. 5, 1955
Kuptsow, Nathan	123/3	Nov. 5, 1957
Kuptsow, Fannie	123/4	Oct. 3, 1942
Grad, Eleanore	125/1	July 27, 1965
vacant	125/2	
Katz, Samuel	125/3	Jan. 11, 1974
Katz, Bertha	125/4	Oct. 22, 1978
Erivman, Sarah	127/1	Oct. 31, 1973
Erivman, Harry	127/2	July 1, 1960
Erivman, Israel	127/3	Aug. 15, 1978
Tabak, Lillian	127/4	reserved
Reses, Samuel	129/1	Sept. 1, 1964
Reses, Tessie	129/2	Dec. 26, 1968
Ackerman, Clara	129/3	Dec. 3, 1964
Ackerman, Isadore	129/4	reserved
Cherry, Nathan	131/1	May 25, 1965
Cherry	131/2	reserved
Katz, Helen	131/3	reserved
Katz, Carl	131/4	Jan. 23, 1965
Reses, Joseph	133/1	Nov. 29, 1960
Reses, Pearl	133/2	reserved
Katz, Isadore	133/3	Dec. 31, 1971
Katz, Mae	133/4	May 29, 1979
Burstein, Israel	135/1	Apr. 27, 1969
Burstein, Gertrude	135/2	reserved
Lerner, Hyman	135/3	Apr. 23, 1971
Lerner, Sarah	135/4	Jan. 24, 1991
Schwartz, Herman	137/1	July 9, 1969
Schwartz, Edith	137/2	reserved
Fishman, Joseph	137/3	Apr. 19, 1971
Fishman, Dorothy	137/4	reserved
Spivack, Charles	139/1	Apr. 7, 1977
Spivack, Dorothy	139/2	reserved
Zinman, Bernard	139/3	reserved
Zinman, Edith	139/4	reserved
Stein, Abe	141/1	reserved
Stein, Molly	141/2	Apr. 7, 1986
Lunsk, Harry	141/3	reserved
Lunsk, Tillie	141/4	reserved
Alper, Andrew	143/1	Aug. 27, 1971
Alper, Miriam	143/2	reserved
Marnoff, Morris	143/3	Feb. 9, 1977
Marnoff, Sylvia	143/4	reserved
Silverman, Morris	145/1	Dec. 22, 1973
Silverman, Anna	145/2	Jan. 22, 1976
Silverman, H.	145/3	reserved
Silverman	145/4	reserved
Mt. Sharon Cemetery, second section:		
Wernow, Nathan	211/1	July 11, 1958
Wernow, Tanya	211/2	reserved
Cherry, Isadore	211/3	Mar. 20, 1977
Cherry, Sarah	211/4	June 4, 1960
Vernow, Baby	212/1a	
vacant	212/1b	
Cherry, Baby	212/2a	
Glass, Baby	212/2b	
Middleberg, Baby	212/3a	
Unknown, Baby	212/3b	
Butler, Baby	212/4a	
Schwartz, Baby	212/4b	
Greenstein, Diane	213/1	reserved
Cherry, Jacob	213/2	Apr. 4, 1967
Cherry, Lillian	213/3	June 6, 1961
Trachtenberg, Ida	213/4	Apr. 10, 1970
Tabak, Abraham	214/1	Sept. 10, 1957
Kuptsow, Hyman	214/2	June 14, 1958
Kuptsow, Anna	214/3	Dec. 15, 1966
Trachtenberg, Philip	214/4	Feb. 4, 1962
Tabak, Yetta	215/1	Nov. 9, 1969
Tabak, Jos.	215/2	Sept. 10, 1971
Tabak, Hyman	215/3	Sept. 13, 1956
Tabak, Goldie	215/4	Jan. 21, 1979
Schwartz, Samuel	216/1	Nov. 2, 1956
Schwartz, Sima	216/2	reserved
Seidman, Harry	216/3	June 23, 1975
Seidman, Anne	216/4	Sept. 14, 1980
Lipshutz, Cecelia	217/1	
Boorstein, Rachel	217/2	Aug. 16, 1957
Nerenberg, Elizabeth	217/3	Mar. 20, 1969
Nerenberg, Harry	217/4	Nov. 29, 1960
Silverman, Goldie	218/1	
Silverman, Louis	218/2	
Seidman, Fannie	218/3	Jan. 13, 1960
Pastman, Ida Seidman	218/4	reserved
Kurtzman, Julius	219/1	
Malamud, Necha	219/2	

Kurtzman, Eva	219/3	Aug. 15, 1979
Schwartz, Bruce	219/4	
Schwartz, Goldie	220/1	July 28, 1964
Schwartz, David	220/2	Dec. 15, 1966
Schwartz, Dr. Samuel	220/3	reserved
Schwartz, Sally	220/4	Nov. 6, 1991
Bugash, Hyman	221/1	
Bugash, Ida	221/2	Feb. 26, 1970
Greenstein, Sarah	221/3	May 29, 1955
Kirsch, Jacob	221/4	
Pastman, Jennie	222/1	
Pastman, Joe	222/2	June 30, 1964
Kurtzman, Sam	222/3	Jan. 1, 1956
Kurtzman	222/4	
Parness, Bessie	223/1	
Parness, William	223/2	
Silverman, David	223/3	June 20, 1960
Silverman, Anna	223/4	Oct. 30, 1954
Rappaport, Abraham	224/1	
Rappaport, Rose	224/2	Jan. 19, 1969
Cooperman, Morris	224/3	
Fox, Morris	224/4	
Fishman, Sam	225/1	
Fishman, Leah	225/2	Nov. 26, 1965
Leve, Dora	225/3	
Leve, Nus	225/4	
Shifrin, Rachael	226/1	
Shifrin, Nathan	226/2	
Seidman, Benjamin	226/3	Jan. 11, 1975
Seidman, Rebecca	226/4	
Rabinowitz, Sarah	227/1	
Rabinowitz, Morris	227/2	
Rabinowitz, Isador	227/3	May 1, 1972
Rabinowitz	227/4	reserved
Shandelman, Usher	228/1	
Shandelman, Rose	228/2	
Kuptsow, Joseph	228/3	
White, Jacob	228/4	
Kramer, Lilian	229/1	
Cooperman, Rose	229/2	
Seidman, Sarah	229/3	
Seidman, Joseph	229/4	
Soltonoff, Jennie	230/1	
Breslofsky, Morris	230/2	July 1, 1958
Breslofsky, Rose	230/3	
Zamochnick, Rachael	230/4	
Greenstein, Samuel	231/1	
Seidman, Nathan	231/2	
Silberg, Hyman	231/3	
Lipshitz, Samuel	231/4	
Hirshorn, Gordon	232/1	Feb. 27, 1959
Hirshorn, Samuel	232/2	
Mayerowitz, Morris	232/3	
Katz, Max	232/4	
White, Sophia	233/1	
Seidman, Minnie	233/2	
Billick, Pauline	233/3	
Katz, Anna	233/4	
Farber, Bessie	234/1	
Rathler, Isadore	234/2	May 28, 1968
Cutler, Celia	234/3	
Lipshutz, Rose	234/4	
Shamus, Sarah	235/1	
Sherman, Celia	235/2	
Schwartz, Fannie	235/3	
Katz, Lena	235/4	
Farber, Frank	236/1	
Wein, William	236/2	
Greenbaum, Louis	236/3	
Katz, Gedalia	236/4	
Kramrash, Fannie	237/1	
Paull, Isadore	237/2	
Paull, Bessie	237/3	Sept. 25, 1964
Katz, Zlota Goldman	237/4	Aug. 17, 1957
Glass, Freda	238/1	
Shifrin, Sophie	238/2	
Shifrin, Jacob	238/3	Nov. 10, 1975
Boorstein, Frank	238/4	
Reses, Molly	239/1	
Fox, Bala	239/2	
Reses, Bessie	239/3	
Reses, Harry	239/4	
Glass, Jacob	240/1	
Schwartz, Sarah	240/2	
Schwartz, Barish	240/3	
Lipshutz, Benjamin	240/4	

Mr. Jacob Cemetery:

Kopelson, Pearl	307/1	Nov. 23, 1965
Kopelson, Abe	307/2	Oct. 18, 1972
Weiner, Benjamin	307/3	Mar. 19, 1966
Weiner, Eva	307/4	Aug. 31, 1979
Fox, Samuel	308/1	reserved
Fox, Rebecca	308/2	reserved
Levin, Rebecca	308/3	Aug. 13, 1966
Levin, Max	308/4	Mar. 10, 1968
vacant	309/1-2	
Easter, Abe	309/3	July 3, 1984
Easter, Nancy	309/4	Jan. 6, 1982
vacant	310/1	
Greenstein, William	310/2	reserved
Greenstein, Celia	310/3	reserved
Greenstein, Ethel	310/4	Feb. 1972
Blitman, David	311/1	July 28, 1969
Blitman, Dora	311/2	reserved
Gordon, Morris	311/3	Sept. 19, 1969
Gordon, Mildred	311/4	reserved
Shankman, Clara	312/1	Apr. 4, 1975
Shankman	312/2	reserved
vacant	312/3-4	
Fox, Victor	322/1	Aug. 22, 1979
Fox, Bertha	322/2	reserved
Swift	322/3-4	reserved
Pomerantz, Max	323/1	Mar. 26, 1962
Pomerantz, Sophie	323/2	Mar. 3, 1973
Weiner, Louis	323/3	July 2, 1965
Weiner, Mollie	323/4	Aug. 4, 1967
Silverstein, Morris	324/1	Jan. 12, 1970
Silverstein, Mollie	324/2	June 5, 1987
Weiner, Morris	324/3	Jan. 17, 1984
Weiner, Irene	324/4	reserved
Fox, Anna	337/1	Feb. 6, 1960
Fox, Max	337/2	July 5, 1979
Levin, Joseph	337/3	Mar. 14, 1961
Levin	337/4	reserved
Shamas, Benjamin	338/1	Oct. 10, 1965
vacant	338/2	

Masors, Esther	338/3	Sept. 20, 1967	Ziets, Sol	341/1	Jan. 5, 1985
Peperman, Sara	338/4	reserved	Ziets, Edward	341/2	Apr. 20, 1985
vacant	339/1-2		Ziets	341/3	reserved
Plam, Annette	339/3	reserved	*vacant*	341/4	
Plam, Maurice	339/4	Jan. 17, 1977	Weiner, Gershon	342/1	Dec. 27, 1986
Katz, Jack	340/1	Aug. 9, 1978	Weiner, Becky	342/2	Nov. 4, 1990
Katz, Eva	340/2	reserved	Fine, Lee	342/3	reserved
Hymowitz, Isadore	340/3	Jan. 30, 1984	*vacant*	342/4	
Hymowitz, Stella	340/4	reserved			

From the Banquet & Dance Program, Nov. 21, 1936, list of names of people mentioned in the book in alphabetical order. Many of these people may have simply bought advertising and thus were not part of the Association. However, it was impossible to separate these people from Association members and kinsman.

Adelman, William
735 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Bags

Agranovitz, Mr. & Mrs.
1933 S. 8th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Alper, Andrew
2634 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Furniture Repair

Alper, Mr. & Mrs.
2634 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Aronstein, Mr. & Mrs.
5601 N. Warnock St.
Philadelphia, PA

Bagelman, Mr. & Mrs.
2427 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Balis, M.
Cigars

Belber, Dr. Leon M.
5604 Spruce St.
Philadelphia, PA
Surgeon Dentist

Bell, Sam
Letichev Committee

Blank, Louis
706-8 Porter St.
Philadelphia, PA
Delicatessen

Bloom, Mr. & Mrs. Dave
1848 Prospect Place
Brooklyn, NY

Bronstein, Sam
Letichev Committee

Brown, Mr. & Mrs. F.

Brownstein, Mr. & Mrs.

Bufty, Al & Harry

Bugash, Chaim & Adel
Leti. Financial Sec.

Bugash, Mrs. Ida
2533 S. Philip St.
Philadelphia, PA

Burshteyn, Eyser

Burstein
2555 S. 2nd St.
Philadelphia, PA
Bakery

Burstein, Mr. & Mrs. I.
5413 Ridgewood St.
Philadelphia, PA

Burstein, Mr. & Mrs. Isor
2510 14th St. NW
Washington, DC

Burstein, Mr. & Mrs. Samuel
1521 17th St. NW
Washington, DC

Butler, Mr. & Mrs. Morris
3506 Cottage Ave.
Baltimore, MD

Chaers, A.
30 S. 3rd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Chaess, A.
30 N. 3rd St.
Philadelphia, PA
Wholesale Dry Goods

Chaiken, H.
233-35 Market St.
Philadelphia, PA
Sweaters & Bathing Suits

Chelson, Dr. Borris I.
726 S. 59th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Cherry, Mr. & Mrs. J.
726 Ritner St.
Philadelphia, PA

Cherry, Mr. & Mrs. J.
726 Jackson St.
Philadelphia, PA

Cherry, Mr. & Mrs. Nathan
Letichev Committee

Cherry, Mrs. Max
2529 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Cohen
6th and Shunk St.
Philadelphia, PA
Drug Store

Cohen, Mr. & Mrs. Frank
3137 Euclid Ave.
Philadelphia, PA
Letichev Committee

Cohen, Mr. & Mrs. Hyman
2939 N. 22nd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Cohen, Myer
914 N. Oriana St.
Philadelphia, PA
Pretzels

Cohen, R.
2129 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Plumbing

Cohen, S.
6049 Pine St.

Philadelphia, PA
Bathhouse

Cooperman, Mr. & Mrs.
1865 Widener Place
Philadelphia, PA

Coopersmith, Al.
Letichev Committee

Crass, Mr. & Mrs. Harry
724 S. 59th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Cutler, Mr. & Mrs.

Dayen, Mr. & Mrs. Harry
2308 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Bakery

Drucker, Harry
5844 Cedar Ave.
Philadelphia, PA

Eisenberg, Louis
1321 Ridge Ave.
Philadelphia, PA

Erivman, I.
1235 S. 5th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Printing

Fabricant, Abe
231 Hillside Ave.
Newark, NJ

Fagan, Samuel
2724 N. Dover St.
Philadelphia, PA
Electrician

Farber, Froyka

Farber, Hyman
Letichev Committee

Feinstein, I. Jack
Juniper & Market Sts.
Philadelphia, PA
Auto Insurance

Feldman, Dr. B.
425 Ritner St.
Philadelphia, PA
Dentist

Fishberg, Mr. & Mrs. Max
1848 Prospect Pl.
Brooklyn, NY

Fishman, M.

Fishman, Mr. & Mrs. Dosha
352 Porter St.
Philadelphia, PA

Fishman, Mr. & Mrs. Saul

Fishman, Sam
Inside Guard

Fleisher, Harry
2630 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA
General Mdse.

Fleishman
958 N. 2nd St.
Philadelphia, PA
Shoe Store

Fox, Zeide

Freifelder, Dr. J.
2538 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Friedman, Mr. & Mrs. Samuel
331 Bainbridge St.
Philadelphia, PA

Friedman, Sam

Geefin, Mr. & Mrs.
2525 S. Mildred St.
Philadelphia, PA

Glass, Mr. & Mrs. Dave
932 Randolph St.
Philadelphia, PA

Glass, Sam
Letichev Committee

Glass, Yankel

Goldberg, Mr. & Mrs.
4148 Leidy Ave.
Philadelphia, PA

Goldman, Mr. & Mrs. Zlata
2444 S. 2nd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Goldstein, Jacob
6203 Ellsworth St.
Philadelphia, PA

Gordon, Mr. & Mrs.
2551 S. Philip St.
Philadelphia, PA

Groskin, David D.
1108 W. Diamond St.
Philadelphia, PA
Realtor

Grossman
4004 Girard Ave.
Philadelphia, PA
Delicatessen

Grossman, Aron
2254 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Delicatessen

Hamovitz, Mr. & Mrs.
2538 S. Philip St.
Philadelphia, PA

Hayflick, William
690 Gerard Ave.
Bronx, NY

Haymovitz, Mr. & Mrs.

Hirsh, Jacob
314 Market St.
Philadelphia, PA
Auctioneer

Hoffman, Mr. & Mrs. Louis
2406 Pacific Ave.
Atlantic City, NJ
Grocery

Houshell, Mr. & Mrs. I.
2536 S. Phillip St.
Philadelphia, PA

Hymovich, Alter
Letichev Committee

Jaffe, Dr. Bernard
309 Pine St.
Philadelphia, PA

Kalus, Borris
4335 Park Heights Ave.
Baltimore, MD

Kalus, Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin
3603 Rogers Ave.
Baltimore, MD

Kalus, Mr. & Mrs. Bernard J.
837 Greenmond Ave.
Baltimore, MD

Kalus, Mr. & Mrs. S. E.
406 W. Franklin St.
Baltimore, MD

Katz, Mr. & Mrs. Samuel
1008 10th St. NW
Washington, DC

Katzin, S.
2075 Ridge Ave.

Philadelphia, PA
Tobacco & Confectionery

Kaufman, Mr. & Mrs.
4846 N. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Klugman, Lew

Klyman, Julius
714 Winton St.
Philadelphia, PA
Salesman

Kolawsky, Mr. & Mrs. Louis

Kolbes, Benjamin
451 S. 60th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Meat Market

Kotlowsky, Louis
Letichev Committee

Kuptzof, Mrs. Fanna
5445 Ridgemont St.
Philadelphia, PA

Kuptzoff, Mr. & Mrs.
2739 S. 16th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Kuptzow, Joe
2517 S. American St.
Philadelphia, PA

Kupzoff, Nathan
5445 Ridgewood St.
Philadelphia, PA
Upholsterer

Kurtsman, Yudel

Kurtzman, Julius
Leti. V.P.

Kurtzman, Max & Dora

Kurtzman, Mr. & Mrs. H. A.
302 Burmont Rd.
Drexel Hill, PA

Kurtzman, Mrs. Dora
718 S. 4th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Kurtzman, Sam
Letichev Committee

Kurtzman, Yudel and Hava

Langerman, H.
497 Gellitt Ave.
Newark, NJ

Lees, Juleis
2540 S. Marshall St.
Philadelphia, PA

Leff, Mr. & Mrs. H.
517 Mifflin St.
Philadelphia, PA

Lepoff, Mr. & Mrs.

Lerner, Mr. & Mrs.
2428 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Lev, Mr. & Mrs. N.
517 Mifflin St.
Philadelphia, PA

Levin, Mr. & Mrs. Max
4932 N. 8th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Produce

Levin, Mr. & Mrs. Sam
Letichev Committee

Lifshits, Ben-Zion

Lipshutz, Dr. Samuel
Medical Examiner

Liss, Mr. & Mrs. Hyman
1850 N. 32nd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Litvin, Mr. & Mrs.
5705 N. 5th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Litvin, Mr. & Mrs. Philip
52 N. 9th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Furrier

Loeb, Lillian

Malemad, Isaac
197 Roebling St.
Brooklyn, NY

Mandell, Mr. & Mrs. M.
2508 S. 3rd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Marantz, Jack
2418 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Margolis, Abraham
4th & Monroe
Philadelphia, PA

Matuk, Israel
738 S. 4th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Mayrovitz, Mr. & Mrs. M.
2443 S. Sheridan St.
Philadelphia, PA

Meishman, Harry
2630 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Melamed, I.

Melamed, Neche and Isaac

Miller, Mr. & Mrs. J.

Milman, Y.

Moskowitz, H.
2609 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Bakery

Myerowitz, Mr. & Mrs.
2443 S. Sheridan St.
Philadelphia, PA

Myerson, Louis
755 S. 4th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Fabrics

Nirenberg, Mrs.
846 N. 40th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Osternack, Jacob
4919 N. Camac St.
Philadelphia, PA

Osterneck, Mr. & Mrs. Isadore
1850 Widener Pl.
Philadelphia, PA

Osterneck, S.
179 W. Jefferson St.
Philadelphia, PA

Otto, Samuel

Parnes, Mr. & Mrs. W.
2116 S. 5th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Pastman, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph
2513 S. American St.
Philadelphia, PA

Peaceman, Abe

Pearlman, Abraham & Rachel
4104 Main St.
Baltimore, MD

Peck, Isaac

Peper, Mr. & Mrs.

Podolsky, Charles
624 S. 59th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Pomerants, Max
Association President

Rabinovich, Mr. & Mrs. S.
1937 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Rabinowich, Mr. & Mrs.
44 N. 3rd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Rabinowitch, Mrs. Sara
1937 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Rappoport, Dr. Sam
Reading, PA

Rasken, Mr. & Mrs. A.
1010 Snyder Ave.
Philadelphia, PA

Reses, Hershel
Letichev Committee

Robins, M. A.
Burlap Bags

Roseman, Mr. & Mrs.
424 Cantrell St.
Philadelphia, PA

Rosen, Jacob and Samuel
423 Pine St.
Philadelphia, PA
Funeral Director

Rosen, Mr. & Mrs. Max
1027 Lancaster Ave.
Bryn Mawr, PA
Painting & Decorating

Rosoff
5th & South St.
Philadelphia, PA
Mens clothing

Rubin, Mr. & Mrs.
515 Morris St.
Philadelphia, PA

Saporov, Mr. & Mrs. S.
2134 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Schwartz, Boris
Letichev Committee

Schwartz, Dr. Samuel
728 Jackson St.
Philadelphia, PA
Dentist

Schwartz, Mr. & Mrs. Carl
818 18th St. NW
Washington, DC

Schwartz, Mr. & Mrs. David
728 Jackson St.
Philadelphia, PA

Schwartz, Mr. & Mrs. S.
2529 S. Philip St.
Philadelphia, PA

Schwartz, Mrs. E.



Ladies Auxilliary, 1936.
Letitchever Benevolent Association of Philadelphia. From Banquet and Dance program.

6101 Christian St.
Philadelphia, PA
Beauty Parlor

Schwerhiz, Harry A.
5050 Whitaker Ave.
Philadelphia, PA
Tobacco

Segel, Max

Segel, S.
329 Market St.
Philadelphia, PA

Seidman, Mr. & Mrs. B.
5833 Pemberton St.
Philadelphia, PA

Seidman, Mr. & Mrs. Harry
368 Tree St.
Philadelphia, PA

Seidman, Mr. & Mrs. Joe
2627 S. 3rd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Seidman, Mr. & Mrs. L.
4706 Chestnut St.
Philadelphia, PA

Seidman, Mr. & Mrs. S.
2627 S. 2nd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Shapiro, Abe
2550 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Tailor

Sharf, Abe
5738 Walton Ave.
Philadelphia, PA
Life Insurance, Leti. Sec.

Sharf, Isaac and Brana

Shendelman, A.

Shendelman, Mr. & Mrs. Asher Leib

Shiffrin, Jacob
Letichev Committee

Shiffrin, Mrs. J.
2553 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Shifrin, Mr. & Mrs. Doshekov

Shifrin, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph
917 Passyunk Ave.
Philadelphia, PA

Shifrin, Mr. & Mrs. Nathan
5209 Euclid Ave.
Philadelphia, PA

Siling, Leanard
406 S. 5th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Men & Boys clothes

Silver, Ben
629 Jackson St.
Philadelphia, PA

Silver, H.
30 N. Third St.
Philadelphia, PA
Ladies and Children's Wear

Silverman, Joseph
220 Rosevelt Blvd.
Philadelphia, PA

Silverman, Louis

Silverman, Morris
236 Shunk St.
Philadelphia, PA
Letichev Committee

Silverman, Mr. & Mrs.
7th & Porter Sts.
Philadelphia, PA
Pharmacy

Simelson, Nathan
1640 S. 51st St.
Philadelphia, PA
Fuel Oil

Simons, Mr. & Mrs. Louis
15th & Mellon Sts.
Philadelphia, PA

Singer, Mr. & Mrs. Louis
4771 Tampa St.
Philadelphia, PA

Siviah, Mr. & Mrs.
2702 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Snyder, Mrs. Sarah
2509 S. 2nd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Soltoff, Mr. & Mrs.
1548 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Shoe store

Statsher, Isaac & Sarah
55 Runyon St.
Newark, NJ

Taback, Mrs. Yetta
1945 N. Stanley St.
Philadelphia, PA

Techter, Sarah & David

Toback, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph
1945 N. Stanley St.
Philadelphia, PA
Leti. Treas.

Trachtenberg, Mr. & Mrs. P.
214 Moore St.
Philadelphia, PA

Tucker, Harry & Sylvia
499 Gellitt Ave.
Newark, NJ

Uhr
507-9 S. 5th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Restaurant

Vhiman, Mr. & Mrs. J.
2735 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Weber, Mr. & Mrs.

Weiner, Mr. & Mrs. Benny
2416 N. 33rd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Weiner, Mr. & Mrs. L.
1048 E. Chelton Ave.
Philadelphia, PA

Weiners, Abe
2602 S. 7th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Barber

Weinraub, L.
2037 S. 10th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Beverages

Wolf, Frank

Wolf, Mrs. Sarah
2417 S. Sheridan St.
Philadelphia, PA

Yulsman, Jack
735 S. 5th St.
Philadelphia, PA
Tobacco

Yulsman, Mrs. Harry

Zeidman, Benny
Association Treasurer

Zeidman, Joe
Association Trustee

Zeidman, Mr. & Mrs. S.
5826 Webster St.
Philadelphia, PA

Zeidman, Mrs. Beckie
5833 Pemberton St.
Philadelphia, PA

Zelden, Nathan
23 S. 8th St.
Philadelphia, PA

Zimmerman, Morris & Dena
2704 Springhill Ave.
Baltimore, MD

Zimmerman, Sam & Zecil
3506 Cottage Ave.
Baltimore, MD

Zuckerman, Benny
1516 S. 2nd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Zweig, Mr. & Mrs. H.
1733 S. 2nd St.
Philadelphia, PA

Why I am a member of the Letitchever Association

by Abe Sharf, Philadelphia, 1936[40]

This question is superficially a plain one. The answer is the friendship and brotherhood between the members of the Letitchever Association. From the active members, let me take a few examples.

Our president, Max Pomerantz -- I've known him for 25 years and although we never worked together I've known his character and willingness to scrifice himself for the cause.

Our finance secretary, Hyman Bugash -- nothing is too hard for him to do. What a brother of the Letitchever Association.

Take our small but grand shouter, Frank Cohen who screams and then turns over a world to keep peace among our brothers.

We have a member, Sam Levin -- when he takes the floor, he .can't speak at a high volume but all listeners don't want to lose a world that he speaks, it's worth hearing!

Also there's Joseph Shifrin, a respected burgher, for the best he would give his heart with his soul. A Society can brag about having such members.

And when one speaks of an excellent brother, a man who would give his last cent to help someone, we speak of Vice-President, Yudl Kurtzman, a child of the world and an excellent person.

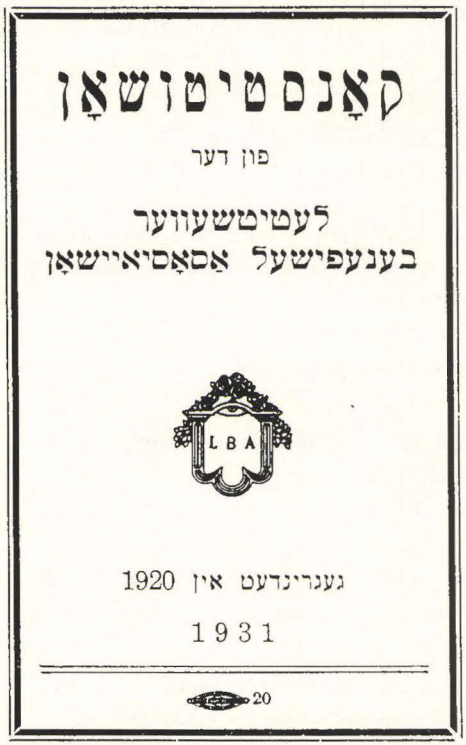
Take for example our Treasurer Benny Zaidman, being a resident of Washington, DC, he heard about our Letitchever Association and it drew him like a magnet to Philadelphia. He came to Philadelphia and threw himself into the work.

Then we have one of the first founders of the Letitchever Association, Boris Schwartz. He feels like the father of the Letitchever Association and he makes it bigger and better.

Sam Bell, a new member, offers very practical and helpful opinions. Do yourself a favor and ask advice from him.

When you're sitting at a meeting and a debate begins, look to everyone's friend, Yossel Toback. You can read his thoughts. If a speaker can use his energy and persuasive powers, which like a super salesman who knows just how to collect payment from his customers on their bills, he will do well. We are proud to have him as a member.

As we look over the names of the founders of the Letitchever Association, Dave Silverman is one of the first to help call us together. He alsways participated in the work.


קאָנסטיטושאָן

פון דער

לעטיטשעווער
בענעפישעל אסאָסיאיישאָן

LBA

1920 געגרינדעט אין

1931

20

Letichever Society Constitution.
This is the front page from the Letichever Benevolent Assoc. of Phila. Constitution, dated 1931.

One man who could get a prize for never missing a meeting is Itzik Sharf. His greatest pleasure was to talk to other members. If you need help to pay a bill, ask Sam Kurzman. He knew how to save the Letitchever Association money. Instead of a stamp for a letter, "I'll use postcards" he would say. "And why can't the post office give me 30 days' credit towards my postage?"

If the question was legal, ask Sam Glass who put together our Cosntitution. He workd many nights to do this document.

Morris Silverman, the father of a pretty pair of twins, now ex-President -- over the passage of time, we recognize what a good worker he was.

I must remember two friends who are no longer living: William Wein, our Charter demanded much time and effort that he put in, and Frank Wein, who also gave generously of his time.

Benzion Lifshits, now deceased, was President and Treasurer. In the last years of his illness, his greatest pleasure was to attent the meetings and mingle with his friends from his youth.

I must fill up the whole book with examples of the conduct and action of people. They were always ready to help one another. In case of need, the Emergency Committee is always on the spot and the Secretary wrote a private order to send out a check. At any misfortune in the life of our members, we were always at the ready. In the event of tragedy, they rode around all night bringing all members to help.

In our newsletter, you can learn everything that one brother needs to know about another.

The Letitchever Association is the home for all brothers, for friendship and brotherhood who streatch out the hand to greet one another.

For all these reasons, I am a member of the Letitchever Association.

Medzhibozh

• *Medgibozher Progressive Solidarity Society (New York)*

This organization was formed in 1898 with 20 members. According to the Certificate of Incorporation (filed April 24, 1899), the first directors were:

Herman Diamondstone, 324 Madison Street, NYC
Joseph Dyenson, 322 Madison Street, NYC
Louis Goodman, 243 Bowery Street, NYC
Max Greenberg, 680 - 3rd Avenue, NYC
Joseph Katz, 179 Eldridge Street, NYC
Sam Marnowitchy (?), 100 Rivington Street, NYC
Sam Mishnit, 241 Monroe Street, NYC
Joseph Potechin, 145 Eldridge Street, NYC
Manus Potechin, 145 Eldridge Street, NYC

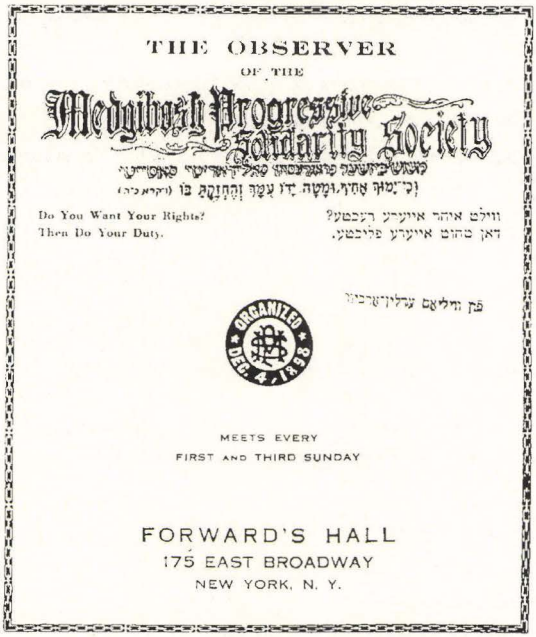
Witnesses:

Joseph Barondess
Bernard Halpern

By 1938, the membership had grown to 240. Meetings were held every third Sunday at 175 East Broadway, NYC. In 1938 the secretary was I. Lieberman, 7201 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

The Medgibosh Progressive Solidarity still existed into the 1980s. The Medgibosh Progressive Solidarity grave sites are located at Beth David Cemetery in Elmont, Long Island, New York, in Block "H9".

Name	Grave	Deceased Date	Plasser, Morris	A6	Sept. 16, 1947
			Kowler, Jacob	A7	June 17, 1949
Brandman, Yetta	A1	Apr. 28, 1936	Bobeck, Isadore	A8	
Wittman, Clara	A2	Apr. 19, 1938	Waxenberg, Morris	A9	Apr. 11, 1950
Gittleman, Sarah	A3	June 7, 1942	Eisenberg, Max	A10	Feb. 16, 1950
Wasserman, Jennie	A4	Aug. 13, 1947	Zatz, Abraham	A11	Aug. 30, 1942
Plasser, Dora	A5		Mintzes, Abraham	A12	Oct. 5, 1940



THE OBSERVER

OF THE

Medzibozh Progressive Solidarity Society

(ויקרא יט)

Do You Want Your Rights?
Then Do Your Duty.

וויל איהר אייערע רעכטען?
דאן טוהט אייערע פליכטען.

פון חלוצים עלטער־ארבייט

ORGANIZED DEC. 4, 1918

MEETS EVERY
FIRST AND THIRD SUNDAY

FORWARD'S HALL
175 EAST BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

OFFICERS FOR 1929

MAX MARGULIS, Pres., 593 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn. Tel. Glenmore 4603.
Rabbi CHAIM BICK, Community Center Bldg., 79 Ridge St. Tel. Orchard 9085.
D. DUBIN, Vice-President. W. SALITRINICK, Treasurer.
ABRAHAM HALPERN, Fin. Sec'y, 167 Suffolk St., N. Y. Tel. Orchard 5456.
S. COHEN, Rec. Sec'y, 1440 White Pl. Rd., Bronx. Tel. Westchester 5252.
MAX COHEN, Sergeant-at-Arms.

Hospitalers For New York

J. KRUTT, 1742 Second Ave., N. Y. Tel. Sacramento 8285.
For Brooklyn: MORRIS ROSEN, 231 Utica Ave., B'klyn. Haddingway 7550.

Officers of Loan Fund

A. BUTLER, Secretary. SAM COHEN, Treasurer.

Board of Directors

S. Chodrow, L. Kanis, S. Mishket, A. Lieberberg, N. Krichman, I. Pleaser.

Physician for New York

DR. J. LATTMAN, 1225 Park Ave., N. Y. Tel. Atwater 6143.

Physicians For Brooklyn

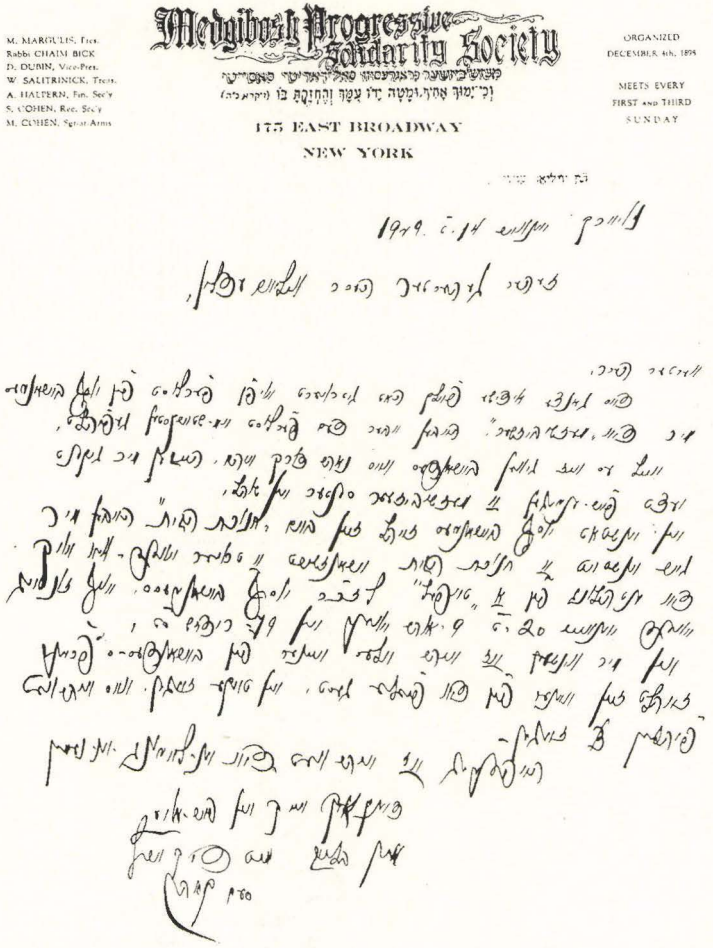
DR. I. ZIMMERMAN	DR. D. LIEBERMAN	DR. H. SHERMAN
2024 — 76th St.	673 Saratoga Ave.	1377 E. 13th St. B'klyn
Brooklyn, N. Y.	Brooklyn, N. Y.	2504—65th St., B'klyn
Tel. Beachview 5925	Tel. Louisiana 0904	Tel. Dewey 10459

עקסטרא נאטיס: דער אין א ביזנעסאל, בעדערף זיך נאפארט צו

In case of Death, immediately notify: אנזאג בהודעה א. באטלער.
A. BUTLER, 247 East Broadway. Tel. Dry Dock 9503.

Cover of the Medzhibozh Progressive Society Newsletter, 1929.

Friedman, Benjamin	A13	Feb. 27, 1939
Reinstein, Nathan	A14	Jan. 26, 1938
Calchinsky, Louis	A15	Jan. 11, 1937
Waxenberg, Ella	B1	Mar. 26, 1948
Singer, Ida	B2	Jun. 12, 1948
Eisenberg, Sophie	B3	
Rubin, Rebecca	B4	
Rubin, Max	B5	
Weissman, Joseph	B6	
Weissman, Feiga	B7	
Liebman, Frank	B8	
vacant	B9	
Dubin, David	B10	
Dubin, Rose	B11	
Barrett, Fannie	B12	
Barrett, Barnett	B13	
Schmuckler, Joseph	B14	
Schmuckler, Dora	B15	
Lebow, Kitty	B16	
Rubinstein, Harry	C1	
vacant	C2	
Goldstein, Bella	C3	
Goldstein, Simon	C4	
Axman, Charles	C5	
vacant	C6, C7	
Stefel, Morris	C8	
Kirschner	C9	
Kirschner, Minnie	C10	
Silverman, Pauline	C11	
Silverman, Berko	C12	
Zuckerman, Daniel	C13	
vacant	C14	
Bobeck, Esther	C15	
Bobeck, Joseph	C16	
Chervinsky, Morris	C17	
Salitrinick, Dena	D1	
Zuckerman, Clara	D2	
Edelstein, Pauline	D3	
Abrams, Minnie	D4	
vacant	D5	
Lopatin, Charles	D6	
vacant	D7	
Brownstein, Ruth	D8	
Silverstein, Ida	D9	
Silverstein, Hyman	D10	
Lerner, Frank	D11	
Lerner, Jennie	D12	
Chais, Dora	D13	
Chaes, Abraham	D14	
Schwartzman, Solomon	D15	
Stolowitz, George	D16	
Brodsky, Joseph	D17	
Kirschman, Louis	E1	
Cohen, Ben	E2	
Fladell, Jack	E3	
Fladell, Frank	E4	
Fadell, Mary	E5	
Antelis, Ethel	E6	
Antelis, Paul	E7	
Shore, Sam	E8	
Coopersmith, Nellie	E9	
Coopersmith, Jack	E10	
Seidman, Sam	E11	
Seidman, Yetta	E12	
Rackow, Anna	E13	
Rackow, Haim	E14	
Edelstein, Philip	E15	
vacant	E16	
Nisinson, Don	E17	
Oshrin, Meyer	F1	
Oshrin, Ruth	F2	
Newman, Esther	F3	
Newman, Louis	F4	
Parmet, Harry	F5	
Parmot, Fannie	F6	
Butler, Sarah	F7	
Butler, Morris	F8	
Axman, Joe	F9	
Axman, Ida	F10	
Cohen, Rose	F11	
vacant	F12	
Berenbaum, Sam	F13	
Siegel, Alex	F14	
Siegel, Bertha	F15	
vacant	F16	
Cohen, Louis	F17	
Gershman, Sam	G1	
Gershman, Rebecca	G2	
Lieberman, Miriam	G3	
Lieberman, Dr. David	G4	
vacant	G5-8	
Bassin, Abraham	G9	
Bassin, Anna	G10	
Brodsky, Sonia	G11	
Ettensohn, Sarah	G12	
Halperin, Annie	G13	
Halperin, Charles	G14	
Bender, Samuel	G15	
Bender, Mollie	G16	
Oshrin, Rebecca	G17	
Bobeck, Beckie	H1	
Bezeken, Rose	H2	
Bernstein, Ray Rose	H3	
Bernstein, Leon	H4	
Meyeroff, Harry	H5	
Meyeroff, Ruth	H6	
Gordon, Yetta	H7	
Gordon, Harry	H8	
Rosenbaum, Paul	H9	
Rosenbaum, Pauline	H10	
Rosenbaum, David	H11	
vacant	H12,13	
Lerner, Herman	H14	
vacant	H15	
Liebman, Sadi	H16	
Liebman, Samuel	H17	
Slavis, Sam	I1	
vacant	I2	
Raik, Jean	I3	
Raik, Jack	I4	
Plasser, Israel	I5	
Plasser, Esther	I6	
Bass, Beatrice	I7	
Bass, May	I8	
Schneider, Harry	I9	
Schneider, Minnie	I10	
Kirshner, Kate	I11	
Cohen, Yetta	I12	



M. MARGULIS, Pres.
Rabbi CHAIM BICK
D. DUBIN, Vice-Pres.
W. SALITRINICK, Treas.
A. HALTERN, Fin. Secy
S. COHEN, Rec. Secy
M. COHEN, Sgt-at-Arms

Medzibosh Progressive Solidarity Society

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 4th, 1898

MEETS EVERY FIRST AND THIRD SUNDAY

175 EAST BROADWAY

NEW YORK

Medgibosh Progressive Solidarity Society Letter.
This letter, dated 1929, is translaed as follows:[41]

" Dear Mr. William Edlin,
The whole Jewish people mourn the loss of Joseph Barondess. We, however, those from Medzhibozh, feel the loss more severly, because it was only through Barondess that we are now able to complete the Medzhibozh Center and Synagogue.
But instead of Joseph Barondess being at the dedication ceremony [for the center], we have to arrange a memorial service, as well as an unveiling of a plaque in memory of Joseph Barondess - Sunday evening, January 20th at 9 pm at 79 Ridge St.
We hope that each and every one of Barondess' friends will be among the many guests, and we hope that they will express what they feel [on this occasion].
Hoping that you will accept this invitation, I thank you in advance. I remain, as always, Sam Cahn."

Cohen, Samuel	I13	
Gordon, Morris	I14	
Gordon, Lillian	I15	
Postoff, Dina	I16	
Rosenblum, Lena	I17	
Green, Esther	JK1	
Green, Abraham	JK2	
Goldberg, Morris	JK3	
Goldberg, Esther	JK4	
Gabin, Fannie	JK5	
Forman, Rebecca	JK6	
Sipelstein, Becky	JK7	
Sipelstein, David	JK8	
vacant	JK8,9	
Cohen, Louise	JK11	
Fladell, Lillian	JK12	
Parmet, Anne	JK13	
Parmet, Meyer	JK14	
Reinstein, Sam	JK15	
Reinstein, Dora	JK16	
Sherman, Eva	JK17	
Simon, Esther	LM1	
Simon, Abraham	LM2	
Shapiro, Hillel	LM3	
Shapiro, Sonia	LM4	
Kizner, Rose	LM5	
Kizner, Abraham	LM6	
Resnick, Tobias	LM7	Nov. 17, 1980
Resnick, Ida	LM8	
vacant	LM9	
Koch, Anna	LM10	
vacant	LM11	
Parmet, Charles	LM12	
Spivack, Leo	LM13	
vacant	LM14,15	
Kramer, Abraham	LM16	
Kramer, Nettie	LM17	
Goz, Samuel	N1	
Goz, Helen	N2	
Kardoner, Ida	N3	
Kardoner, Sam	N4	
Axman, Israel	N5	
Axman, Molly	N6	
Kibrick, Hilda	N7	
Kibrick, Benjamin	N8	
vacant	N9,10	
Baltch, Meyer	N11	
vacant	N12	
Parmet, Sadie	N13	
Parmet, Myron	N14	
Fastlich, Moe	N15	
Fastlich, Sadye	N16	
Kirchman, Sarah	N17	
vacant	O1-3	
Yalowitz, Morris	O4	
Sweet, Morris	O5	
Sweet, Gertrude	O6	
Kirshner, Mollie	O7	
Kirshner, Abraham	O8	
Sandler, Sol	O9	
Sandler, Rose	O10	
Greenberg, Augusta	O11	
Greenberg, Jasper	O12	Jan. 10, 1980
Kreger, Jack	O13	
Kreger, Becky	O14	
Slavis, Natalie	O15	
vacant	O16	
Slavis, Gerald	O17	
Katz, Morris	P1	
Kirschner, Theodore	P2	
Brell, Morris	P3	
vacant	P4	
Cohen, Minnie	P5	
vacant	P6-8	
Esterman, Isidore	P9	
Esterman, Ray	P10	
vacant	P11	
Cohen, Monroe	P12	
vacant	P13-16	
Lieberburg, Lillian	P17	
Dyszel, Pearl	Q1	
Kirschner, Ida	Q2	
vacant	Q3,34	
Lopatin, Jerome	Q5	
vacant	Q6-12	
Sherman, Lena	Q13	
Sherman, David	Q14	
Kanis, George	Q15	
vacant	Q16	
Kanis, Sandra	Q17	
vacant	R1-15	
Steingard, Gary	R16	
Chius, Rose	R17	
vacant	S1-9	
Robinson, Sylvia	S10	
vacant	S11-16	
Bass, Arnold	S17	
vacant	T1-9	
Glick, Seymour	T10	
Glick, Goldie	T11	
vacant	T12	
Glick, Meyer	T13	
vacant	T14,15	
vacant	U1-7	
Glick, Louis	U8	
vacant	U9-11	
Glick, Harry	U12	
vacant	U13	
Schwam, Morris	U14	
vacant	U15	
vacant	V1-9	
Glick, Louis	V10	
Glick, Dora	V11	
Glick, Samuel	V12	Sept. 18, 1944
Glick, Bertha	V13	
Glick, Samuel	V14	
Glick, Rachel	V15	
vacant	W1-9	
Glick, Daniel	W10	
vacant	W11	
Glick, Herman	W12	
vacant	W13	

Additional burials of the Medgibosh Progressive Solidarity Society, Montefiore Cemetery (block 97) , Queens, NY.[42]

The gate has an inscription that states that the society was organized in 1898; the gate was erected in 1922.

Axman, Sarah
Bass, Abraham
Bass, Golda
Bass,Rosalin
Berger, Annie
Berman, Gertrude
Berman, Robert
Braunstein, Morris
Brownstein, Hyman
Butler, Abraham
Butler, Rachel
Chase, Ida
Cohen, Abraham
Cohen, Dora
Cohen, Elise
Cohen, Louis
Cohen, Mildred
Diamond, Lorraine
Dishel, Louis
Dreizen, Hyman
Dreizen, Mary
Drell, Anna
Drell, Zelig
Drill, Clara
Drill, Max
Dubin, Fruma
Dubin, Simon
Eisengart, Jennie
Ettenson, Jacob
Forman, Louis
Friedman, Harry
Friedman, Ida
Gabin, Nathan
Gilman, Sam
Gilman, Sarah
Gnatowsky, Abraham
Gnatowsky, Fanny
Gnatowsky, Minnie
Gnatowsky, Rae
Gnatowsky, Samuel
Gnatowsky, Sol
Goldberg, Hyman
Goldberg, Lena
Goodman, Barris
Goodman, Bernhard
Goodman, Harry M.
Goodman, Louis
Goodman, Sarah
Halpern, Bernard
Halpern, Bertha
Halpern, Jacob
Halpern, Yetta
Hershoff, Anna
Hershoff, Morris
Herskowitz, Sam
Hurwitz, Hirsch
Kanis, Harry
Kanis, Jennie
Kaplan, Annie
Kaplan, Gussie
Kaplan, Hannan
Kaplan, Isaac
Kaplan, Lucille
Kapler, Esther
Kapler, Ida
Kapler, Max
Katz, Anna
Katz, Eva
Katz, Jennie
Katz, Joseph P.
Katz, Morris
Katz, Rebecca
Katz, Rivka
Katz, Sophie R.
Kaufman, Jacob
Kershner, Joseph
Kniazer, Jennie
Kniazer, Max
Kopciak, Wolf
Kurtzman, Dora
Lattman, Dr. Jacob
Lattman, Yetta
Ledeman, Lena
Lederman, Louis
Lederman, Morris
Lederman, Rae
Lederman, William
Leve, Jacob
Leve, Rose
Levenstein, Abraham
Levenstein, Cecelia
Lichtman, Anna
Lichtman, Max
Liss, Sol
Mallen, Celia
Mallen, Harry
Mandel, Eva
Mandel, Solomon
Margolis, Frank
Margolis, Max
Margolis, Rebecca
Margolis, Rose
Meshuris, Bertha
Meyerhoff, David
Miller, Harry
Miller, Sarah
Miner, Lena
Miner, Samuel M.
Mishkat, Mollie
Mishkat, Samuel
Molin, Anna
Molin, Harry
Moshitsky, Louis
Moshitsky, Nettie
Parmet, Elka
Parmet, Gussie
Parmet, Isidore
Parmet, Joseph
Parmet, Max
Parmet, Rose
Passales, Bertha
Passales, Eva
Passales, Sam
Pineles, Anna
Pineles, Philip
Pollack, Benjamin
Polovoy, Elias J.
Polovoy, Sarah
Queen, Charles
Reinstein, Esther
Rosen, Abraham
Rosen, Rose
Rosenberg, Anna
Rosenberg, Benjamin
Rosenberg, Charles
Rosenberg, Frieda
Rubin, Anna
Rubin, Joseph
Sachs, Philip
Schneider, Bertha
Schneider, David
Schwartz, Ida
Sharff, David
Sharff, Rose
Shore, Mollie
Slavis, Eva
Slavis, Isidore
Slavis, Morris
Slavis, Sarah
Snitfker, Rose
Spivak, Rose
Spivak, Sam
Stefel, David
Stolowitz, Becky
Stolowitz, Morris
Stolowitz, Sally (nee Levy)
Tepelbaum, Celia
Tessler, Elaine
Tessler, Morris
Tessler, Sadie
Tobias, Paul
Tobias, Rae
Trachtenberg, Isaac
Trachtenberg, Sarah
Turker, Harris
Turker, Lotte
Vogel, George
Waxman, Anna
Waxman, Isidore
Weiner, Ruben
Weiner, Samuel
Weiner, Sylvia
Weissman, Bertha
Weissman, Isidore

Winakor, Mollie
Winakor, Moses
Wittman, Charles
Wittman, Martin
Yarmulnick, Morris
Yawitz, Louis
Zimmerman, Ida
Zimmerman, Isidore
Zimmerman, Dr. Isidore
Zimmerman, Max
Zipres, Reize
Zmora, Jennie
Zmora, Max
Zone, Edith
Zone, Morris
Zuckerman, Charles

• *Meshbisher Untershutzung Verein (New York)*

Founded by Leib Gerver (originally Goiva); a cemetery plot was purchased in Mt. Zion Cemetery in 1893. They had a Meshbisher shul at 47 Orchard Street, NYC, in a loft over a pants factory. Leib died of a heart attack in 1922 while presiding over a meeting of the society. His son, Jacob Gover took over as president and when Jacob died in 1942, his son George Gover took over. What follows are excerpts of a report on the liquidation of the Meshbisher Society, circa August 1951, by George Gover and Max Bobick (George Gover was the President and Max Bobick was the Secretary of the Society):

> As is known to all of you, at a meeting held in July, 1951, which was attended by 24 members — an unusually high percentate of the present membership — it was decided that the organization be liquidated completely. ...
>
> Historical Factors
>
> Undoubtedly, the course of events in the past few years made this step inevitable. Yet, it is only proper that, thought each of us may be proceeding on his own separate path, we all turn our eyes for a moment to the time when our fathers established this organization.
>
> It was a noble undertaking — motivated partly by an urgent search for security, but at the same time giving expression to the latent spirit of brotherly unity that has been so manifest among our landsmanshaften.
>
> In those years of the 1890s, or thereabouts, when our fathers came singly to this foreing land from Meshbish or its vicinity, conditions were quite different from those prevailing now. Here they found a strange land, a strange language, strange customs and, most horrifying of all, a lack of piety. In addition, each was burdened with "daagath haparnoso", the ever-pressing problem of making a living.
>
> So, to ameliorate that depressive feeling of loneliness, all the landsleut clung to each other as much as they could. They looked for apartments in the same neighborhood, they visited with each other, and they sought as quickly as possible to recreate the spiritual atmosphere they had left behind in Meshbish. That, of course, called for a synagogue as the base.
>
> Accordingly, the Meshbisher Untershutzug Verein was organized primarily for the purpose of establishing the synagogue; but, being in a strange land, and

feeling the need for a greater measure of mutual aide, they soo saw to it that the society could provide burial ground and some financial aid to the widows.

In 1899 when the society was organized, there were only 28 members. But, as the flow of immigration from the old country was then unhampered... the membership was more than quadrupled in less than 10 years. By 1910 the membership was in excess of 150; and a little later our society had as many as 200 members.

The synagogue, at 48 Orchard Street, on the Lower East Side, never lacked a "minyan"; and the greater proportion of the members attended services at least on Fridays and Saturdays, if not daily. In other words, they spent their leisure hours together. In due time, they took steps to make sure that they would not be too far apart even in death — by the purchase of a plot of ground at the Mount Zion Cemetery.

And ultimate death being the inexorable fate of all mortals, that cemetery was not left completely vacant for very long. Now it is almost completely filled up. But the society has since acquired an additional plot in the new Mount Zion Cemetery.

Obviously, that crowding in the cemetery left serious vacancies in our ranks on earth — vacancies that cannot be filled. Our fathers were able to attract into the society primarily only those children who had come with them from the old country. But even these, though they felt a strong spiritual kinship with their elders, were, nevertheless, sooner or later attracted by other interests. Besides, they moved to different neighborhoods and found themselves unable to continue to devote themselves to the society — even where the desire to stick to the society still lingered.

Liquidation

The result, as you all know only too well, was that on June 27, 1950, the synagogue was given up, and in July, 1951, the membership voted to dissolve the society completely and to liquidate its assets. ...

...the attorneys your officers have retained happen to have more than a professional interest in this case. One of them, Sidney Bobick, is the son of our late member, Hyman Bobick, and he and his three brothers have been members of our society for many years. Associated with him in this task, is Philip Chustek, who is the son of Louis Chustek, an old member of our society, and whose grandfather, Samuel Chustek, was one of the founders. We can, therefore, rest assured that they will omit nothing and do everything necessary to leave no loose strings, so to say. ...

We realized that the bulk of that money was derived from the contributions of those now deceased and from the sale of the 7 graves to our member, Isidore

Feller. It is, therefore, quite appropriate, that this balance be devoted to defray the cost of proper care for the graves of those who have departed from this life and for the graves of those of us who will follow them....

...we have the obligation to provide burial for 15 widows of departed members, to each of whom we are obligated to assign a grave and pay [their burial expenses]. We are also obligated to provide graves (without burial expenses) to the two sisters Sandler; and we are similarly morally obligated to provide a grave for one Israel Lances, an incompentent son of a deceased member who has been these many years in a state institution.

Names and Addresses of Remaining Members and the graves that will be Assigned to Each:

Name	Address	No. of Graves	Grave Nos. New Cem.	Old Cem.
H. Barash	1789-95 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn	3*	59-60	10
Julius Bobick	345 East 77th St., New York	4	81-84	
Max Bobick	3160 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn	4	97-8, 129-30	
Sam Bobick	212 Meyer Ave., New Castle, Pa.	4	103-6	
Sidney Bobick	263 West End Ave., New York	4	123-6	
Louis Chustek	30 Hemlock Lane, Bay Shore	3*	143-4	26
Frank Davis	1684 West 2st St., Brooklyn	4	2-5	
Louis Elphand	1601 50th St., Brooklyn	3*	49, 57-8	
Isidore Feller c/o Old Age Home,	2nd Ave. & E. 12th St., N.Y.	4	79-80, 101-2	
J. Fox	122 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn	3*	6-8	
Louis Glussman	335 E. Houston St., New York	4	73-6	
Samuel Gerver	1 Lehigh Ave., Newark, N.J.	4	93-6	
George Gover	1552 E. 29th St., Brooklyn	4	109-12	
J. Karp (also known as Julius Kay)	2210 E. 28th St., Brooklyn	4	115-8	
Louis Kennis	8 Attorney St., New York	4	91-2, 113-4	
Sam Krieger	358 South 3rd St., Brooklyn	4	61-4	
Nat Lehr	8210 19th Ave., Brooklyn	4	42, 18-20	
Reuben Monastersky	57 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn	4	25-6, 35-6	
S. Morrison	1543 W. 1st St., Brooklyn	4	107-8, 121-2	
H. Oshrin (honorary member)	1501 Broadway, New York	2*	65-6	
Isidore Pinnelas	4232 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn	4	31-4	
Sam Rothman	314 W. 30th St., New York	4	45-8	
David Rovner	2214 64th St., Brooklyn	4	14-17	
Isaak Saltzman	636 E. 5th St., New York	4	119-20, 131-2	
B. Sedell c/o Aronowitz,	1430 Plimpton Ave, Bronx	3*	53-4	18
Joseph Sedell	1340 Stillwater Dr., Miami, Fl.	3*	50-2	
Bernard Slobodinsky	1515 Boston Rd., Bronx	3*	151-3	
Israel Soifer	1581 Washington Ave., Bronx	4	69-72	
Isidore Spector	505 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn	4	77-8, 138-9	
Sam Spector	1565 Carroll St., Brooklyn	4	55-6, 140-1	
Joe Stirnman	2126 Caton Ave., Brooklyn	4	27-30	
Isidore Feller, by purchase		7	67, 85-90	

*Any number less than 4 indicates that the member in question has already used one grave or more

Names of Widows and Location of Graves Assigned to Them

Mrs. A. Aronowitz	43	Mrs. Frank Sandler	23
Mrs. Vitty Bobick	127	Mrs. M. Wigman	38
Mrs. M. Cohen	146	Mrs. Louis Moizman	142
Mrs. S. Diamond	13	Mrs. R. Steinberg	12
Mrs. David Feller	99		
Mrs. Chas. Gover	147	Others	
Mrs. L. Gerver	17		
Mrs. Morris Kalish	3	Miss Sandler	21
Mrs. M. Katz	11	Miss Sandler	22
Mrs. Pincus Rovner	7	Mrs. Israel Lances	68
Mrs. B. Silverman	41		

Burials, Mt. Zion Cemetery, Queens, New York:[43]

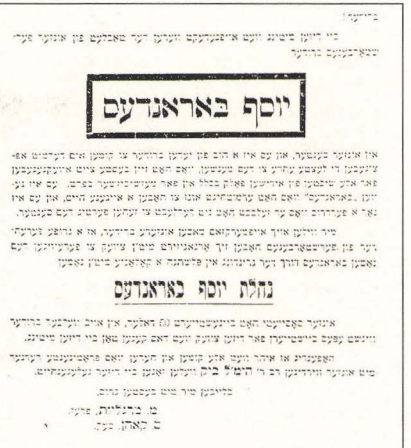
Name	Grave	Deceased Date	Hebrew Name	Date of Birth/Age	Status
In back (along Path 20):					
Oshrin, Max	29	Aug. 19, 1949	Yoel Michael ben Shammai	86	husband,father
Oshrin, Anna	30	June 15, 1952	Chana bat Aharon	82	wife,mother

First row on left (when facing plot from Path 18): graves are listed starting from the end closest to Path 20:

[Note: This row, through Shirley Bobick, consists of children's graves. The graves from before 1917 are mostly missing headstones. The surviving headstones are small, made of limestone, and very worn. The legible ones often do not have patronymics or elaborate inscriptions, just first and last names in Hebrew or Roman letters, and are not always in the order given on the cemetery plan, which evidently was based on a written list, not on the headstones. Or perhaps some of these stones fell down and were put up again in the wrong place. The order given here is that of the cemetery plan.]

Guttman, Isaac		July 20, 1894			
Diamond, Harry		Nov. 4, 1894			
Kleinsberg, Rosina		Feb. 25, 1896			
Gerber, Ida		June 15, 1896			
Goodman, Fanny		July 10, 1896			
Epstein, Morris		Mar. 24, 1898			
Stremberg, Sam		May 14, 1900			
Zuckerman, Lena		Aug. 18, 1901			
Jascrowsky, Harry		Jan. 16, 1902			
Cohen, Morris		May 23, 1902			
Taporofsky, Kalman		Dec. 20, 1903	Kalman		
child of Lena Saldwich		June 29, 1904			
Toperofsky, Esther		Aug. 10, 1904			
Menrowitz, Morris		June 8, 1905	Moshe		
Drucker, Ida		Jan. 14, 1903	Hinda bat Moshe(?) Hakohen		
Brill, Tessie		Jan. 8, 1904			
Nirenberg, Dora		Mar. 1, 1904	Dvora		
Kamass, Annie		Mar. 30, 1905			
Kannis, Annie		June 21, 1908			
Brill, William		Feb. 1, 1910			
Primelas, Jacob		June 16, 1910			
Lutsky, William		Feb. 20, 1912			
Schustak, Irving		Mar. 26, 1917	Yitzchak Hillel ben Yisachar Dov	Apr. 10,1912	child
Goiva, Hortense		Sept. 17, 1917	Chana Hinda bat Yitzchak	1	
Kammen, Rachel		May 19, 1919	[headstone missing]		
Lutsky, Rosie		Feb. 25, 1920	Rivka bat Moshe		daughter
Eisen, Marvin		Dec. 19, 1923		Nov. 6, 1920	son
Eisen, Gerald		Dec. 19, 1923	[...] ben Avraham	Jan. 10, 1920	son
Lederman, Baby		Dec. 18, 1925	[headstone missing]		
Davis, Estelle		Apr. 7, 1928	Esther	2	
Bobick, Shirley		May 20, 1930	Sarah bat Yisrael	Oct. 19,1928	daughter,sister
Weber, Katie		Oct. 25, 1935	Kayla bat Yaakov Yosef	51	mother,wife
Lieberberg, Tillie		Feb. 27, 1935	Toibe Vita bat Mordecai Leib	76	mother
Berez, Gitel		Nov. 29, 1934	Gitel bat Yisrael David	42	wife,mother
Silverman, Sheindel		Nov. 23, 1934	Sheindel bat Yaakov Tzvi	83	mother
Billig, Sarah		July 4, 1934	Sarah bat Mordecai	74	mother
Nass, Rebecca		Apr. 12, 1933	Rivka bat Tzvi	71	mother
Elphand, Gertrude		Oct. 11, 1932	Gitel bat Shneur	42	wife,mother
Sedell, Rebecca		Mar. 3, 1932	Chaya Sarah bat Yosef	66	wife,mother
Lederman, Mollie		Jan. 23, 1932	Molle Feige bat Chaim Halevi	58	mother
Meyers, Ida		Jan. 8, 1932	Adel bat Yonah	75	mother
Flomen, Malke		Oct. 21, 1931	Malka bat Mordecai	82	wife,mother
Second row from left (when facing plot from Path 18):					
Eisen, Pearl	1	Oct. 13, 1944	Peril bat Avraham	84	mother
Chaskelson, Rose	2	Apr. 6, 1945	Raizil bat Baruch	85	mother

1929 Medzhibozher Announcement.



יוסף באראנדעס

נחלת יוסף באראנדעס

Translated it reads:[44]

"Brothers, at this meeting we will reveal the plaque of our deceased brother JOSEPH BARONDESS at our center, and it is the obligation of every brother to attend and thereby to pay his last respects to him, who devoted his best years to all classes of the Jewish people, but especially to those of Medzhbozh. It was Barondess who encouraged us to have a home of our own, and it grieves us that he did not live to see this center completed. We also want to call the attention of our brothers to the fact that a group of those who respected the deceased have organized themselves with the goal of memorializing the name of Barondess by founding a colony in Palestine named NAKHLAS YOSEF BARONDESS. Our society has donated 50 dollars, and if any member wishes to donate to this cause, he will be able to do so at this meeting. Hopefully, you will attend this meeting and hear what our prominent speakers, as well as our worthy Rabbi Khaiml Bick, have to say on this occasion. We remain, with best regards, Max Margolis, President; Sam Cohen, Secr.

Wine Cup Award.
Given to Harry Bronstein by fellow Medzhibozhers of New York ca. 1930. Courtesy of Adam Bronstein.



Poporoff, Yetta	3	June 14, 1945	Chanah Yentah bat Avraham David	72	mother
Fuchs, Shifra	4	Dec. 30, 1945	Shifrah bat Yisrael	78	mother
Gover, Annie	5	Feb. 27, 1949	Hena Gitel bat Avraham Abba	75	mother
Lorber, Mariasa	6	Nov. 23, 1949	Mariasa bat Avraham	81	mother,g-mother
[cemetery plan lists her as "Mary-Lober Blank"]					
Rovner, Deborah	7	July 19, 1964	Dvorah bat Yechiel David		mother,g-mother
Greenberg, Miriam		Mar. 8, 1941	Miriam bat Yosef Mekhtzit	82	mother,g-mother
Steckman, Jennie		Sept. 30, 1940	Bat-sheva bat Mordecai Leib	72	mother
Schorr, Lena		Oct. 14, 1939	Leah bat Alter	72	mother
Pinnelas, Malka Leah		Oct. 31, 1938	Malkah Leah bat Yosef	83	mother
Weinstein, Bella		Sept. 27, 1938	Baile bat Eliezer	63	mother
Lieberman, Fannie		Mar. 22, 1938	Fraidah bat Baruch	82	mother
Weinstein, Lena		May 16, 1937	Leah Gise bat Mordecai Zalman	63	mother,wife
Minnerman, Nora		Apr. 1, 1937	Nekhe bat Shaul	82	mother
Levenstein, Fannie		Feb. 28, 1938	Feigah bat Nachum	84	mother
Gitterman, Dinah		Oct. 21, 1936	Dinah bat Yechiel	38	daughter,sister
Rubin, Fannie		July 5, 1936	Feiga bat Chaim Hakohen	69	mother
Nass, Rose		Oct. 26, 1935	Rachel bat Yosef	78	mother
Kalish, Anna		Dec. 10, 1937	Chanah Rachel Kalis bat Yozpa	70	wife,mother
Dyenson, Esther Rifka		Aug. 10, 1941	Esther Rivkah bat Shimon	75	mother
Axelbank, Chaia		Apr. 29, 1943	Chayah Yente bat Eliezer	83	mother
Kraus, Goldie	16	June 4, 1944	Etia Goldah bat Shmuel	86	mother,grandma
vacant	17				

Third row from left (when facing plot from Path 18):

Weinstein, Joseph		Aug. 17, 1932	Yosef ben Tzvi	60	husband,father
Rollin, Phillip		Aug. 26, 1932	Shraga Feitil ben Tzvi Hersh	58	husband,father
Fox, Harry		Sept. 29, 1932	Tzvi Hersh ben Eliahu	68	husband,father
Sinderovitz, Jacob		Nov. 7, 1932	Yaakov ben Meir	56	husband,father
Sherman, Morris		Feb. 23, 1933	Moshe ben Shmuel Ber	73	father
Lorber, Max		Feb. 25, 1933	Menachem Mendel ben David	72	husband,father
Silverman, Meyer		May 18, 1934	Yechiel Michel ben Yehuda Leib Zilberman	41	husband,father
Flomen, Nathan		Mar. 20, 1935	Natan ben Simcha Bunes	88	father
Krauss, Samuel		July 29, 1936	Shmuel Eliezer ben Yosef Hakohen	87	husband,father
Piniles, Hyman		Oct. 7, 1936	Chaim ben Avraham Tzvi	72	father
[across the top of Hyman Piniles' stone, in smaller letters, is the name "Chaim ben Avraham Yehoshua-Eshul"]					
Parnet, David		May 21, 1938	David ben Eliezer	68	father
Altman, Louis		Sept. 10, 1938	Yehudah Leib ben Yaakov Yosef	63	husband,father
Sharnock, Hyman		May 20, 1939	Chaim Yitzchak ben Shaul Halevi	71	husband,father
Axelbank, Gedalia		Aug. 9, 1940	Gedaliahu ben Yehudah Tzvi	87	father
Gerver, Joseph		May 31, 1941	Yosef Leib ben Yechiel	48	husband,father
Gover, Jacob		Jan. 20, 1942	Yaakov ben Yehudah Leib	66	husband,father
Gitterman, Louis		Feb. 2, 1942	Yechiel ben Shlomo	83	father
Myers, Sarah	8	Dec. 2, 1951	Sarah bat Shalom Tzvi	76	mother
Myers, Oscar	9	Aug. 6, 1946	Asher ben Baruch	77	husband,father
Barasch, Hyman	10	Feb. 26, 1956	Chaim ben Gad Yoel		father
Katz, Sophia	11	June 20, 1954	Sasia bat Yisrael	77	
Salzman, Keila	12	June 16, 1952	Kaile bat Avraham Yaakov	73	mother
Diamond, Celia	13	Feb. 15, 1960	Slawa bat Yehudah Meir		mother,g-mother
Zuckerman, Chya Leah (Lena)	14	July 27, 1947	Chayah Leah bat Moshe	72	mother
Gerver, Anna	15	May 25, 1950	Chanah bat Yehudah Leib Goivah*	81	mother

*Note: should be Chanah Goivah bat Yehudah Leib, since Goiva was her married name.

Fourth row from left (when facing plot from Path 18):

Liberberg, David		June 7, 1921	David ben Shaul	66	father
Chaes, Morris		Dec. 2, 1921	Moshe ben Yaakov		father
Gerver, Louis		Feb. 4, 1922	Yehuda Leib ben Yosef Goiver		husband,father
Greenberg, Benjamin		Apr. 20, 1922	Boruch ben Shimon Ze'ev	29	son,brother
Greenberg, William		Oct. 20, 1922	Shimon Ze'ev ben Yeshayahu Tzvi	58	husband,father
Fuchs, Frank		Dec. 21, 1922	Yeshaya Fridel ben Yechiel Michael	40	brother
Carp, Jacob		May 6, 1923	Yaakov ben Yechiel David	54	father
Heiman, Pasach		Aug. 20, 1924	Pesach ben Moshe Heiman		father
Cheskelson, Louis		Dec. 20, 1924	Yehudah Leib ben Mordecai	65	husband,father
Hariton, William		Feb. 11, 1925	Ze'ev ben Yehuda Leib	52	husband,father
Rovner, Pincus		Apr. 25, 1925	Pinchas ben Shmuel	52	father
Sherr, Israel		May 10, 1925	Yisrael ben Avraham	47	father
Nass, Samuel		July 31, 1925	Shalom ben Shakhana Tzvi	72	husband,father
Pinnelas, Harry		Feb. 14, 1926	Yechiel Aharon ben Yehoshua Tzvi	70	husband,father
Nass, Louis		July 18, 1926	Yehudah Leib ben Shakhana Tzvi	64	husband,father
Levenstein, Schaia		Dec. 22, 1926	Yeshayahu ben Reuven	75	husband,father
Lederman, Abraham		Mar. 22, 1927	Avraham Yosef Aizik ben Yehuda Aryeh	54	father
Tobis, Jacob		Sept. 27, 1928	Yaakov ben Avraham Tobis	74	father
Diamond, Pincus		Jan. 27, 1929	Pinchas Chaim ben Tzvi	71	husband,father
Stackman, Jacob		Feb. 9, 1930	Yaakov ben Toviahu Shmuel	65	husband,father
Schorr, Barnett		Mar. 9, 1931	Dov ben Mordecai	70	husband,father
Eisen, Charles		May 30, 1931	Chanan Getzel ben Yosef	76	husband,father
Glick, Morris		July 7, 1931	Moshe ben Tzvi	60	husband,father
Katz, Morris		Dec. 27, 1931	Moshe ben Yehuda Leib Hakohen	64	father
Meyers, Samuel		July 14, 1932	Zusa ben Baruch Mordecai	76	father
Toporoff, Samuel		May 24, 1942	Shmuel ben Kalonymos	75	husband,father
Diamond, Morris		July 26, 1942	Moshe Yaakov ben Yaakov	83	husband,father
Kessler, Israel	21	Apr. 8, 1946	Yisrael ben Noach	65	father
Kolish, Hertz	20	Nov. 17, 1947	Naftali Herz ben Dov	83	father
Weber, Samuel	19	Oct. 7, 1951	Shalom ben Yechezkel Halevi		
Sedell, Barnet	18	Sept. 4, 1953	Mordecai dov ben Aharon	95	father,g-father

Fifth row on left (when facing plot from Path 18):

Bernstein, Aaron		May 29, 1896	Aharon ben Yitzchak Moshe	54	father
Davis, Nathan		May 4, 1897	Noach Natan ben David	49	husband,father
Tretiak, Isaac		June 21, 1902	Yitzchak ben Moshe	28	brother
occupied		2 Elul, 1907	Yeshaya ben Nachman [Kashpil?]		
Sisis, Charles		Mar. 25, 1909	[headstone missing?]		
Sach, Nathan		May 29, 1909	Naftali Yosef ben Aharon Eliezer		father
Rabinowitz, Sam		Feb. 28, 1910	[very worn, might be readable]		
Silverman, Aron		Feb. 28, 1911	[headstone missing]		
Gerver, Julius		Oct. 12, 1911	Yechiel ben Yosef Goivah	52	father
Minnerman, Nathan		Oct. 12, 1912	Natan ben Yisrael	72	husband,father
Fuchs, Julius		Oct. 25, 1913	Yechiel Michel ben Pesach	56	husband,father
Gerver, Joseph		Feb. 16, 1914	Yosef ben Moshe Goivah 15 Tishrei, 1892	21	brother,son
Lieberman, Harris		Sept. 15, 1914	Tzvi Hirsh ben Dov	59(89?)	
Rubin, Israel		Jan. 13, 1916	Yisrael ben Mordecai	65	
Shantzis, Cedalie		May 31, 1916	Gedaliah Aharon ben Moshe Mordecai Merez	56	father
Dyenson, Jechiel		Oct. 16, 1916	Yechiel ben Shmuel	69	husband,father
Greenberg, Israel		Apr. 8, 1917	Yisrael ben Chaim Gavriel, chatan Yosef Mekhtzit mi-Zinkov	57	husband,father
Goodman, Isaac		June 7, 1917	Yitzchak ben Shalom	70	husband,father
Dickman, Nathan		June 26, 1917	Natan ben Ze'ev Hakohen	62	father
Cohen, Morris		Feb. 5, 1919	Moshe ben Avraham Abba Hakohen	84	father
Gervey, Morris		Mar. 12, 1919	Moshe Aharon ben Yosef Goivah	55	father
Pollack, Falik		Apr. 20, 1919	Yehoshua Falik ben Tzvi	66	father
Wexler, Max		Apr. 22, 1919	Mordecai ben [Yehuda?] Leib	53	father
Gover, Joe		May 4, 1919	[faded, should be Yosef ben Yehuda Leib Goivah]		
Schustek, Samuel		Jan. 15, 1921	Shmuel Leib ben Avraham Abba	73	father
Toporofsky, Sesse		July 13, 1933	Meshulam Zusa ben Kalonymus Kalman	69	father
Mordkowitz, Louis		Sept. 3, 1938	Levi ben Meir Dov Mordkovich	78	husband,father
Saltzman, Alter		July 13, 1940	Moshe Yechiel ben David Zaltzmahn	66	husband,father
Zuckerman, Jacob	22	June 15, 1945	Azriel Yaakov ben Eliezer	74	husband,father
Berez, Kieva	23	Jan. 27, 1946	Avraham Akiva ben Moshe Mordecai	69	father
Weinstein, Benjamin	24	Apr. 3, 1946	Baruch ben Ozer Tzvi	71	father
Lances, Samuel	25	May 3, 1951	Yissachar Yonah ben Yisrael	79	father,grandfather
Chustek, Louis	26	June 18, 1962	Avraham Abba ben Shmuel Leib	87	husband,father

Sixth row from left (when facing plot from Path 18):

Greenberg, Minnie	July 15, 1922	Mirel bat Yitzchak	47	wife,mother
Diamond, Lena	Nov. 15, 1922	Leah bat Zev	69	mother
Lipshutz, Rebecca	Dec. 2, 1922	Rivka bat Baruch	60	mother
Bernstein, Sarah	Mar. 8, 1923	Sarah Rivka bat David	75	mother
Pollack, Rachel	May 19, 1923	Rachel bat Menachem Mendel	69	mother
Goodman, Mollie	Dec. 13, 1923	Esther Malka bat Menachem Mendel	68	mother
Glassman, Rose	Aug. 21, 1924	Reizel bat Raphael Aron	56	mother
Greenberg, Goldie	June 12, 1925	Golda bat Yosef	56	mother
Kushner, Liebe	July 3, 1925	Libe bat Avigdor Dan	73	mother
Sharman, Annie	Mar. 23, 1926	Chana Rivka bat Tzvi Aryeh	62	mother
Toporofsky, Rebecca	Mar. 25, 1926	Rivka bat Leib	62	wife,mother
Lances, Sarah	June 2, 1926	Sime Bini bat Menachem Mendel	53	mother
Deutsch, Rebecca	Oct. 24, 1926	Rivka bat Baruch	67	mother
Barasch, Celia	Aug. 30, 1928	Shprintze bat Yosef		mother
Wexler, Ida	May 14, 1930	Chaika bat Pinchas	43	wife
Gervey, Breina	July 16, 1930	Breina bat Yosef	69	mother
Gover, Lena	Dec. 21, 1933	Leah bat Avraham	81	mother
Chustek, Ida	Mar. 15, 1934	Chaya Zelda bat Avraham [...]	59	wife,mother

Seventh (and last) row from left (when facing plot from Path 18):

Goldman, Sarah	Jan. 29, 1921	Sarah Silka bat Avraham Yaakov Hakohen	70	wife
Greenberg, Lena	Mar. 6, 1921	Leah bat Ephraim Leib	70	mother of Wolf
Hoptman, Rachel	July 19, 1920	Sheva Rachel bat Rafael Aharon	46	wife
Feinstein, Nasse	May 28, 1901	Nessa bat Gershon	63	mother
Krakauer, Bella	May 11, 1903	Bayla(?) bat [very worn, might be readable]	20	daughter
Gerver, Yetty	Aug. 13, 1904	Ettel bat Yechiel		daughter
Stromberg, Rachel	Nov. 29, 1906	[very worn, might be readable]		
Parmet, Sadie	Mar. 9, 1909	Zlote bat Yosef Halevi	53	mother
Goldman, Minnie	Sept. 25, 1910	[very worn, might be readable]		
Gitterman, Ida	May 15, 1912	(Mrs.) Chaya bat Mordecai Hakohen	45	
Schustak, Lena	June 26, 1918	Leah Hinda bat Yisachar Dov Halevi	75	mother
Dickman, Nassie	Nov. 30, 1912	Nesye bat Avraham Meir	60	mother
Cohen, Mollie	Feb. 2, 1914	Malka bat Yechiel Michel Hakohen "habetulah rakhah beshanim"		
Wugman, Lena	May 11, 1916	Leah bat Esther R. Dyenson	31	mother
Sherr, Bluma	June 30, 1916	Bluma bat Todros	35	wife,mother
Kessler, Nechuma	July 19, 1917	Nechama bat Tzvi	32	wife,mother
Davis, Lena	July 6, 1918	Leah bat Avraham Yitzchak	71	mother
Cohen, Sarah	July 12, 1918	Sarah Malka bat Shevach	75	mother

New Section (C-3 on left) of Meshbisher U. V., Mt. Zion Cemetery, Maspeth, NY[45]

Name	Plot	Date of Death	Hebrew Name	Date of Birth	Age	Status
Along right side when facing plot from Path 3:						
Kessler, David		Aug. 12, 1934	David ben Yisrael Keslir		18	brother,son
Slobodinsky, Morris		Sep. 25, 1944	Moshe ben Dov		17	son,brother
Slobodinsky, Frida	153	Sep. 3, 1973	Fraide Dobe bat Chaim		75	wife,mother,grandm.,great-grandmother
(deed)	152					
(deed)	151					
Fuchs, Shapsie (Charles)		Dec. 22, 1943	Shabtai Yitzchak ben Yechiel Michel		68	
Steinberg, Harry		Aug. 29, 1939	Shalom Tzvi ben Ze'ev Halevi		80	father
Bobick, Berl		Dec. 15, 1934	Mordecai Dov ben Tzvi Beril Bobik		75	husband,father
Asnis, Joseph		Jan. 15, 1930	Yosef ben Shlomo		61	father
Goldberg, Samuel		Dec. 14, 1935	Shabtai ben Yisrael Shmuel		68	father
Goldberg, Lena		Apr. 15, 1952	Lipshe bat Pesach		80	mother
Isaacson, Sarah		Apr. 27, 1944	Bat-sheva bat Yosef Hakohen		69	mother
Isaacson, Asher		Apr. 18, 1944	Asher ben Avigdor		74	father
Goiva, Charles		Oct. 24, 1948	Yitzchak ben Yehudah Leib	Aug. 6, 1889		husband,father
Goiva, Hattie	147	Oct. 24, 1960	Hada bat Dov Ber	Dec. 4, 1892		mother,grandmother
Cohen, Rose	146	Jan. 18, 1963	Raizil bat Yechezkel			mother,grandmother
Cohen, Max	145	May 1951	[?] Michel? ben [Menachem?] Mendil Hakohen			father?,husband?
	Plots 143-144 deeded to Louis Chustek					
	Plot 142 deeded to Mrs. Louis Moizman					
Spector, Anna	141	Jan. 12, 1978	Chanah Elke bat Zise		75	wife,mother,grandmother
Spector, Sam	140	June 29, 1965	Shmuel Yaakov ben Levi Yitzchak		67	husband,father,grandfather
Spector, Isidore	139	Feb. 15, 1964	Zisye ben Levi Yitzchak		69	husband,father
Spector, Sarah		Oct. 7, 1956	Sarah Yehudit bat Yishye Yosef		54	wife,mother
Cohen, Sadie	138	April 3, 1952	Sasye bat Idel		69	mother
Cohen, Pinchus		Oct. 16, 1941	Yaakov Pinchas ben Avraham Yehuda		64	father
Spector, Louis		May 10, 1948	Levi Yitzchak ben Shmuel Yaakov		83	father
Spector, Sheva		Sept. 30, 1941	Elisheva bat Nachman Ze'ev		76	mother
Goldman, Rachel		Mar. 21, 1939	Ranye bat Yehudah		72	wife,mother
Goldman, David		Aug. 10, 1940	Aharon David ben Leibush		76	
First row along back when facing plot from Path 3:						
Stierman, Joseph	30	Apr. 27, 1962	Yoel ben Yitzchak Ze'ev Hakohen		61	husband,father,grandf
Stierman, May	29	May 10, 1991	Machlah bat Levi Yitzchak		85	wife,mother,grandm.,great-grandmother
Stierman, Walter	28	May 19, 1987	Velvel ben Yoel Hakohen	Apr. 24, 1937		son,brother,uncle
(deed)	27					
Monastersky, Reuben	26	Sep. 30, 1978	Reuven ben Kalman		78	husband,father,grandfather
Monastersky, Zelda	25	Apr. 25, 1987	Zelda bat Levi		75	wife,mother,grandm.
Sandler, Frank	24	Dec. 10, 1950	Ephraim ben Zelig		74	
Sandler, Molly	23	Oct. 14, 1957	Esther Malka bat Yosef		80	mother,grandmother,great-grandmother
Sandler, Rose	22	Aug. 17,1957	Rachel bat Ephraim	July 20, 1902		sister,aunt
	Plot 21 reeserved for Fannie Sandler					
Lehr, Nat	20					
Lehr, Sarah	19	Nov.13, 1975	Sarah Rivka bat Chezkel	Sep. 15, 1915		daughter,wife,mother
(deeded to Lehr)	18					
Second row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:						
Plots 31-32 deeded to Isidore Pinnelas						
Pinnelas, Isidore	33	1960				
Pinnelas, Hannah	34	1961				
	Plots 35-36 deeded to Monastersky					
Wugman, Meyer	37	Oct. 9, 1952	Meir ben Menachem Mendel		68	
Wugman, Sarah	38	Jan. 20, 1961	(Mrs.) Sima bat Falik		74	
Kalish, Lena	39	Nov.11, 1979	Leah bat Naftali Hertz		83	sister,aunt
Kalish, Morris	40	Dec. 11, 1951	Moshe ben Naftali Hertz		46	husband,father
Silverman, Beckie	41	Oct. 16, 1970	Baile bat Naftali Hertz		76	mother,grandmother
(deeded to Lehr, Nat)	42					

Third row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:
Plots 53-54 deeded to Philip Sedell

Cohen, Louis P.	52	May 26, 1954	Leib Pinchas ben Yechiel Michel	64	father,grandfather
Seiden, Kate	51	Nov. 3, 1972	Gitel bat Shlomo	Mar. 15, 1882	wife,mother,grandm.
Feiler, Pearl	50	Oct. 18, 1954	Sarah Perl bat Yisrael	66	sister,aunt
Elphand, Louis	49	June 3, 1965	Yehuda Leib ben Binyamin	79	father,grandfather
Fisch, Mildred	48	Mar. 22, 1978	Mishka bat Aharon	June 10, 1904	wife,sister,aunt
Fisch, Benjamin	47	Dec. 13, 1971	Hillel Ber ben Bunim	Apr. 16, 1890	husband,father,grandf
Bernstein, Rose	46	June 15, 1985	Roize Leah bat Shabtai Halevi		wife,sister
Bernstein, Morris	45	May 20, 1962	Moshe ben Fishel David		husband,brother
Aronowitz, Alexander	44	Oct. 29, 1952	Ziskind ben Aryeh Leib	63	husband,father
Rabinowitz, Gussie Aronowitz	43	Oct. 20, 1976	Esther Gitel bat Mordecai Dov*	86	sister,grandmother

*There is a dagesh in the letter beit at the end of "Dov," implying it should be "Dob"

Fourth row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:

Plots 55-56 deeded to Sam Spector
Plots 57-58 deeded to Elphand
Plots 59-60 deeded to Hyman Barasch
Plot 61 deeded to Jack Krieger

Krieger, Jack	62	Jan. 16, 1982	Yaakov ben Shmuel	Apr. 24, 1910	brother,uncle
Krieger, Samuel	63	Dec. 21, 1962	Shmuel ben Mordecai Tzvi	80	husband,father,grandf
Krieger, Chia	64	Aug. 16, 1968	Chaya bat Mordecai	85	mother,grandmother
Gerver, Lena	65	July 24, 1967	Leah bat Yisrael	Dec. 25, 189571	mother,grandmother

Plot 66 deeded to Lena Kalish

Fifth row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:

Plot 78 deeded to Isidor Spector

Spector, Natie	77	Nov. 6, 1991	Nachman ben Zise	Aug. 6, 1925	brother,uncle,friend, vet WWII

Plots 75-76 deeded to Lewis Glusman

Glusman, Sophie	74	Jan. 14, 1983	Yehudit bat Shmuel Eliezer	95	wife,mother
Glusman, Lewis	73	Apr. 2, 1962	Eliahu ben Shimshon	79	husband,father

Plots 69-72 deeded to Israel Soifer
Plot 68 deeded to Israel Lances

Korn, Bella	67	Oct. 30, 1958	Baila bat Chaim Halevi	78	mother,grandmother,great-grandmother

Sixth row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:

Plot 79 deeded to Irving Feller

Feller, Mary	80	1961	Miriam bat Ezra		daughter,sister

Plots 81-84 deeded to Julius Bobick

Pollack, Rose	85	Nisan 23,1958	Rachel bat Yerachmiel Halevi	1904	wife,mother,grandm.
Pollack, Meyer	86	Cheshvan 29, 1961	Meir ben Yaakov Leib	1900	husband,father,grand-father
Klatzkin, Mildred	87	Jan. 11, 1978	Mindl bat Meir	Oct. 22, 1928	wife,mother
Kaufman, David (deeded to Klatzkin)	88 89	July 31, 1983	David ben Shmuel Chaim	May 5, 1925	son,husband,father
Pollack, Herbert	90	May 12, 1985	Chaim ben Avraham Meir	Apr. 12, 1930	husband,father

Seventh row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:

Feller, Lena	102	Nov. 5, 1963	Leah bat Naftali	92	wife,mother
Feller, Ozer (Isador)	101	Oct. 11, 1953	Ozer ben Moshe Wolf	84	husband,father
Feller, David	100	Oct. 6, 1951	David ben Moshe Ze'ev	79	husband,father
Feller, Sadie Chaya	99	Mar. 8, 1953	Sima Chaya bat Mordecai	78	mother

Plots 97-98 deeded to Max Bobick
Plot 96 deeded to Mollie Zuckerman

Goldberg, Susan Berman	95	Apr. 26, 1968	Sosye bat Natan		
Gauss, Dr.Julius G.	94	Mar. 8, 1968	Yehudah ben Oshieh Hersh	Sep. 5, 1902	son,brother
Kanes, Jennie	93	Sep. 4, 1964	Chanah Pessl bat Binyamin	82	mother,grandmother,great-grandmother
Kanes, Louis	92	Oct. 9, 1957	Hersh Leib ben Yitzchak	76	husband,father,grandf

Eighth row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:

Plots 103-106 deeded to Samuel Bobick
Plots 107-108 deeded to Samuel Morrison
Plots 109-110 deeded to Haimowitz

Zuck, Gertrude	111	Apr. 23, 1987	Gitel bat Henokh	Feb. 9, 1889		daughter,sister,aunt
Seifer, Esther	112	Dec. 25, 1957	Esther bat Fishel Ber		73	mother,grandmother
Wexler, Theodora K	113	Mar. 21, 1968	Toiva bat Hersh Leib	Dec. 14, 1909		wife,sister
Wexler, Robert S.	114	July 18, 1967	Shmuel ben Binush	Mar. 23, 1906		husband

Robert Wexler's family was not from Medzhibozh, and he was not related to the Wexlers in the old section of Meshbisher U. V. He was related to the wife of Bernard Nathanson, whose grandfather Barnett Pinelas was from Medzhibozh.

Ninth row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:

Plot 122 deeded to Samuel Bobick

Marshall, Ida Bobick	121	Mar. 27, 1989	Adel bat Chaim Yehudah	Dec. 15, 1905		mother,grandmother
Bobick, Samuel	120	Apr. 13, 1991	Asher Zelig ben Chaim Yehudah	Nov. 22, 1903		husband,father,grandf
Bobick, Mary	119		Mashe bat Avraham	June 1, 1905		wife,mother,grandm.
Morrison, Samuel	118	Jan. 25, 1975	Shammai ben Ephraim Halevi			husband,father,grandf
Morrison, Anne	117	Apr. 25, 1992	Nechama bat Yitzchak Aizik			wife,mother,grandm.,great-grandmother
Saltzman, Joseph	116	Apr. 9, 1978	Yosef Noach ben Yitzchak Aizik	Jan. 6, 1910		husband,father,grandf
Karp, Julius	115	Feb. 10, 1958	Yechiel David ben Yaakov	Aug. 15, 1909		husband,father,grandf

Tenth row from the back when facing plot from Path 3:

Bobick, Vitty	123	Feb. 28, 1955	Vitia bat Yehudah Leib	80	mother
Bobick, Hyman	124	Apr. 24, 1951	Chaim Yehudah ben Tzvi	82	husband,father
Bobick, Max	125	June 27, 1979	Meir Tzvi ben Chaim Yehudah	83	husband,father,grandf
Bobick, Rebecca	126	Feb. 6, 1968	Mesi bat Avigdor	72	wife,mother,grandm.
Saltzman, Rose	127	Apr. 19, 1955	Raske bat Chaim Ozer Halevi		wife,mother,grandm.
Saltzman, Isaac	128	Dec. 10, 1961	Yitzchak Aizik ben David		husband,father,grandf

Along left side when facing plot from Path 3:

Plots 14-17 deeded to Rovner, David

Scadorowitz, Ida	13	1950
Steinberg, Rachael	12	1963
Shreefter, Mary		1944
Spector, Dorothy		1938
Zimmerman, Esther		1925
Asnis, Fanny		1930
Diamond, Ida		1931
Kalish, Ruth		1936
Bobick, Miriam		1937
Steinberg, Annie		1939
Altman, Ethel		1939
Fox, Yetta	9	1950
Fox, Julius	8	1963

Plots 6-7 deeded to Julius Fox

Braunstein, Ettie	5	1955
Olshever, Fannie	4	1972
Kirtz, Julia	3	1980
Rosenstein, Antoinette	2	1960
Sharmock, Fannie	1	1951

New York City Death Certificates, 1894-1919, Corresponding to Meshbisher U.V. plot of the old section of Mt. Zion Cemetery[46]

Name	Date of Death	Ref No	Age	Yrs in US	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Address	Occupation and status
Harry Diamond	11/3/1894	35721	9 mos		Morris	Slove(?)	48 Clinton St.	
Rosina Kleinberg	2/25/1896	6553	1y 6m		Max	Teibel (Jeibel or Feibel?)		208 E. 41 (208 E. 4th?)
Seidel Aaron Bernstein	5/29/1896	18148	44 yrs	6	Isaac Moses Ida		107 Madison St.	shirt folder, married
Ida Gerber	6/15/1896	19751	9 mos		Max	Rebecca	97 Mongin(?)	
Fanny Goodman	7/10/1896	22919	1 yr		Isaac	Moli	103 Orchard	
Nathan Davis	5/4/1897	13822	48 yrs	5	David	Fanny	76 Suffolk	operator, married
Morris Epstein	3/24/1898	8020	5 mos		Benny	Rose	247 Rivington	
Samuel Stromberg	5/12/1900	16382	2y 3m		Louis	Rachel	86 Norfolk	

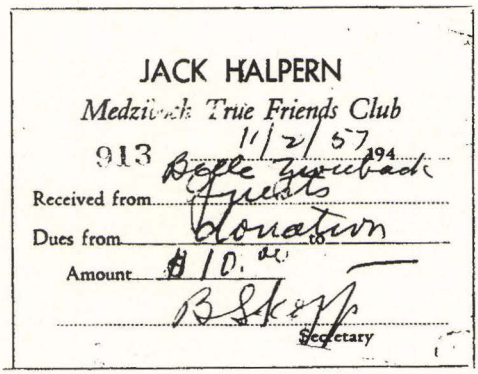
Louis Zuckerman	8/17/1901	25393	4 mos	Jacob	Lena	63 Clinton	
Morris Cohn	5/22/1902	15849	10 mos	Max	Rone	102 Suffolk	
(Mother Born in Austria)							
Isaac Tretiak	6/21/1902	18639	29 yrs 1 (7?)	Moses	Rachel	63 Clinton	married
Ida Druker	1/14/1903	1509	11 mos	Morris	Lina	290 Delancey	
(Born in Brooklyn)							
Bella Krakower	5/11/1903	14692	20 yrs 12	David	Sarah	24 E. 103 St.	
Kalmen Toporosky	12/19/1903	35841	7 days	Sesse	Rebecca Dubitzky	35 Essex	
Tessie Brill	1/7/1904	846	4 yrs	Nathan	Fannie Faden		
Dora Nirnberg	2/29/1904	7772	4 yrs	Sam	Mary Greenstein	115 Broome	
Esther Toporovsky	8/10/1904	28094	9 mos	Sisi(?)	Rebecca Dubitzky	35 Essex	
Yetta Gervel	8/13/1904		22 yrs 4	Jechiel	Chane	244 Monroe	tailoress
(Family name should be spelled "Gerver"; Chane as her stepmother, her birth mother was Hinka Razel Shochet)							
Annie Kannas	3/29/1905	10638	1 yr	Louis	Jennie Hirchman	78 Suffolk	
Morris Meurowitz	6/7/1905	18729	2 yrs	Osie	Sarah Sorkman (Soikman?)	101 Cannon	
Charles Sisis	3/25/1909	9462	33 yrs 3	Barnett	Rose Sanderovitz	336 Cherry	
Sadie Parmett	3/9/1909	7332	55 yrs 7	Joseph Schwartz	Gussie Greenberg	8 Pitt	
William Brill	2/1/1910	3631	5 mos	Samuel	Rose Rothman	411 E. 17 St.	
Jacob Pinnelas	6/16/1910	18934	3 yrs	Benjamin	Mary Cohen	97 Suffolk	
(Mispelled Primelas in the index)							
Samuel Rabinowitz	2/28/1910	6407	60 yrs 4	Nathan	Mary Bernstein	359 Madison St.	tailor, married
Minnie Goldman	9/25/1910	29280	36 yrs 3	Harry Volowitz	Yetta Faber (Taber?)	89 Ludlow	married
Aaron Silverman	2/28/1911	44168	56 yrs 20y 8m	Selig	Toba Grably (Grabby?)	1427 41st St.	tin smith, married
Julius Gerver	10/11/1911	36724	48 yrs 11	Joseph	Malke Wechsler	288 Hinsdale, Brooklyn	buttonhole maker, married
William Lutsky	2/20/1912	5695	1 mo	Morris	Lena Wechsler	219 Broome	
Nathan Minnerman	10/12/1912	19133	67 yrs 12	Israel	Sarah Groeh (Groch?)	450 New Jersey Ave.	peddler of dry goods,married
(Died in Brooklyn)							
Nashy Dickman	11/30/1912	22142	858 yrs 21	Myer Krupky	Leah Shapiro	70 Mt. Kibben(?)	married
Molly Cohen	2/2/1914	3630	13 yrs	Max	Rose Wechsler	442 E. 121	
(Mother born in Austria)							
Joseph Gerver	2/16/1914		21 yrs 8(?)	Moses	Breina Landman		
Israel Rubin	1/13/1916	1554	65 yrs 12	Max	Annie Cohn	25-27 Ridge	teacher, married
Charles Dyenson	10/16/1916	29606	60 yrs 12	Samuel	Rachel Cohen	25-27 Ridge	presser, married
(Listed as Jehiel Dyenson in cemetery records)							
Irving Schustek	3/26/1917	2400	4y11m16d	Samuel	Anna Lopats	1608 Prospect Ave.	
(Died in Bronx)							
Israel Greenberg	4/8/1917	11937	57 yrs 8	Khaim Gabriel	Raize Wolinsky	444 Grand	tailor, married
Isaac Goodman	6/7/1917	18521	61 yrs 24	Sholim	Ethel Weinstein	40 Delancey	carpenter, married
Nathan Dickman	6/26/1917	20295	51y7m6d 27	W. Wulf	Gussie Cohen	346 E. 10	merchant, married
Anna Kessler	7/19/1917	21972	10	Harris Burstuck (Bernstein?)	Chia Sura(?)	246 Monroe	married
(Listed as Nechuma Kessler in cemetery records)							
Lena Shustik	6/26/1918	19696	63 yrs 27	Samuel Hechtman	Dora Katz	119 Broome	married
Lena Davis	7/6/1918	20450	64 yrs 28	Nathan Fauzer (Fanzer,Tanzer, Farizer?)	Liza	752 E. 5 St.	widow
Moses Gervey	3/12/1919	273710	55 yrs 5	Joseph	Buby Landman	421 Brink(?) Ave.	married,ret. salesman
(This is incorrect, his wife was Breina Landman, his mother was Malka Wechsler)							
Max Wexler	4/20/1919		53y1m10d	Louis	Nacha Makolowitz	238 Clinton	slaughter house, married
Joseph Gover	5/4/1919		36 yrs? 29	Louis	Lena		
Falik Pollack	4/20/1919	14528	63 yrs				
Rosie Lutzky	2/25/1920	8753	10 yrs				

• *Medgibosher True Friends Club (New York)*

This society was incorporated in 1936, with the following officers:

Hyman Dreizen, 721 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, NY
Jacob Halperen, 410 Hendrix Street, Brooklyn, NY
Bennie Millis, 1971-71st Street, Brooklyn, NY
Jacob C. Rostoff, 1860 Bergen Street, Brooklyn, NY
Dave Sipelstein, 2006-71st Street, Brooklyn, NY

It was noted in the Certificate of Incorporation that Hyman Dreizen had visited Medzhibozh in August of 1935. Meetings were held on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 623 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn. The membership grew


JACK HALPERN
Medzibozh True Friends Club
913 11/2/57 194
Received from Bella Zwieback
Dues from Guests donation
Amount $10.00
B Skop
Secretary

Medgibosher True Friends Club Receipt for Donation.
Courtesy of Ed Zwieback.

from 6 in 1935 to 60 in 1938. Five percent were not landsleit. The secretary was "Bundsman" Skop, 1023 Rutland Road, Brooklyn, NY.

It is likely that the Medzhibozh True Friends Club merged with the Medgibosh Progressive Solidarity Society. This may explain why Hyman Dreizen and others, who were the charter members of the True Friends, are buried in the plots of the Solidarity Society.



Members of the Medzibozer Workman's Circle.
1) Fishel Feingold; 2) Lazer Glick; 3) Shloime Glick. Other names not known. Photo courtesy of Alicia Feingold Amiel.

• *Medzibozer Branch (#297) of the Arbeter Ring (Workman's Circle) (New York)*

This socialist group was formed in 1909 with 29 members. By 1938 the membership had risen to 120, but sixty percent were not landsleit. The secretary was L. Margolis, 1304 Grand Concourse, Bronx, NY.

• *Lovers of Israel Anshe Medzhibozh (New York)*

Meetings were held on the first and third Sundays at 91 Attorney Street, NYC; it was organized in 1911 with 40 members; by 1938, the membership was 60. Four percent were not landsleit. The secretary was M. Brill, 91 Attorney Street, NYC.

• *Medshbesher Lodge (Philadelphia)*

This organization was founded in 1927 and went defunct in 1984. Few names are easily recognizable as "Medzhibozh names" indicating that there was probably a high percentage of people who were not landsleit. The last contact person for the group was Jack King of Philadelphia.

List of burials at Har Jehuda Cemetery, Philadelphia:

Becker, Samuel 10/25/08 age 26
Berman, Herbert 6/26/80 age 71
Brooks, Anna 1/8/15 age 38
Chalodof, Mary 8/10/23 age 49
Dedov, Daniel 9/2/29 age 7
Dedov, Harry 5/15/87 age 88
Dedov, Ida 3/18/77 age 73
Desatnick, Sarah 4/17/10 age 83
Falcoff, Rebecca 4/19/32 age 67
Falcoff, Samuel, 9/21/38 age 82
Fine, Jennie 10/22/37 age 90
Fine, Kalman 4/4/31 age 84
Finegold, Samuel 2/1/59 age 83
Finegold, Esther 1/8/22 age 47
Fleet, Rebecca 1/8/78 80 years
Galerman, Abraham 2/13/49 age 75
Galerman, Rachel 5/17/38 age 68
Galerman, Moses David 9/30/21 age 80
Galerman, Yetta 3/8/25 age 78
Ginsberg, Charles 4/23/18 age 58
Gold, Meyer 2/5/20 age 42
Goldfarb, Samuel 4/2/30 age 70
Goldfarb, Sarah 4/2/25 age 70
Gratz, Edith 11/12/34 age 82
Gratz, Harry 1/11/20 age 66
Karon, Pauline 6/2/27 age 40
Klatzkin, Benjamin 10/2/18 age 20
Kleinman, Katie 6/21/51 age 87
Kleinman, Morris 9/12/37 age 70
Krukin, Anna 4/12/11
Levin, Samuel 3/29/91
Levin, Pauline 5/25/94
Moran, Benjamin 5/6/34 age 68
Moran, Eva 6/6/54 age 88
Shaffer, Richard 1/12/72 age 44
Shaffer, Carolyn
Shore, Esther 1946 age 61
Teaberg, Nathan 10/22/25 age 69
Tufstupall, Rebecca 7/29/17 age 40
Tofstupall, William 11/10/26 age 54
Weisberg, Rebecca 12/4/57 age 85
Weisberg, William 3/16/32 age 62
Wolkowick, Louis 10/25/30

Mikhalpol

• *Michapoler-Podolier Benevolent Association (New York)*

This organization was founded in 1925 with 12 members. By 1938 the membership was up to 80, but twenty percent were not landsleit. Meetings were held

on the first and third Sundays of each month at 111 East Houston Street. In 1938 the secretary was Abraham German, 181 Stagg Walk, Brooklyn, NY. The group remained unincorporated until 1953; it disbanded in 1967. Burials are at Wellwood Cemetery (Block 22) and at Montefiore Cemetery (Block 3, Gate 597/S). YIVO has minute books from 1925-1967 (RG 1009).

At the time of incorporation, the directors were:

Benjamin Benjamin, 882 Belmont Avenue, Brooklyn, NY
Paul Bernstein, 236 Milford Street, Brooklyn, NY
Abraham German, 574 Hendrix Street, Brooklyn, NY
Aaron Grossman, 425 Jerome Street, Brooklyn, NY
Harry Grossman, 647 Barbey Street, Brooklyn, NY
Benjamin Schneider, 236 Milford Street, Brooklyn, NY
Benjamin Sitelman. 743 East 180th Street, Bronx, NY

• *Michapoler Sisterhood of the Michapoler-Podolier Benevolent Association (New York)*

This organization was founded in 1937 with seven members. By 1938 the membership was up to 45. The secretary was H. Kisilief, 1250 Grand Concourse, Bronx, NY.

Burial plot of the Michapoler-Podolier Benevolent Association, located in Montefiore Cemetery (block 3, gate 597/S):

Names inscribed on gate.[47]
The gate was dedicated on November 22, 1925):

Leib and Khana Kotlar
Max and Yetta Weinberg
Aaron and Rebecca Bain
Isaac and Dvora Rosenzweig
Isaac and Pessie Heller
Jacob and Sarah Schneider
Joseph and Fannie Zimmerman
Isaac and Esther Nass
Velvel Mednick
Philip and Ann Gold
Khaim and Dvora Shneider
Marcus and Rose Lerman
Sophie Solomon
Khaim and Esna Solomon
Lou Solomon
Eliezer and Kreine Ruchelman
Yekheel and Ann Stipelman
Efraim Bilinkes
Bentsion and Khaiah Bendzshtein
Avraham and Betty Shneider
Sam and Khaiah Grossman
Harry and Esther Grossman
Harry and Ann Wasserman
Abraham and Bessie Grossman
Tsvi and T. Langman
Abraham and Rebecca German
Philip and Rose Katz
Isidore Stipelman
Max and Sophie Feldman
Joseph Malamud
Barukh Corn
Rebecca Corn
Yoshua Nass
Eliahu and Khaiah Schwartz
Israel and Blima Chernoff
Joseph Einbinder
Gershon and Golda Kramer
Dov and Khiah Siegel
Joseph and Feige Berger
Mordechai and Rose Stipelman
Barney and Minnie Kisiloff
Khaim and Esther Siegel
Ben and Miriam Klein
Gershon Ruchelman
Yoshua and Sadie Himelstein

Burials (as of January 1998).

Bain, Aaron
Bein, Rebecca
Benjamin, Ben
Benjamin, Ida
Berger, Abraham
Bernch, Fred
Bernsch, Louis
Bernstein, Ida
Bernstein, Rebecca
Corn, Rebecca
Eller, Bessie
Federman, Irving
Federman, Kitty
Feldman, Jean
Feldman, Lena
Feldman, Max
Finkelstein, William
Fishman, Esther
Fishman, Ida
Fishman, Louis
Fishman, Murray
Fishman, Rachel
Flam, Sydelle
Gold, Ann

Gold, Philip
Grossman, Aaron
Grossman, Bessie
Grossman, Betty
Grossman, Esther
Grossman, Harry
Grossman, Ida
Grossman, Joseph
Grossman, Milton
Grossman, Sam
Halpern, Isidor
Halpern, Jennie
Himelstein, Sheva
Kaback, Sal
Kaplan, Jack
Kaplan, Pauline
Katz, Joseph
Katz, Philip
Katz, Rose
Kaufman, Ida
Kaufman, Nathan
Kisiloff, Barney
Kisiloff, Carl
Kisiloff, Carl
Kisiloff, Helen
Kisiloff, Minnie
Kisiloff, Rose
Kurtsman, Wolf
Lerman, Marcus
Lerman, Rose
Malkin, Fannie
Malkin, Freda
Malkin, Julius
Malkin, Sarah
Nash, Irving
Nass, Celia
Nass, Samuel
Parnes, Abraham
Parnes, Joseph
Parnes, Yetta
Piltch, Aaron
Pogorsky, David
Pogorsky, Esther
Poplansky, Mollie
Poplansky, Saul
Ruchelman, Fred
Ruchelman, George
Ruchelman, Kreine
Ruchelman, Louis
Ruchelman, Sarah
Saltzman, Frank
Saltzman, Shirley
Schimmel, Nathan
Schimmel, Rubin
Schneider, Betty
Schneider, Sam
Schutman, Sol
Schwartz, Carla
Schwartz, Harry
Schwartz, Ida
Schwartz, Rebecca
Schwartz, Sol
Shaffer, Chaim
Sherman, Sadie
Siegel, Benjamin
Siegel, Chaim
Siegel, Esther
Simes, Abraham
Simes, Beatrice
Simes, Jacob
Simes, Leon
Simes, Sarah
Sitelman, Benjamin
Sitelman, Rose
Skolnick, Abraham
Solomon, Louis
Solomon, Sonia
Sorlie, Louis
Speal, Martin
Speal, Rose
Stepelman, Isidore
Stepelman, Sylvia
Stipelman, Ann
Stipelman, Yechiel
Walman, Heshel (Cantor)
Wasserman, Annie
Wasserman, Harry
Weinberg, Max
Weinberg, Yetta
Woldman, Oscar
Zimmerman, Fannie
Zimmerman, Joseph

Volkovintsy

• *Valkevinitzer-Podolier Aid Society (New York)*

This organization was formed in 1918 with 16 members. By 1938, the membership was up to 70, but five percent were not landsleit. The secretary was Meyer Treinkman, 1777 Stillwell Avenue, Brooklyn, NY. The burial plot is at Mt. Hebron Cemetery (Block 19, Path 9). There are additional burials in Beth Moses Cemetery, Pinelawn, NY.

Names of committe members inscribed on cemetery gate (erected 1933), Mt. Hebron Cemetery:

Israel Winocur (President)
Solomon Lieberzohn (Past President)
Israel Smolek (Vice-President)
Meyer Treinkman (Secretary)
Meyer Small (Cashier)
Baruch Meyerowitz (Trustee)
Moses Treinkman (Chairman)
Itskhak Brakhan
Joseph Stein
Abraham Smolik
Chaim A. Silver
Jack Cohen
Moshe Dudick
Philip Kreisler
Max Silverman
Izzy Fishbein
Harry Kleinerman
Harry Shulman
Harry Butman
Abraham Dinitz
Abraham Shulman
Isidore Paul
Max Schwartz
Louis Baratz
Chaim Fishbein
Max Oscher
Benjamin Shulman
Asher Burd

Burials (as of December 1997):

Adler, Leo (Lazar ben Hershel), 6/26/19-1/14/80
Baratz, Louis (Israel Leib ben Yosef), d.1/20/57 age 72
Baratz, Rose Leah (Rukhel Leah bat Mekhel haLevi), d. 4/26/43 age 53
Behar, Sylvia (Shlema bat Menakhem) <small child>
Bernstein, David (Dovid ben Avraham)
Bernstein, Hyman (Khaim ben Itskhak), 7/10/86-1/20/78
Bernstein, Morris (Moshe ben Isrel), d. 4/10/63 age81
Bernstein, Murray (Moshe ben Khaim), 1/10/08-6/12/85
Bernstein, Yetta (Itamasha bat Zalman), 3/1/89-7/22/81
Besserman, Jacob (Yakov Shmuel ben Yosef), 6/17/16-3/16/19
Boraks, Lillian (Lika bat Mendel), 5/18/98-9/8/75
Bornstein, Nettie (Nisel bat Dovid Shlomo), d.3/21/45 age 87
Brown, Beckie (Breina bat Yosef), d. 7/7/59 age 70
Brown, Isidore (Itskhak ben Nuta), d. 12/20/61, age 77
Burd, Harry (Asher ben Nukhum), 5/15/94-6/10/75
Burd, Sarah (Sara bat Shimon), 4/10/99-4/18/80
Cohen, Jacob (Yakov ben Aryeh Leib), 7/15/96-1/18/74
Cohen, Meryl (Miriam bat Dovid) <small child>
Cohen, Minnie (Minna bat Dov Ber), d. 8/27/76
Cohen, Nathan (Natan ben Yakov), d. 10/16/32 age 19
Dellon, Alex (Eliahu ben Itskhak), 9/29/96-7/28/75
Dellon, Fannie (Frima bat Beryl), 3/6/97-11/11/77
Dellon, Sarah (Sara bat Gedalya), d. 1/9/62 age 90
Dinitz, Abraham (Avraham ben Israel), d. 6/23/45 age 62
Dinitz, Israel (Israel ben Avraham), d. 6/27/36 age 15
Dinitz, Lena (Leah bat Avraham), d. 4/8/67 age 78
Dinitz, Meyer (Meier ben Avraham), 5/27/11-2/4/57
Dinitz, Pauline (Pesel bat Mordekhai & Rivka), 4/5/13-5/10/95
Dinitz, William (Zev ben Israel), d. 11/25/58 age 58
Dudick, Morris (Moshe ben Itskhak), d. 4/24/62 age 62
Dudick, Pearl (Tsiporah bat Zalman), d. 12/6/91 age 90
Feder, Esther (Ester bat Itskhak), 1895-1933
Fishbein, Clara (Khasa bat Feivush), d. 11/28/80 age 81
Fishbein, Isidore (Itskhak ben Freya (?)), d. 6/22/52 age 51
Fishbein, Thelma (Taybe bat Shaya), 9/27/24-12/26/89
Gladstone, Frank (Efraim ben Aryeh Leib), 12/29/93-12/23/37
Glazer, Harry (Khanokh ben Yehudah Leib), d. 7/19/60
Glazer, Mollie (Malka bat Moshe Efraim), d. 2/15/80 age 78
Goldberg, Eva (Khaiah bat Avraham), 10/15/92-11/19/87
Goldberg, Sam (Yeshua ben Khaim), 2/13/92-5/10/63
Goldsmith, Milton (Mendel ben Moshe), 5/10/05-8/18/66
Goldsmith, Rose (Reizel bat Moshe), 7/21/82 age 80
Gross, Sarah (Sara bat Yakov), d. 3/17/33 age 60
Kaplan, Irving (Aizik ben Meier), d. 2/1/36 age 38
Kesten, Anna (Nekhamah bat Nakhman), d. 7/30/37 age 35
Kianofsky, Elizabeth (Khiah Leah bat Aharon), 6/10/97-4/25/63
Kianofsky, Jacob (Yakov ben Avraham Moshe), 6/19/88-8/1/61
Kleinerman, Aaron (Aharon Shlomo ben Itskhak Aizik), 7/22/95-3/23/52
Kleinerman, Clara (Khaika bat Ben-Tsion), 10/22/94-10/1/59
Kramer, Abraham J. (Avraham Yosef ben Meshulum Zusya), d. 7/26/36 age 8
Kramer, Anna (Khanah bat Yakov), d. 4/25/67 age 76
Kramer, Brana (Brayna bat Avraham), d. 6/9/41 age 82
Kramer, Charles (Zusya ben Nusin Meier), d. 3/16/53 age 60
Kramer, Joseph (Yosef ben Nusin Meier), d. 6/19/27 age 36
Kreisler, Doris (Dvora bat Moshe), 1/13/25-10/19/94
Kreisler, Philip (Pesakh ben Avraham), 4/4/03-6/29/54
Kreisler, Rose (Reizel bat Shlomo Zalman), 3/19/04-2/25/53
Kreisler, Stanley (Shlomo ben Pesakh), 6/25/24-12/13/89
Landsman, Rachel (Rukhel bat Itskhak), d. 12/22/44 age 60
Lieberson, Rachel (Rukhel bat Zev), d. 9/30/47 age 81
Lieberson, Rebecca (Reba bat Dovid), d. 8/22/52
Liebersohn, Solomon, d. 5/12/74 age 80
Like, Evelyn (Khiah bat Menakhem Mendel), 10/17/97-4/12/72
Like, Harry (Tsvi Hirsh ben Moshe), 2/22/95-5/27/71
Like, Lena (Leah bat Shmuel), d. 11/5/25 age 52
Like, Lenora (Muna Leah bat Avziel Tsvi), d. 1/15/48 age 18
Malamud, Samuel Louis (Shmuel Leib ben Khaskel), d. 6/21/60 age 75
Malamud, Rose (Brukha bat Nekhama), d. 3/15/68 age 79
Mashberg, Mottel (Mordekhai ben Khaim), d. 5/13/54 age 54
Mashberg, Rose (Rukhel bat Hershel), d. 8/7/79 age 72
Meyer, Bessie (Pessya bat Tsvi Hirsh), d. 12/23/32 age 46
Meyerowitz, Bessie (Batya bat Barukh), d. 7/13/30 age 69

Meyerowitz, Joseph (Yosef ben Aharon Tsvi), d. 1/28/32 age 72
Miller, Ida (Khaiah Ita bat Yeshua), 2/8/24-2/14/57
Munman, Sarah (Sara bat Khaim haLevi), d. 3/28/57 age 86
Oscher, Lina (Rukhel Leah bat Itskhak Avraham), d. 9/2/78 age 90
Oscher, Max (Shimshon Mordekhai ben Tsvi Hirsh), d. 12/5/54 age 65
Powell, Anna (Anna bat Israel), d. 1/14/29 age 14
Powell, Isidore (Israel ben Barukh), d.1/4/70 age 76
Rapoport, Adel (Hodel bat Yosef), d. 6/20/49 age 72
Rapoport, Esther (Esther bat Avraham Aharon), d. 5/5/43 age 83
Rapoport, Hyman (Khaim ben Zev haKohen), d. 6/22/41 age 65
Rapoport, Tillie (Tila bat Khaim), d. 3/21/36 age 29
Rothman, Benjamin (Dov Beryl ben Moshe), d. 7/7/34 age 52
Rothman, Israel (Israel ben Menakhem Mendel), d. 2/25/52 age 63
Rothman, Jacob (Yakov ben Menakhem Mendel), d. 7/29/42 age 58
Rothman, Manya (Munya bat Tsvi), d. 9/27/67 age 80
Rothman, Nettie (Nekha bat Tsvi), d. 1/18/63 age 79
Rotman, Shirley (Charna bat Dov), d. 1/26/27 age 4
Rubin, Hyman (Khaim ben Avraham), 3/22/97-8/29/62
Rubin, Ida (Khaiah bat Shlomo), d. 11/26/89
Rubinstein, Jennie (Sheindel bat Yekheel), d. 12/7/77
Rubinstein, Morris (Moshe ben Yakov Tsvi), d. 7/7/51
Schuman, Anna (Khana bat Avraham haLevi), d. 10/7/67 age 83
Schwartz, Clara (Khiah bat Itskhak), 8/15/02-11/27/92
Schwartz, Max (Meier ben Leib haKohen), (8/15/98-4/25/83)
Schwartz, Morris (Moshe ben Mordekhai) 10/15/88-10/17/66
Schwartz,Ronya (Ronya bat Nakhman) 9/4/97-4/24/84
Shavell, Anna (Khuna bat Shmuel Eliezer), d. 3/28/6 age 75
Shavell, Louis (Leibish Alter ben Yehoshua), d. 1/26/81 age 88
Shulman, Abraham (Avraham ben Tsvi), d. 11/4/32 age 83
Shulman, Fanny (Feige bat Meier), d. 8/21/40 age 86
Silverman, Max (Mordekhai ben Avraham), d. 2/22/69 age 89
Silverman, Sylvia ((Sluva bat Yosef Meier), d. 4/28/61 age 72
Smith, Max (Mordekhai ben Yosef), d. 8/10/38 age 52
Smith, Morris (Moshe ben Yosef), d. 9/30/35 age 61
Smolek, Jean (Zlata bat Dov), d. 9/18/54 age 63
Smolek, Sam (Israel ben Gedalya), d. 9/24/64 age 77
Smolik, Abraham (Avraham ben Pesakh), d. 2/26/42 age 64
Smolik, Sarah (Sara bat Yosef), d. 12/13/61 age 77
Smolok, Frieda (Freda bat Khaim), d. 7/26/43
Smolok, Harry (Hershel ben Shlomo), d. 9/6/69 age 74
Smolok, Sam (Shlomo ben Gedalya), d. 4/18/44 age 86
Smolok, Sarah (Sara Malka bat Shmuel), d. 1/8/60
Stein, Annette (Antsa bat Yosef), 3/9.25-9/25/27
Stillwater, David, 4/18/96-11/8/68
Tempkin, Katie (Kuna bat Nukhum), d. 11/15/39 age 27
Treinkman, Meyer (Meier ben Moshe), d. 11/8/87
Treinkman, Moses (Moshe ben Eliezer),d. 12/12/51 age 78
Treinkman, Tessie (Tsima bat Moshe Zev), d. 4/2/48 age 72
Treinkman, Zena (Zlata bat Moshe), d. 11/18/71
Wall, Jerry (Zalman ben Avigdor), 4/25/27-11/4/68
Winocur, Harry (Tsvi Hirsh ben Zev Volf), d. 9/4/55 age 72
Winocur, Ida (Khaika bat Yossel), 5/5/88-8/22/68
Winocur, Samuel (Shmuel ben Nakhman),1/1/91-3/17/59
Winocur, Sarah (Sara Rivka bat Meier), d. 2/26/83 age 91

• *Volkovinitz-Podolier Benevolent Association (Philadelphia)*

This organization was founded on February 21, 1921 with the following members:

Mr. and Mrs. M. Dickter
Mr. and Mrs. W. Sheffler
Mr. and Mrs. M. Eckman
Mr. and Mrs. I. Rubin
Mr. and Mrs. M. Wolensky
Mr. and Mrs. N. Gendelman

Mr. and Mrs. S. Greber
Mr. and Mrs. H. Rubin
Mr. and Mrs. J. Leifer
Mr. and Mrs. M. Richter
Mr. and Mrs. L. Silverman
Mr. and Mrs. D. Eisenberg
Mr. and Mrs. I. Abrams
Mr. and Mrs. H. Meshon
Mr. and Mrs. H. Kutzman
Mr. and Mrs. B. Lenetsky
Mr. and Mrs. H. Goldstein
Morris Rubin
Isaac Brownstein (secretary)

The following is a list of burials at Montefiore Cemetery (section "O"), Philadelphia, as of October, 1997:

Axelrod, Katie (Gittel bat R. Zalman) d. July 1, 1940 age 43
Berger, Maxwell (Mordekhai ben Shimon) d. Feb. 23, 1934 age 43
Bernstein, Isadore (Itskhak ben Yehuda) d. Jan. 25, 1942 age 53
Borish, Sylvia (Tsipa bat R. Avraham) d. Sept. 9, 1939, age 28
Budman, Harry (Hirsch Ber ben Melekh) d. Jan. 3, 1952 age 63
Budman, Susan (Sosia bat Dovid haKohen) d. Dec. 6, 1963 age 75
Chasanov, Hyman (Khaim ben Yosef Tsvi) d. Dec. 23, 1952 age 57
Chasanov, Katie (Keila Feige bat Yosef Shmuel) d. March 31, 1956 age 62
Dichter, Anna (Khaya bat R. Tsvi) d.Apr. 1, 1932 age 73
Furman, (Yeshayahu ben Nakhmia)
Furman, (Dvorah bat Moshe Tsvi)
Hassan, Louis (Borukh Leib ben Zanvil) d. Oct. 8, 1936 age 48
Hendrie, Alford (Avraham ben Avraham) b. Aug. 19, 1898 ; d. Jan. 9, 1963
Hendrie, Rose J. (Sheina Reizel bat Hershel) b. June 23, 1902; d. Aug. 13, 1994
Landsman, Benjamin (Borukh ben Zev) d. Jan. 15, 1953 age 78
Martin, Sylvia (Zelda bat Yoel) d. Sept. 16, 1946 age 33
Meshon, S/Sgt. Martin (Mordekhai ben Tsvi) b. Dec. 12, 1921; died Feb. 24, 1944 "over Germany"
Messing, Joseph (Yosef ben Mordekhai) d. Apr. 28, 1936
Meyerowitz, Bella (?) (Beila bat Mattiahu)
Moskowitz, Sarah (Sara bat R. Israel Gershon) d. Dec. 6, 1939 age 72
Opolsky, Samuel (Sholom ben Moshe) d. Nov. 29, 1936 age 24
Paul, Mike (Shmuel ben Lippe haKohen) d. Oct. 24, 1935 age 43
Paul, Miriam (Miriam bat R. Moshe)
Richter, Sadie (Sara Beila bat R. Israel Tsvi) d. Feb. 10, 1940 age 57
Rubinstein, Jacob (Yakov ben Nakhman) b. Apr. 15, 1901; d. Feb. 23, 1943
Sheer, Charles (Khanokh ben Avigdor) d. Dec. 1, 1935 age 42
Spector, Sara (Khaya Sara bat R. Avraham) d. Jan. 11, 1942 age 47
Sugarman, Sophia (Sosia bat Eliahu) d. Dec. 20, 1945 age 62
Tansky, Celia (Tsiril bat R. Tsvi Hirsch) d. March 22, 1950 age 88

Zinkov

• *Zinkover- Podolier Benevolent Society (New York)*

This organization was founded in 1909 with 15 members under the initiative of Morris Buchalter, two years after a previously organized Zinkover society went defunct. By 1938 the membership was up to 110. Meetings were held on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 98 Forsyth Street, NYC. The secretary was I. Rothbard, 839 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, NY. The burial plots are at Montefiore Cemetery (Block 56, Gate 411/E and Block 97, Gate 71/S). YIVO has some records from 1924-1974 (RG 963).

Listing of officers in 1956:

Mordekhai Saltsman
Naftali Pearl
Jacob Rigrod
Pini Saliternik
Yoshua Bordman
Nukhim Drucker
Jack Silverman
L. Blecker
N. Spilerman

Adele Berger
Zisi Bard
Zisi Nathanson
Morris Buchalter
Shabbatai Zola
Sam Greenberg
Leah Greenberg
Philip Rosenbluth
Shlomo Nusis

Israel Rothbard
Moshe Garber
Max Freifeld
Dovid Fuchs
Avraham Rapoport
Y. Hauptman
B. Seeley
Benny Laskin

The burial plot is located in Montefiore Cemetery (block 56; gate 411/E and block 97, Gate 71/S):

Block 56; gate 411/E

Gate erected October 22, 1922.

Burials (as of January 1998):

Baliner, Herman , d. 5/9/48 age 63
Baliner, Rose, d. 1/19/51 age 64
Berger, Elke, d. 11/15/63 age 50
Berger, Joseph, d. 1/4/51 age 70
Blecker, Bella, d. 9/21/23 age 35
Bordman, Bella, d. 2/21/33 age 55
Brick, Clara, d. 2/5/30 age 38
Brill, Dora , d. 6/9/41 age 47
Buchalter, Gussie, d. 9/21/23 age 35
Buchalter, Nathan , d.1/10/44 age 72
Deckerman, Bertha, d. 10/8/27 age 58
Drucker, Nathan, d. 8/7/50 age 69
Drucker, Rebecca, d. 7/19/59 age 81
Einbinder, Ida , d. 5/2/47 age 65
Einbinder, Louis, d. 2/19/59 age 80
Fink, Irving, 5/23/03-1/2/80
Fisher, Fannie, d. 4/24/31 age 46
Forman, Dina, d. 11/1/41 age 61
Fuchs, Joe, d. 11/28/32 age 55
Garber, Rachel, d. 5/17/23 age 57
Gelman, Scheindel, d. 10/24/25
Giltman, Joseph, d. 12/8/58 age 86
Giltman, Lena , d. 1/14/46 age 63
Glassen, Esther, d. 4/5/40 age 59
Greenberg, Dora, d. 6/29/61 age 82
Greenberg, Gitel, d. 11/4/42 age 70
Greenberg, Leah, d. 5/4/28 age 73
Greenberg, Levi, d. 3/10/69 age 84
Greenberg, Pincus, d. 1/15/44 age 74
Greenberg, Samuel, d. 10/27/75 age 95
Greenberg, Sarah, 3/87-2/12/86
Hauptman, Elke, d. 1/19/47 age 84
Isaacson, Rose, d. 7/20/30 age 36
Kalnitzky, Julius, d. 5/17/43 age 73
Kandelman, Yetta, d. 1/26/34 age 92
Kishnewsky, ??, d. 5/19/47 age 62
Kishnewsky, Saul, d. 4/21/67
Kogen, Paula, d. 2/24/18 age 64
Laskin, Anna, d. 5/18/23 age 48
Lederman, Rebecca, d. 6/18/18 age 24
Miller, Sarah, d. 10/16/44 age 67
Misures, Pessie, d. 8/6/39 age 74



Gate of the Zinkover Podolier Benevolent Society Cemetery.
New Section, Montefiore Cemetery, New York. Photograph by Ben Weinstock.



Gate of the Zinkover Podolier Benevolent Society Cemetery.
Old Section, Montefiore Cemetery, New York. Photograph by Ben Weinstock.

Monosoff, Hary, d. 6/3/47 age 41
Nathanson, Beckie, d. 5/22/19 age 28
Oroshnik, Munya, d. 1/1/42 age 78
Osseck, Sarah, d. 6/20/56
Pearl, Dora, d. 10/19/41 age 61
Polsky, Abraham
Polsky, Anna
Rattner, Ella, d. 7/28/46 age 61
Rattner, Meyer, d. 10/16/48 age 69
Rigrod, Becky, d. 3/17/65 age 78
Rigrod, Jacob, d. 4/21/46 age 62
Rosenbluth, Philip, d. 3/16/62 age 77
Rosenbluth, Sarah, d. 1/14/54 age 62
Rosenthal, Hyman, d. 8/13/46 age 57
Rosenthal, Lena, d. 7/4/57 age 65
Rubinstein, Celia, d. 6/1/62 age 89
Salant, Harry, d. 2/12/50 age 57
Saltzman, Gussie , d. 6/8/25 age 63
Schaeffer, Betty, d. 4/24/31 age 22
Schecter, Hilda, d. 6/20/35 age 25
Schwartz, Anna, d. 2/12/28 age 26
Schwartz, Jennie, d. 9/6/53 age 81
Schwartzman, Hyman, d. 5/9/48 age 80
Schwartzman, Jennie, d. 2/27/71 age 95
Sherman, Frima, d. 4/2/55
Sherman, Philip, d. 8/9/46 age 62
Shreibman, Ella, d. 11/19/34 age 9 months
Shulman, Jennie, d. 9/6/53 age 81
Silverman, Abraham, d. 7/6/40 age 69
Silverman, Chantsa , d. 5/20/25 age 44
Silverman, Hinda, d. 6/18/76 age 93
Silverman, Kiva, d. 9/2/43 age 55
Stievelbrand, Minnie, d. 7/24/34 age 85
Stromburg, Anna, d. 12/3/74 age 87
Stromburg, Harry, d. 8/28/47 age 68
Tendler, Anna, d. 6/25/41 age 64
Trambain, ??, d. 9/7/27 age 29
Tucker, Clara, d. 3/1/96 age 95
Tucker, Hyman, d. 6/21/74 age 78
Wallach, Minnie, d. 12/30/48 age 68
Wallach, Sam, d. 1/9/41 age 65
Weiner, Miriam, d. 1/5/50 age 61
Weiner, Ralph, d. 8/13/46 age 60
Yachness, ??, d.7/22/30 age 47
Yurkowsky, Regina, d. 9/14/50 age 78
Yurkowsky, Solomon, d. 7/18/47 age 75

Block 97, Gate 71/S:

Gate(dedicated 1949) inscriptions:

Officers:
Samuel D. Buchalter, ex-Pres. (wife: Esther)
Morris Buchalter, Pres. (wife: Zena)
Sam Gefter, Vice-Pres. (wife: Anna)
Harry G. Zola, Fin. Sec. (wife: Mary)
Benny Laskin, Rec. Sec. (wife: Bella)
Sam Greenberg, Treas. (wife: Dora)
Sam Pearl, Hosp. (wife: Fay)
Isidore Nathanson, Trustee (wife: Mollie)
Sam Bordman, Trustee (wife: Dora)

Committee :
Jack and Mary Silverman
Harry Salant
William and Eva Nasses
Mr. and Mrs. W. Laskin
Mr. and Mrs. A. Gerbman
Louis and Lena Seligman
Mr. and Mrs. S. Nathanson
Mr. and Mrs. Polinsky
Ben and Pola Schilay
Hinda and Khaim Isaac
Ita Rothburd
Clara Berger
Baron Drozner
Benjamin Goichman
Norman Nesses

Burials (as of January 1998) :

Auerbach, Paul
Abramovich, Ilya --writer-(11/9/20-9/25/93)
Akivis, Ichel
Akivis, Sonia
Aronowitz, Ernestine
Bernstein, Morris
Blecker, Louis
Blecker, Mary
Brasch, Sol
Brill, Beckie
Brill, Philip
Buchalter, Esther
Buchalter, Morris
Buchalter, Samuel
Buchalter, Zena Rose
Cohen, Jacob
Diamond, Anita, Harry
Dorfman, Dora
Dorfman, Joseph, Baron
Flax, Jacob
Fligman, Bella
Fligman, David (Cantor)
Forman, Pincus
Fox, David
Fox, Sonia
Fuchsman, Esther
Fuchsman, Philip
Gelman, Aaron
Gelman, Jennie
Gerber, Esther
Gerber, Zise
Gladstone, Irving
Glass, Betty
Greenberg, David
Greenman, Joseph
Greenman, Morris
Greenman, Yetta
Grufferman, Melvin
Grufferman, Ruth
Gusakoff, Abraham
Gwertz, Barbara
Haimson, Benjamin
Haimson, Minnie
Handelman, Victor
Hauptman, Jacob
Hauptman, Tillie
Hirshman, Rose

Hirshman, Sam
Horowitz, Morris
Horowitz, Sadie
Kalishman, Joseph
Kalishman, Sherry
Katz, Mitchel
Kishnefsky, Jack
Klurfield, Sidney
Kramer, Celia
Kramer, Sam
Krantz, Dina
Krantz, Joseph, Eva
Kurtz, Irving
Laskin, Norma
Laskin, William
Lazerson, Esther
Lazerson, Morris
Lerner, Laura
Lichtenstein, Charles
Marcus, Sol
Nathanson, Isidore
Nathanson, Mollie
Nasses, William
Nesses, Benjamin
Nesses, Ida
Nesses, Israel
Nesses, Jacob
Nesses, Sarah
Pearl, Fay
Pimsler, Louis
Polinske, Abraham
Polinske, Sarah
Polinski, Maurice
Rothburd, Ann
Rothburd, Irvin
Rothburd, Nathan
Rothburd, Sam
Rubinstein, Joseph
Rubinstein, Sidney
Rubinstein, Stella
Saltzman, Benjamin
Saltzman, Bertha
Saltzman, Rebecca
Saltzman, Sam
Schiller, Benjamin
Schiller, Pauline
Schwartz, Abe
Schwartz, Clara
Schwartz, Ida
Schwartz, Laura
Schwartz, Dr. Louis
Schwartz, Max
Schwartz, Minnie
Schwartz, Dr. Morris
Schwartz, Morris
Schwartz, Nettie
Schwartz, Sarah
Seligman, Lena
Seligman, Louis
Shulman, David
Shulman, Dora
Shulman, Jack
Shulman, Yetta
Silver, Esther
Silver, Hyman
Silverman, Anna
Silverman, Ida
Silverman, Jacob
Silverman, Mary
Silverman, Max
Silverman, Robert
Silverman, Sam
Silverman, Sidney D. (d. 12/19/44 age 23--KIA)
Stein, Joseph
Stein, Rose
Stern, Harry
Stern, Ida
Stiebel, David
Stiebel, Esther
Stiebel, Fannie
Thune, Harry
Waserstein, Gertrude
Waserstein, Harry
Waserstein, Irving (d. 2/28/45 age 19--KIA)
Winokur, Charles
Winokur, David
Winokur, Yetta
Wolfshaut, Leon
Wolfshaut, Rose
Zeman, Fannie
Zeman, Isidore
Zola, Harry
Zola, Mary

• *Zinkover-Podolier Ladies Association (New York)*

This group was formed in 1923 with 50 members. By 1938 the membership had dropped to 35. Fifteen percent were not landsleit. Meetings were held at the same time and location as the mens' group.

The Zinkover landsleit were very well organized, and generous; significant amounts of money were raised over the years for a hospital in Israel; for the erection of a large monument in Montefiore Cemetery, NY and for the 1966 publication of a *yiskor* book *Pinkas Zinkov*. There was another organization in Philadelphia which has some Zinkovers, called the "Winkowitzer-Zinkover Verein."

The following Zinkovers donated toward the production of the *yiskor* book:
Donors/subscribers to the Zinkov *yiskor* book --Israel:

Moshe Averbach, Moshav Khavazzalet
Amnon ben-David (Blinder), Netanyah
Iosef ben-David (Blinder), Netanyah
Shlomo ben-David (Blinder), Netanyah
Israel ben-Shachor (Shvartsman), Haifa
Shlomo Goldenberg, Haifa
Yecheel Grebelsky, son of Pinya Grebelsky, Jerusalem
Israel and Chaiah Vekselman, Tel Aviv
Ahavah Vertsman, wife of Tsvi (Hershel) Vertsman
Hanach Vertsman, Tel Aviv
Batya Vertsman, wife of Yosef Vertsman, Tel Aviv
Zev and Morah Vertsman, Tel Aviv
Ruchel Zelikman, Tel Aviv
Yakov Zaltsman, Haifa
Fishel Zaltsman, Haifa
Yosef Yosepa, Jerusalem
Moshe Yosepa, Moshav Kfar-Hess
Nuchum Yosepa, Eilat
Chaiah Lechterman, wife of Muti-Tsirles, Tel Aviv
Aharon Nusim (?), Haifa
Avraham Segal, Moshav Kfar-Khoglah
Menachem Saliternik, Holon
Benny Feferman, Tel Aviv
Perl Feldman, wife of David ha-nagid, Tel Aviv
Hanoch Frenkel, Tel Aviv
Yitskhak Frenkel, Haifa
Natanel Frenkel, Haifa
Shmuel Korn, Moshav Neta'im
Reuven Rozental, Haifa
Masha Reidman, wife of Yakov, Tel Aviv
Tovah Shteynbaum, Kibbutz Tel Yosef
Yoshua Shteynbaum, Moshav Kfar Vitkin
Breina Shleyer-Segal, Khaderah

Donors/subscribers--USA and Canada:

Dr. Hyman Buchalter
Moshe Buchalter
Filon (?) Baruch, L.A.
Pinya Brill
Moshe Garber
Ezra Gorenstein, Baltimore
Pessie Gorenstein, Baltimore
Dave Greenberg
Sam Greenberg
Joseph Greenman
Moshe Greenman
Pamela Davidovitz, Hazelton, Pa.
Sam Darman, Miami
Sam Hauptman
Ezra Halon, Baltimore
Jacob Hapman
Phil Halon, Baltimore
Sadie Horowitz
Sam Horstein
D.A. Wolf, Canada
Brother Wolf, Canada
Sam Wolfbein
Wolfseit
Hershel Wasserman
Shlomo Weissberg, L.A.
Esther Zayonshik, Philadelphia
Lena Zelikman
H. Tucker
N. Tanenbaum, Canada
Rebecca Katz, Philadelphia
Benny Laskin
Gitel Malon, Pittsburgh
Phil Meidanik
Avi Nisim, Canada
Pessi Salant (Saliternik)
Esther Sein (Zayonshik)
Esther Silver

Sarah Pistol (Shpeilter)
David Fuchs
Chazan Avraham Fligman
Chazan David Fligman
Aizi Federman
Itsi Federman
Celia Feld (Philadelphia)
Rivka Katz
Henny Kusher
Jack Kipnis
Khehila (Halon)Klasik
Sid Klurfeld
Vili Kasman
Krantz
David Kreitshmer
Shimon Rozental
Abraham Rapoport
Mrs. Rubinstein
Israel Roytbard
Milton Roytbard
Sylvia Shapi
J.J. Schwartz, Philadelphia
Herb Schwartz
Mrs. L. Schwartz



Zinkower-Podoler Society Lapel Pin. Courtesy of Stephen Saxon.

Ben Selee
Abraham Shenkelman, Philadelphia
Ida Sherman, L.A.
Sara Speelter
Sammy Shreiber

Zinkover Society, as of 1964:

President: David Fuchs
Chairman: Moshe Garber
Secretary: Israel Royturd, Moshe Garber

Sam Darman, Miami
Shlomo Geprichter, Baltimore
Ezra Gorenstein, Baltimore
Anne Kusher
Liza Zelikman
Mr. And Mrs. Pini Brill
Mrs. Akivis
H. Steir (or Stein ?)
Dr. Buchalter
Velvel Liskin
H. Tucker
Shimon Rozental
Sam Horsman
Mr. Wolf, Canada
Mr. And Mrs. Shmit
Mrs. Celia Feld, Philadelphia
Elka Berger
David Kirshner
Mr. and Mrs. Landau
Cookie Gladstein
Ava Nisim (wife of Villi Nisim), Canada
N. Teitelbaum, Canada
Gitel Buchalter
Abe and Rachel Rapoport
Mr. and Mrs. Ben Shillee (?)
Mr. and Mrs. Moshe Garber
Sam Zaltsman
Pessie Bird, California
Bob and Shirley Spiegel
Mr. and Mrs. Laskin
Sadie Horowitz
Mr. and Mrs. Davidowitz, Hazelton, Pa.
Meyer Mandelblit, Philadelphia
Abe Schwartz
Irving Ping
Chana Heshel Levin, daughter of R. Meshulum Heshel
Mrs. Anne Vinokur
Mrs. Rose Silverman
Jack Hapman
Berish Weissberg
Pessie Saliternik
Israel and Chana Roytbard, and son Moshe
Lee Greenberg
Irving Federman
Abraham Shenkman, Philadelphia (Shenkelman ?)
Helen Klasik
Frieda Weissberg
Marsitshizaver, Philadelphia
Hershel Wasserman
Hershel Rapoport
Melvin Gaperman
Becky Shapiro
Joseph Kravitz
Sam Buchalter
Mr. and Mrs. Greenman, and son
David Fuchs
Sylvia Shipi (Polansky)
Benny Zaltsman
Dave Fisher
Jerry Greferman
Max Frenkel
Harry Diamond
Luba Dechtereva, California
N. Pearl, and sister Rachel Rapoport
Sam Wolfbein
Mrs. Ziman
Lou Berger, Canada
Fannie Trachtenberg
Sam Greenberg
Sid Klurfeld
Philip Kassman
Sam Lesser
Esther Zayonshik
Sunny (?) Zum, Perets Galman's daughter
Lou Blecher
Michael Katz
Esther Yashever, Philadelphia

FAMILY CIRCLES

Another type of group that newcomers formed were "family circles." It is not known how many former Letichev District families banded together to form such societies.[48]

The Silverman Family Circle

One such group was the Silverman family circle, comprised of members of a Silverman (Zilberman) family of Kozachki, Letichev, Bar, and Stara Sinyava.



Silberman Family Circle Meeting, ca. 1930.
Courtesy of Rose Gold.

The Family "Rapoport"

This family circle included descendents not necessarily from the Letichev District, but those having descendents of the rabbinic Rapoport clan from Medzhibozh, Letichev, and Zinkov. These included the Trachtenberg and Giller families, as well as the Rapoports. It was founded in 1943 and continued into the 1970s.



The Trachtenberg Family of Letichev, ca. 1905.
Standing (from left): Moshe, Rebecca, Itsik, Ilya. Seated: Sosya Rapoport Trachtenberg (mother). Abraham Joshua Heshel Rapoport (grandfather), Yussel Trachtenberg (father). Recumbent: Hyman. Courtesy of Sonya Breidbart.

The Family "Rapoport"

מגזע ר' אליהו הכהן רפפורט

(Descendants of Reb Eli Akohen Rapoport and Their Kin)

Honorary Presidents:
ESTHER MILMAN
ISAAC TRACHTENBERG

OFFICERS

CHARLES KRAMER, President
ABRAHAM KAPLAN, 1st Vice-President
JOSEPH RAPOPORT, 2nd Vice-President
JERRY HOCHBERG, Secretary
DAVID RAPOPORT, Treasurer
LEO HABAS, Chairman Publicity

HYMAN TRACHTENBERG,
Executive Secretary
253 Utica Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Phone: PResident 3-7470

March 1, 1943

Dear Kinsfolk:

We are enclosing the record of the proceedings of the organization meeting of our family. Read it carefully. You who were present at the meeting will recall the enthusiasm which greeted our efforts to awaken the spirit of kinship among the scattered members of our family.

Unfortunately, the National War Effort demands so much of our spare time that we found it impossible to proceed with the original plans. However, we did not give up this original idea. You, whose hearts beat with the warmth of kinship and who long to meet the scattered kinsfolk, be not discouraged.

While the war goes on we cannot meet often. But the Committee conceived the plan to make a "FAMILY SEDER", where at least once a year we could come together and celebrate Passover in the ancient traditional manner of our people. We feel that the gathering of our families at the Seder table enjoying together the songs, the Pessach food and the fun will strengthen our relationship and bind us together in a friendship, which will long endure.

We are all off on Seder night. Making the seder at our homes involves the cost of money as well as hard work. The family seder will save you the work although you will have to contribute the money. A charge will have to be made for each person attending the seder. But it will not cost you much more than what you would have to spend at home.

Do you like the idea? Would you like to attend such a Seder? If you do, fill out the enclosed card and mail it at once. If we have a sufficient number of affirmative answers, we shall go ahead with the necessary arrangements.

Please answer at once as the time is short.

With kinsfolk greetings,
For the Committee
Hyman Trachtenberg
Executive Sec'y

KINSMEN IN ALL LANDS
DIVIDED IN SPACE — UNITED IN OUR HEARTS

Family Rapoport Organizing Letter, 1943.
Courtesy of Alan Trachtenberg.

NOTABLE CHILDREN OF THE LETICHEV DISTRICT

Sam Honigberg (1911-) was born in Volkovintsy to Isaac Honigberg and Miriam (Vinokur). The family came to America in 1926 and settled in Pittsburgh. Sam attended the University of Pittsburgh and then found a job as an intern for *The Pittsburgh Press*. Afterwards he worked as a freelance correspondent for various trade journals, including *The Billboard*, where he became associate editor. After World War II he switched to entertainment publicity until his retirement in 1987. His clients included Steve Allen, George Gobel, Charo, Bob Newhart, the television series "Leave it to Beaver,"and many other entertainment personalities.

Barry Levinson (1942 -), connected through marriage to the Singer/Giller family of Letichev and Zinkov. His uncle, Joshua Morris Krichinsky (1900-1986) married Minnie Singer (1898-1959) who was born in Letichev. Barry Levinson is a prolific Hollywood writer, director and producer from Baltimore, Maryland, involved in such films as *Diner*, *The Natural*, *Rain Man*, *Good Morning Vietnam*, *Bugsy*, and *Wag the Dog*. In his semi-biographical 1990 movie *Avalon*, both his aunt and uncle were portrayed in the movie.

Naum Morgulis (1904-1976) was a physicist, professor and researcher who was born in Letichev and died in Kiev. In 1961 he wrote a much-acclaimed scholarly book on thermoelectronic energy conversion.[49]

Harry Pregerson (1923-) is connected to the Bick family of Medzhibozh through the marriage of Rabbi Khaim Bick with his aunt Anita Pregerson. Pregerson is a judge for the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, based in California. He was appointed by President Jimmy Carter in 1979.

Betty Rollin is a direct descendent of the Rukhlin/Rollin family of Letichev. Her grandparents were Khaim Rukhlin and Rivke Cohen Rukhlin. Betty Rollin is a noted national television news correspondent. She started in 1973 with NBC and in 1981 became a correspondent for ABC Nightline. She took a hiatus from television for personal reasons in 1984. More recently she rejoined NBC News as a correspondent. She is author of the bestselling books *First, You Cry* (1976) the story of her breast cancer and mastectomy - the first book of its kind, and *Last Wish* (1984) about her terminally-ill mother who committed suicide. Both books were turned into a television movies.

Dawn Steel (1946-1997), her great-grandmother was Pessya Rapoport, daughter of Abraham Joshua Heshel Rapoport of Zinkov. Dawn Steel was an important Hollywood studio executive, involved in such movies as *Flashdance* and *Cool Runnings*, she became president of Columbia Pictures. She published her autobiography *They Can Kill You But They Can't Eat You*, in 1993.

Stephen Trachtenberg (1937-) son of Oscar Trachtenberg who was born in Letichev, was the president of the University of Hartford (1977-1988) and since 1988 is the president of The George Washington University, in Washington, D.C.

Chapter Notes

1. Here are just a few names of people from the Letichev District who went to other countries over the years: FRANCE: Eliahu Feldberg, Feige Feldberg, and members of the Proctor family of Meiden in the 1890s; ENGLAND: The Fishtroms of Zinkov, Isaac Zinshtein of Meiden in the 1890s; ARGENTINA: Hymie Fogel of Volkovintsy in 1922; Yosef Rud and Yitskhak Isaacson of Zinkov in the 1930s; CUBA: Michael Dinisman, Isaac Calin of Meiden in late 1920s; VENEZUELA: various members of the Tenzer family of Meiden and Volkovincy in the 1920s. Interestingly, Zalman Tenzer left Venezuela for Uruguay, where he eventually became Assistant Minister of Finance.

2. From stories recited by Dena Singer Zimmerman's daughters: Pauline Zimmerman Chapin, Annette Zimmerman Singer, and Shirley Zimmerman Goldstein. See Chapin, David, 1990, *Zimmerman Family History: 1876-1990*; private publication.

3. Detailes of the admission process are from numerous books on the subject - mainly about Ellis Island. It is inferred that the same procedures occured in the Port of Philadelphia.

4. Pesotta, Rose, 1958, *Days of our Lives:* Excelsior Publ., Boston, p. 228-235.

5. Ibid, p. 236-245.

6. Ibid, p. 166-168.

7. Fink, Gary M., 1984, *Biographical Dictionary of American Labor*: Greenwood Press, Conn., p. 100. In a letter to Dr. Bogen of the JDC dated Feb. 16,1921, Barondess requests aid to his mother who lived in Bar. In this letter, he reported that she was supposedly killed in a pogrom in 1919, but then various relief workers reported her whereabouts thereafter. Soon after, they found her and Barondess arranged for her to immigrate to America. His mother arrived later in 1921 (Nikki Russler, pers. comm.).

As to Barondess' birthplace, that is problematic. In several letters, he refers to Bar as his home. It is unclear whether he was born there, or simply lived there most of his childhood. In none of his letters does he have any special affinity for Kamenets-Podolsky. The information that he came from Kamenets-Podolsky (by Fink or by the Encycl. Jud.) may be a misinterpretation of the fact that he always said he came from "Podolsk" which probably referred to Podolia, not specifically the capital of Podolia, Kamenets-Podolsky.

8. See Barondess' 1920 letter to Dr. Bogen reproduced in this article.

9. Alicia Feingold Amiel, pers. comm.; Samuel Glick, *West Essex Tribune*, Aug. 22, 1996, Letters to the Editor.

10. Fink, Gary M., 1984, *Biographical Dictionary of American Labor*: Greenwood Press, Conn., p. 100.

11. *The New York Times*, June 20, 1928, p. 25, col. 5.

12. Epstein, Melech, 1965, *Profiles of Eleven*: Wayne State Univ. Press, Detroit, p. 115-120.

13. Ibid, p. 122-124.

14. Ibid, p. 128-129.

15. Levin, Nora, 1977, *While Messiah Tarried: Jewish Socialist Movements, 1871-1917*: Schocken Books, New York, p. 201-202.

16. Epstein, Melech, 1965, *Profiles of Eleven*: Wayne State Univ. Press, Detroit, p. 132-133.

17. *The New York Times*, June 20, 1928, p. 25, col. 5.

18. Fink, Gary M., 1984, *Biographical Dictionary of American Labor*: Greenwood Press, Conn., p. 100.

19. Ibid.

20. From the Joint Distribution Committee Archives, New York.

21. Dr. Boris Bogen was the head of the European arm of the Joint Distribution Committee, based in Paris. The Joint was organized just after WWI in a response to more effectively funnel aid in a coordinated fashion from Jewish landsmanshaftn societies to their brethren in Eastern Europe.

22. Felix Warburg was the head of the American arm of the Joint Distribution Committee.

23. These correspondence files are now held by the American Jewish Archives, Cinncinnati, microfilm nos. 2004-2019.

24. Barondess Letterbooks, microfilm no. 2004, American Jewish Archives.

25. *The New York Times*, June 20, 1928, p. 25, col. 4.

26. Epstein, Melech, 1965, *Profiles of Eleven*: Wayne State Univ. Press, Detroit, p. 134.

27. Leeder, Elaine, 1993, *The Gentle General: Rose Pesotta Anarchist and Labor Organizer*: SUNY Series in American Labor History.

28. *The New York Times*, December 22, 1968, p. 52, col. 5.

29. Sources include: *New York Times*, Oct. 11, 1964, p. 88; *Contemporary Authors*, p. 1007; *Contemporary Authors New Revision Series,* v. 6, p. 553; *Twentieth Century Authors*, 1942; *Twentieth Century Authors First Supplement*, 1955. Also included are interviews with family members: Sonia Trachtenberg Breidbart, Joy Joffe, Ivan Strunin, and Rena Trachtenberg Kunis.

30. *Who's Who in World Jewry,* 1955, p. 94.

31. Knox, Helen, "From Odessa to Emeritus--With Love", *Pitt*, Spring 1967, p. 1-7; *Who's Who in World Jewry*, 1955, p.454.

32. Sources include: *Who's Who in American Jewry*, The Jewish Biographical Bureau, 1928, p. 243; and Louis Levendel, *A Century of Canadian Jeish press: 1880's -1980's*: p. 23.

33. Sources include: *Who's Who in American Jewry*, The Jewish Biographical Bureau, 1928, p. 654; *Rhode Island Herald*, Obituary, Sept. 16, 1966; "Jews in the Jewelry Industry", *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, 1989, v. 10, n. 3B, p. 291-293; and "Necrology", *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, 1966, v. 4, n. 4, p. 515.

34. Chapin, David, 1990, *Zimmerman Family History: 1876-1990*; private publication, p. 13-24.

35. For additional readings on this subject see: I. Rontch, editor, 1938, *Di Yidishe Landsmanshaftn fun New York*: Y.L.Peretz Shreiber Verein, New York; Michael R. Weisser, 1985, *A Brotherhood of Memory: Jewish Landsmanshaftn in the New World*: Cornell Univeristy Press, Ithaca; Hannah Kliger, 1992, *Jewish Hometown Associations and Family Circles in New York*: Indiana University Press, Bloomington; Daniel Soyer, 1997, *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880-1939*: Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

36. The following information about different societies and their burials has been supplied and/or researched by Gloria Bletter, Harry Boonin, David Chapin, Michael Gerver, Stephen Silverman, and Ben Weinstock.

37. Translated by Ben Weinstock.

38. Correspondence, November 30,1997.

39. Recorded and translated by Ben Weinstock, September, 1998.

40. From Banquet & Dance Program, Nov. 21, 1936. Translated by Kalman Weiser.

41. Translated by Anita Turtletaub.

42. Recorded by Ben Weinstock, September 1999.

43. The Meshbisher Unterstutzung Verein, which was dissolved in 1951, owned two plots in Mt. Zion Cemetery in Queens, one in the old section of the cemetery on Path 18 (on the right), and one in the new section on Path 3. The names listed were for the most part taken not from the stones, but from the map of the plots in the cemetery office. Many of the names were misspelled. Michael Gerver has researched these names and corrected some of the names, but errors undoubtedly remain. The few Hebrew names on the list are, for the most part, not taken from the stones but were just names that he knew because they were relatives. Many of the more recent graves are not people who came from Medzhibozh, but are wives of members or in some cases more distant relatives who took advantage of the fact that the members had extra grave sites which they acquired when the organization dissolved. Some may have been total strangers who later bought the plots from former members. Kenneth Gerver and Robert Gerver assisted in the inventory of graves. Eli Gerver provided material about the dissolution of the Verein.

44. Translated by Anita Turtletaub.

45. Researched by Michael Gerver. Kenneth Gerver and Robert Gerver assisted in the inventory of graves. For headstones in the 1950s and later, terms like "beloved wife" are often used even for widows; this was not generally done in the 1930s and earlier. Thus wife or husband listed under Status means that the person was married at one time, but may have been widowed.

In almost all cases, especially from the 1950s and later, adjacent graves with the same last name are double headstones, and are members of the same family, usually husband and wife. Even when not double headstones, they are probably members of the same family in all cases here. This is in contrast to the old section of the cemetery, where men and women were buried in separate rows, usually more or less in chronological order. The numbered plots were given numbers in 1951 when the Meshbisher U. V. was disbanded and the remaining plots were divided up among the surviving members. In some cases, these members may have used these plots for relatives by marriage who did not have Medzhibozh roots, or even sold them to total strangers.

46. Researched by Michael Gerver. These records are available on microfilm at the New York City Municipal Archives, which has death certificates up to 1948, but only records up to 1919 were researched. If people who died in 1919 or earlier are not listed here, it means they could not be located in the index, either because they did not die in New York City, or their name was mispelled. The information on death certificates seems generally less reliable than the information on headstones.

Notes about this list: Death took place in Manhattan except as noted. Parents last name is the same as the person who died, except as noted. Although the certificate calls for the mothers maiden name, before 1903 or 1904 people generally just put down the mothers married name. Parents are all born in Russia, except as noted.

47. Translated by Ben Weinstock.

48. Outside of the two family circles mentioned here, there was apparently another family circle called "Latichever Family Society" of which little is know except that it has a plot in the Montefiore Cemetery.

49. *Encycopedia of Ukraine*; University of Toronto Press, 1993 vol. 3, p. 458-459.


РУССКО-АМЕРИКАНСКАЯ ЛИНІЯ
Русскаго Восточно-Азіатскаго Пароходства
Главная Контора въ ЛИБАВѢ, Курсаузскій пр. собственный домъ.
Адр. для тел. „Русамерика"
Агенты:
въ Роттердамѣ: Рейсъ и Ко,
въ Нью-Іоркѣ: А. Е. Жонсонъ и Ко, 1, Broadway
и во всѣхъ другихъ городахъ и мѣстечкахъ РОССІИ

14

Zionism

by Ben Weinstock and David Chapin

Introduction

Jews traveled down The Road from Letichev to live in *Eretz* Israel as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These travelers were primarily Chasidim who went for religious reasons. More than one hundred and fifty years later small groups of Zionists undertook the harsh journey from Medzhibozh, Zinkov, and other towns destined for Palestine. It is known that several *landsmanshaftn* were formed in Palestine in the 1920s by people from the Letichev District (especially Letichev, Zinkov, and Medzhibozh). Unfortunately, records of these organizations have not been located. What follows is the story of those Jews from the Letichev District who chose to go to *Eretz* Israel, reconstructed from a wide variety of sources: Chasidic tales, Russian and Hebrew newspaper articles, financial records, and memoirs.

Chasidic Immigration

There was a steady trickle of kabbalists and early Chasidim who followed The Road from Letichev to Palestine from the late Middle Ages through the eighteenth century. Some supporters of the Baal Shem Tov settled there in the mid 1740s. It is believed that the Baal Shem Tov himself began to undertake a journey there, but returned to Medzhibozh after reaching Constantinople.[1] The Besht's brother-in-law, Gershon of Kutov, lived in Hebron from 1747 until 1753

before moving to Jerusalem. He soon became leader of the Chasidic community there and attained recognition from Sephardic kabbalists as well. He died in Jerusalem in 1761.[2]

The next "wave" of Chasidic Jews from Podolia to go to Palestine were those who left Satanov and Medzhibozh in the late 1770s. Although this was the time of the devastating Haidamak massacres, these Chasidim probably left for *Eretz* Israel for religious reasons. The excommunication of Chasidim in 1772 by the Vilna Gaon created an atmosphere of intolerance for the spread of their ideas. Moreover, the Chasidic movement found itself in a state of flux after the 1772 death of the leader of the movement, Rabbi Dov Ber of Mezerich.

After the Russo-Turkish War ended in 1774, travel and the transfer of funds to Palestine was less difficult than before. However, Egyptian rebellions made Palestine a dangerous place to live. By 1776 these skirmishes were suppressed and over three hundred Chasidim from Belorussia, Volhynia and Podolia journeyed through Podolia towards the Black Sea ports. From there they sailed to Istanbul, reaching Akko in September 1777; a few went to Tiberias, but most settled in Safed, the center the kabbalist learning in Palestine.[3] Rabbi Nakhman of Bratslav, the great-great grandson of the Baal Shem Tov, was born in Medzhibozh in 1772. In 1798 he made a pilgrimage to Palestine. He wrote:[4]

> The fountain of wisdom and reason is to be found in the Holy Land. There a man comes close to the divine image. The Holy Land and the Torah are one. The holiness of the land strengthens a man's faith, helps him to subdue anger and to banish melancholy. Only in the Holy Land is a man able to pray with true ardour. The land is the foundation stone of the world, the centre of spiritual life, the well spring of joy, the perfection of faith. The Land exerts a healing and purifying influence on those who settle there.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

The Zionist movement was relatively small in Podolia, compared with other regions of the Pale of Settlement (such as the northwest). This was possibly due to the strong Chasidic environment in Podolia which necessitated a direct link between congregant and local charismatic rebbe. However, a few intelligent, idealistic, and energetic individuals influenced others with the their love of Zion. Micha Joseph Berdichevski (1865-1921) was born into a Chasidic family in Medzhibozh. Caught between the struggles of his Chasidic background and his interest in the secular world, Berdichevski poured his ideas into numerous written works in Hebrew, Yiddish, and German. In 1899 he wrote:[5]

> And ye shall be a holy people, but a holy people is not a people expiring in torments. A beaten, tortured, and persecuted people is unable to be holy. If we have no national livelihood, if we do not eat the fruit of our soil, but only toil on the lands of strangers, how can we be exalted in the spirit?

Early Zionists formed themselves into the movement known as *Hoveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion). A leader of this movement was Aaron David Gordon (1856-1922), who was born near Kamenets-Podolsky. In 1903 he went to Palestine to begin a new life, that of an agricultural laborer. He later wrote:[6]

> We lack the principal ingredient for national life. We lack the habit of labor--not labor performed out of external compulsion, but labor to which one is attached in a natural and organic way. This kind of labor binds a people to its soil and to its national culture, which in turn is an outgrowth of the people's soil and the people's labor.

The anti-Semitic attitudes generated out of the Dreyfuss trial in 1895 was witnessed by a journalist named Theodore Herzl. He became convinced that Jews were not safe even in progressive western societies and they needed their own country. His determination to help form an independent Jewish homeland was supported by the *Hoveve Zion* movement, and in 1897 the 1st Zionist Congress was organized.

Dovid Blinder of Zinkov was one of the first Zionists in the Letichev District. Educated as a pharmacist, he also became fascinated with Hebrew. He became the first Jew in Zinkov to speak Hebrew freely in the home. In spite of the fact that Jews used Hebrew for religious purposes, by the Middle Ages, Jews had lost the ability to converse in the language. Modern conversational Hebrew was itself a creation of the Zionist movement -- the *lingua franca* of the movement.[7] In addition to organizing a Hebrew school in the town and leading the local Zionist group, Blinder attended the 1st Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland in 1897 as a representative. After returning to Zinkov, Blinder:[8]



Dovid Blinder.

> ...stood up before the synagogue crowd on the first day of Passover and described the Zionist Congress in Basle. Until now this was like a closed book for the populace here; they knew little about such matters. The speaker described the great worth of the idea of Zionism. His words yielded fruits, for on Saturday night (the second day of *khal-hamoed*, the intermediate days of

Sukkos), many announced their devotion to the idea of Zionism. These new supporters are from all different elements of our town.

Generally speaking, the leaders of the Zionist movement in the area were found mainly among those most educated. In August of 1898, Yosef Zif, the Crown Rabbi of Staro Konstantinov, gave a lecture in Zinkov about the ideals of Zionism. Similar lectures took place in Letichev, with Dr. Solomon Gabay and Yosef Kantorshtik being the main speakers (the latter was the local deputy for *Eretz* Israel farmers and workers support organization).[9]

Moshe Kleinmann was another notable local Zionist. Born in 1870 in the small town of Goloptchinitz (near Medzhibozh), Kleinmann became enamored with Zionism at a young age. His family left Goloptchinitz after the pogroms in the area in 1882 and moved to Berdichev. He received a *yeshiva* education, and strove to expand his knowledge about Zionism. By the late 1890s he was publishing pamphlets in Yiddish on Zionism and the history of the Jewish people. His journalistic career started with in 1896 with the Hebrew newspaper *ha-Shilo'ah*; by 1917 he was editing the daily *ha-Am*. He was a representative at the Third Zionist Congress in 1899. Moving to Berlin in 1921, then to London in 1924, and finally to Palestine in 1936, he edited and published scores of Zionist works. By the time he died in 1948 he had published almost a dozen Zionist books and monographs.[10]



Moshe Kleinmann.

Joseph Baratz, born in southern Podolia, was related to the Baratz family of Volkovintsy. His family moved to Kishinev, where they survived the 1903 pogrom. He recalled his feelings of wanting to go to Palestine:[11]

> When I was about fourteen I began to feel that all this talk about Zionism wasn't really Zionism. I began to want to go to Palestine, and I intended, when I got there, to be a peasant. This was a new idea among us and I can't exactly explain how it first came to us. In the early days Palestine had been thought of mainly as a refuge, though much had been written about the new country and the new culture we were to build; now we felt that in order to construct we first had to reconstruct ourselves. We had been intellectuals, semi-intellectuals, middlemen for too long. We had to work with our hands and above all we needed a peasantry--that had to be the foundation of it all. This wasn't what was

generally thought, but it was what we felt. Perhaps we were reacting against our upbringing, or perhaps we were influenced by our reading of the early socialists and of Tolstoy--though the idea of manual labor had always existed in our religious tradition, only it had been neglected.



Josef Baratz and the Zionists of Kishinev, 1906.
Josef Baratz of Volkovintsy (arrow) is shown in this group portrait of the Central Committee of the Zionist Youth Movement in Kishinev.

THE COLLECTION OF MONEY FOR PALESTINE

Money had been collected among the Jews of Eastern Europe for settlers in Palestine for many generations. Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi, the founder of the Chabad (Lubavich) Chasidim was himself jailed in 1798 by the Tsar at Peter and Paul fortress in St. Petersburg for subversive activities in Lithuania. The charges were probably trumped up by supporters of his chief opponent, the Vilna Gaon, and they related to R. Shneur Zalman's fundraising and communications to his followers in Palestine. At the time, Palestine was controlled by Turkey which was at war with Russia. Therefore, R. Shneur Zalman's actions were viewed as conspiring with the enemy. Released from prison in 1801, he continued his activities in support of his brethren in Palestine. In 1808, R. Shneur Zalman traveled to Podolia for fundraising purposes. In a famous territorial dispute, Rabbi Borukh of Medzhibozh essentially banned R. Shneur Zalman and

his followers from Podolia, claiming in effect that Podolia was his alone to solicit funds for any purpose, including for Palestine.[12]

Some other fundraisers also failed to conjure up the correct image necessary for the collection of funds. In 1894 a certain "Mr. A...n of Berdichev" visited Letichev in order to collect funds for Palestine. Even though he believed in the holiness of the city of Safed,

> ...he did a gross disservice to those who sent him, for he discouraged people from supporting the settlements in the Holy Land. He freely spoke badly about all settlements in the Holy Land, and against all those who support these settlements. He spoke against rabbis like NeTziV--Naftoli Tzvi Berlin, the *Rosh Yeshiva* of Volozhin, and the late rabbi of Bausk. His words were not accepted because our sages are precious in the eyes of the people. He spoke against the land of Israel, saying that no one will never succeed in sowing nor to grow anything there for the land is full of rocks which the angel Gabriel threw there for forty years continuously, to prevent anything from ever growing . He said that all the money in the world will not help anything there. Hence, anyone who helps support our brothers living in the land of Israel is using his money in vain--like placing the money on the antlers of a deer.[13]

Additional evidence of the lack of faith in those who went around collecting money for Palestine is seen in the following 1898 *HaMelits* article:[14]

> When the late Rabbi Khaim Menakhem Heshel was alive, he arranged for the just distribution of money collected for the land of Israel. But since his father's death, his sons Rabbi Pinkhas and Rabbi Moshe are filling their father's position. Rabbi Moshe does not mix much into matters related to the land of Israel, and the oldest son Pinkhas is of weak character. We are not trying to dishonor him, G-d forbid, but truthfully it has to be said that during the past three years none of the money raised for the land of Israel was sent--not one ruble. When we inquired about it, he answered us that he is waiting until he gathers 3,000 silver rubles. The residents of this town know that even a slightly smaller sum of money than this will never move. We also cannot shut our eyes to the fund raiser of the rabbi, who collects money for the land of Israel--Mr. L. Soifer. He lives off this sanctified money--he has a life of luxury, whereas before he was quite poor. Hence, we have found ourselves obliged to make the situation known publicly. Money should not be given to the rabbi's fund raiser until he first sends the money collected until now. We suggest that every city should collect money themselves, instead of giving it to traveling fund raisers. The money should be sent to the land of Israel via Odessa.

signed : Mordekhai Drozhner; Dovid Shor; Meshulum Zusya ha-Levi Segal; Itskhak Freides; Simkha Tsinberg; Elkhonan ha-kohen; Yosef ha-Levi Rozenblit; Aharon Kaufman; Mordekhai Vertsman; Moshe Khaim Reydman; Yakov Moshe Vertsman; Shimon Berland; Berish Berland; Bentsion Rotberg; Shlomo Helman; Israel Greenberg.

Samuel Barbash, born in Podolia in the 1850s, became a banker in Odessa. He was an active Zionist and eventually rose to the leadership position in the *Hoveve Zion* movement. As the treasurer of the Odessa Committee he supervised the collection of money for Jewish colonists in Palestine. Lists of donors were published in *Cheshbon Va'ad HaChevra* (Accounts of the Society for the Support of Jewish Farmers and Artisans in Syria and Palestine). Two extant volumes, (numbers II and III, Odessa, 1896 and 1901), provide us with the names of some of those of the Letichev District who gave financial support to the Zionist movement:

ZINKOV

Kibrik, Ikh., 10 rubles, 1899
Tsinberg, Sim., 13 rubles, 1900

LETICHEV

1893-1895:

Akselrod, Eliezar
Akselrod, Moshe
Bobes, Isaac
Bilik, Dvora
Gringolts, Lipa
Gabay, Doctor Tsvi
Ganulin, Moshe
Yusupov, Zev
Segal, Tsvi Hirsch
Finkelshteyn, Shimshon
Petshok, Leibish
Kantorshtik, Yosef
Kalyos, Zeyde
Koltshinski, Moshe
Yoresh, Tindel Baravan
Nedvos, Zamnios

1900-1901:

Bidik, Solomon, 3 rubles, 1901
Gabay, Doctor Girsh, 3 rubles, 1900, 1901
Gringolts, Lipa, 3 rubles, 1900, 1901
Kantorshtik, Yos., 3 rubles, 1900
Segal, Girsh, 3 rubles, 1900, 1901
Finkelshteyn, S., 3 rubles, 1901
Kantorshtik, Nr. I., 6 rubles 1900, 25 rubles 1901

MEDZHIBOZH

Ravvin, Chr., 6 rubles, 1900

The "*shekel* fund" is sometimes used to judge the amount of Zionist activity in various regions. In Podolia membership ranged from 890 to 1,040 in the years 1901-1903, or 1.2% to 1.4% of the Jewish population of Podolia. This places Zionist activity in Podolia as one of the lowest in all of the Russian provinces.By comparison, the average for all provinces was between 4.6% and 5.4%. This may be due to the strong Chasidic influence in Podolia. However, other factors must be considered. Many Zionist youth went to "centers" of intellectual activity, such as Odessa. Also, a drought in the southwestern provinces may have resulted in fewer contributions during this time frame.[15]

AFTER THE DEATH OF HERZL

The death of Dr. Theodore Herzl in 1904 was mourned by all shtetl Jews. Nakhum Yoshpa of Zinkov recalled that[16]

> ...the report of the death of Dr. Herzl spread throughout the town. Despite the fact that our two rabbis were not strong supporters of the Zionist movement, we all felt a connection existed between Dr. Herzl and the phrase of our daily prayer, "our eyes will look to returning to Zion." That morning we children were told in *kheder* (I learned then with Yoel Khodkhednik) that the biggest person in Israel, a man similar to Moses, had died... The Zionists of our town were the most depressed as the crown of their movement fell with their leader... My older brother Menakhem had once asked Rabbi Mosheleh, "Why shouldn't we think of Herzl as the Messiah? Isn't it true that it is upon us to describe the Messiah, in the words written in the Haggadah? He will be revealed in the image of an angel that will blow on a big shofar!" On this the rabbi answered him: "It is difficult to describe the Messiah in a physical way. It might be that he will appear in the shape of a prophet. But it says, that in the days of the Messiah, 'and the whole land will know,' and everyone will recognize that this is the Messiah revealed. The 'Messiahs' who appeared until now were believed in by only part of the nation, and in the end it was not only this that did not bring redemption because they caused much harm through their sins. We need to be strict with the performance of Mitzvot , to walk on a straight path until the whole nation is without sin."



Zionists from Zinkov at Herzl's grave in Jerusalem, 1922.
From a postcard sent from Yitskhok Helman to Moishe Garber of New York. Courtesy of YIVO.

Despite Herzl's death the Zionist movement continued to grow. However, Zionists were opposed by the Jewish Socialist party, the Bund. Nakhum Yoshpa recalled:[17]

> ...years passed, and in 1910 my brother Menakhem went to learn in Husyatin, which is situated next to the Austrian border. He learned there with my uncle Dovid Blinder. When he would come home for vacation he would spread the word of Zionism among the Zinkov youths. He would also bring with him pamphlets of the monthly publication *Moledet* ("Homeland") that was published in Yaffo. In 1914 my uncle prepared to travel to Palestine to investigate the possibility of settling there. I, who knew how to draw well, wanted to join him and enroll in Bezalel, the Jerusalem art school--but in the meantime the war started and the whole plan drowned.
>
> At the beginning of the war all Jews were evacuated from the towns close to the Austrian border. A few of the families of Husyatin came to live in Zinkov, including the family of Blinder and his friend the teacher Shmuel Friedman. Although Zionist activity was forbidden by the government, Blinder and Friedman secretly conducted Zionist gatherings and organized groups to learn Hebrew. In my uncle Dovid's house they would only speak Hebrew, and they gave Biblical names to their children. His son was named Avshalom (he was killed during World War Two while serving in the British army in Palestine).

In 1917, after the Revolution, my uncle Dovid and Shmuel Friedman raised the Zionist flag high in Zinkov. They established a Zionist group, called *T'kiah* ("Rebirth"), and a clubhouse, which bore a blue and white sign with the address in Hebrew and Russian. We collected all of our Hebrew books and formed a library. We had a wide concentration of young people. They would sing Zionist songs, and they organized a theater department. The producer was the teacher Israel Sternberg (the nephew of the author Yehuda Sternberg). My uncle and Shmuel Friedman organized gatherings in order to disseminate our ideas. Zionist representatives went to speak at various public institutions. It was not uncommon for stormy arguments to erupt between our followers and members of our opposition, the Bund, which was headed by Abramovich.

The Bund was a large political party in Zinkov, with more members than the Zionists...Moshe Gershgoren, Avraham Branzon, and myself were in charge of keeping order and abating the tensions during the debates...I remember a speech in which my brother Menakhem said, "It is our responsibility to guard the Jews of the Diaspora. In the past 2000 years we have survived due to the strength of our ancient culture. We can be compared to a pure spring which comes forth from a brook. Our waters flow strong and clear, which don't mix in the wide sea." Everyone clapped for him, and even the opponents said, "Mendel, well said!"



Certificate in recognition of a donation to the Jewish National Fund.

Rose Pesotta of Derazhnia remembered:[18]

> ...the Bund Jewish Socialist movement had been gaining momentum, but under the impact of Theodore Herzl's teachings it split into two factions--the Zionists and the Bund. The Zionists contended that the foremost duty of the Jewish Socialists was to restore and re-populate the Jewish homeland of long ago. But the Bund believed in and looked to international socialism and the brotherhood of all men, which, they held, would bring about a better life for all people.
>
> There was a sharp cleavage between the two factions. If a Bundist-socialist spoke in Derazhnia, a Zionist had to follow him, so that the populace might learn both points of view, and the Bundists made the same demand in reverse when a Zionist was scheduled to speak. Thus heated debates were provided.
>
> Our family attended many such debates in the Zinkover *Kloiz*, where fists flew when words failed to convince an opponent; and then the townspeople had a theme for the marketplace for days.
>
> Zionist pamphlets published abroad were widely circulated, carrying word of the resettlement plan to various countries. Bonds were issued by the Jewish Colonial Trust to cover the cost of promoting the project. Father purchased some of those bonds in the name of each of his children. We took pride in that possession, which meant --as our dad explained--that we owned part of the future Jewish nation.

THE PIONEERS

In the 1970s a project was undertaken by some schoolchildren of the *moshav* K'far Vitkin to record the stories of the founders of their settlement.[19] Some of the founders were Medzhibozh *khalutzim*. A Mr. Pinsky recalled that "when the Revolution began, groups of young people organized the parties of *Po'ale Zion* (Marxist-Zionist), *Tz'ire Zion* (Socialist-Zionist), and the General Zionists. During the Tsar's reign, all of these parties had been underground. They prepared for emigration at clandestine meetings. In 1921 six men left Medzhibozh and made their way to Nahalal. The second group also came to Nahalal, and later a group went to Hadera." Among the original six who left was Moshe Khaskelberg. He remembered that "in the period before World War I, Zionist meetings were uncommon in Medzhibozh. But I remember one winter day when young boys and girls were in winter wagons drawn by horses for a trip to a nearby town, a distance of ten kilometers. They said it was for a literary lecture about Zev Jabotinsky. This trip had many difficulties. Now I can guess to myself that it was a Zionist meeting under the guise of a literary lecture. Several years later, in 1920, I was part of a small group which left Medzhibozh and crossed the border

into Poland illegally, with great danger to ourselves. After six months of hardships, almost giving up, we arrived in Palestine on *Erev Pesach* 1921."[20]

Khaim Khorovei was also interviewed by the schoolchildren. However, we find a fuller version of his account in the Hebrew journal *Heavar*[21]:

> After the Revolution in the spring of 1917, two groups formed in Medzhibozh -- the Bund and the Zionists. The Zionist group was much larger, and had more influence; even the Chasidim accepted the Zionists. They allowed the Zionists to lecture in the Rebbe's shul, which would have been unheard of in earlier days. The Zionists gathered money and opened up a Hebrew school. They changed all of their money into gold coins because they were afraid that the paper money would lose its value. No major pogroms occurred in the town, like the one at Proskurov; however, there were some smaller ones in which individuals were killed. The Jews, and many gentiles, too, believed that they were saved from more serious slaughters by the spirits of the graves of the Baal Shem Tov and the Apter Rebbe. What was dangerous in those days was travelling from one town to another, as many were killed on the roads.



One of four *khalutzim* groups who left Zinkov for Palestine in the 1920s. From left to right, top row: Zev Nesis, Nusin from Husyatin, unknown, Shlomo Goldenberg, Zebulon Rund, Dovid Fukhs. Middle row: Shmuel Korn, Menakhem Veisman, Mendel, last three unknown. Bottom row: Shmaya Shor, last two unknown. Courtesy of YIVO.

Zionism developed in a similar way in Letichev. Emanuel Pulier remembered:[22]

> Zionism burst upon us with full force. It made a tremendous impact on our minds. For the first time, we students made acquaintance with the ideals of Zionism which were denied us by the Tsarist regime. The Balfour Declaration was read and reread and a tremendous surge of hope fired our imaginations. In Letichev, we discovered an old man who was a delegate to the first Zionist Congress. He became our hero and was made to relate his experiences over and over again. My brother Ben, having a good Hebrew education, organized a class in Jewish history. It was attended by quite a few students. Zionism gave us hope and pride in our history. These were exciting days. A few of our friends eventually landed in Palestine. Among them was my old friend, David Berchenko, who organized a group of boys and after a great deal of hardship finally landed in Palestine.

Under Soviet rule it was forbidden to own gold. The Zionists were very careful to protect their fund. Many Zionists (and others who belonged to political parties) were arrested, usually on the pretext that they had illegal merchandise, such as goods from other countries.

The political geography of the region changed dramatically. Under the Tsar there was an uneasy peace between Turkey and Russia. The lands of Palestine were controlled by Turkey and it was relatively easy to travel out of places such as Odessa



A group of pioneers hard at work in Palestine in the 1920s.
Among the *khalutzim* from Zinkov pictured here are Yitskhak Frenkel, Reuven Rozental, and Natanial Frenkel. Courtesy of YIVO.

to Turkey, then through Turkey to Palestine. During the beginning of World War I, Turkey was at war with Russia and the allies. But Turkey lost Palestine to the British at about the same time that Russia essentially dropped out of the war. After the World War, the Bolsheviks were at war with the British-supported White Russians and the French-supported Poles -- their former allies in WWI. Therefore, starting in 1915, direct travel from Russian territory to Palestine became virtually impossible. The Zionists were unable to travel through Russia; they had to go through Poland or Bessarabia in order to get to Palestine. They smuggled their way across the border, avoiding danger many times.

The fund of gold, called *Keren haGeula* was for the redemption of the land of Israel, and was considered holy--it was not to be touched. Even when money was needed for bread, the fund was not tapped into. A Zionist group from Medzhibozh survived in Galicia by doing various jobs, manual labor; they were paid with small amounts of food. Usually they were half starving. Their only decent meal was on *Shabbos*. Many became debilitated. Some contracted leprosy and were quarantined by doctors. However, nobody died. They had a slogan, "It will only be harder in Palestine!" They could have received help from the Joint Distribution Committee, but they did not want any charity. They finally arrived in Hadera around the time of the 1921 massacres in Palestine. They left Hadera in the winter of 1922, moved to Rishon L'Tzion, then to Nahalal. Work was generally that of draining swamps. They suffered many fevers and other hardships.

Within time they were joined by other groups from Medzhibozh. A controversy arose amongst the pioneers: should their settlement be a *kibbutz* (communal ownership) or *moshav* (private, individual farms). This was hotly debated. Eventually they agreed on the concept of a *moshav*. This is how K'far Vitkin, was founded, which later gained the reputation of being the largest and most successful *moshav* in Palestine.[23]

Jocheved Malkiman was born in 1901 in Mikhalpol. Jocheved Malkiman came to Israel in 1921. She was one of the founders of the Kibbutz Ein Harod. She was a very active women who took part in a lot of activities for the cause of Israel. She remembered her coming of age in Zionism and her difficult trip to Israel:[24]

> During these [school] days [in Bar] I had a great experience living with a Jewish woman, a member in the Socialist Revolutionary Party. My acquaintance with her in my youth had a great influence on me in later years.
>
> I had relatives in Bar whom I could stay with, but my father [Eliahu Malkiman] had decided to rent me a room with "full pension" so I could dedicate myself to studying without any family duties over my head, My father found a house with a sign "room for rent with pension" with a dentist. When we had gotten into the house, an old woman greeted us and her daughter, the

dentist, introduced herself as Rebeka Muisyevna Vinberg. My father did not hesitate much and rented the room. It turned out that Rebeka had an important roll in my life.

My relatives in the city were considered to be from the intelligensia and the middle class. They were fairly wealthy. When my father told them about the room, they smiled to themselves. When he asked what they were smiling about, they answered that Rebeka Vinberg was a known revolutionary and a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. They added that she may have good character, but she lives, without marriage, with an owner of a print shop who is now in prison for subversive activities.

My father decided, despite this information, to let me stay at her house. This turned out to be the correct decision because Rebeka was a great educator. I loved and respected her for her sincerity, idealism and humanism.

When the Revolution of 1917 started, my "pension" with Rebeka ended. A new gymnasium opened in Letichev, where my grandfather [Aron Malkiman] lived. My parents transferred me to this new school. It was indeed a more liberal school. Soon after, Ukraine nationalism was awakened. Although most of the students were Jewish, the Ukrainian and Russian political philosphies took over.

After the Revolution, when the attacks on Jewish towns started, my parents moved to Proskurov. In 1918, after graduating, I joined the *khalutz* movement and worked a plot of land rented by the movement. The leader of the group was Riseman. As the war continued, we could not proceed with the agricultural training, but still, our Zionist activity continued...

In 1920, Jewish groups prepared themselves to immigrate, including the *khalutzim*. When I decided to immigrate to Israel, my group had already crossed the border, so I was left behind without a group. Moreover, my parents did not like the idea of my leaving and they tried to stop me.

I joined a group of Jews heading to the America in order to cross the board with them. After a few nights of waiting in Volochisk, we crossed the river into Podvolochisk. After a few days, I got on a carriage covered with stuff hiding me and I arrived in the Jewish community of Skula. I bribed the Polish authorities and got a certificate saying I was born there. Since I did not speak Polish or German, the certificate was no use to me. Everyone could recognize I was Russian. So I decided to take a risk and take the train to Lvov as an ordinary passenger.

I arrived in Lvov at the end of December 1920... I stayed there for 10 weeks until I travelled to Warsaw at the end of February 1921. I encountered other *khalutzim* there. Eventually I arrived in Israel via Italy.

The first group of Zinkov *khalutzim*:[25]

Nukhum Yoshpa
Itskhak Frenkel
Batya Shterntal
Beryl Saliternik
Munya Averbakh
Avraham Shenkelman
Israel Shvartsman
Yonah Zayontsik
Mendel Kurtsman
Moshe Zaltsman
Fishel Zaltsman
Dovid Feldman
Itskhak Feder
Khaika Frenkel
Israel Vekselman

The second group:

Mendel Veisman
Dovid Fukhs
Shlomo Goldberg
Simkha Shor
Reuven Rozental
Velvel Nesis
Khava Nesis
Aharon Nesis
Benny Fede
Pinya Averbakh
Eliezer Shvartsman
Rukhel Rapoport
Pessie Fierman
Shmil Keren

Families :

Blinder
Lerer
Zaltsman
Vartsman
Yoshpa
Nukhim Kats
Aharon Shenkelman
Shimon Saliternik, with his wife and father
Aharon Frenkel, with wife and family
Khaika Yosef-Lazer (Katzov)

The first kibbutz (1920-1921):[26]

Nukhum Yoshepa
Dovid Flidman
Perl Flidman
Mendel Kurtsman
Yoshua Shteinvas
Moshe (Munya) Averbakh
Khaya Frenkel-Vekselman
Israel Vekselman
Itskhak Frenkel
Batyah Shterntal
Israel Shvartsman
Yonah Zayontsik
Itskhak Federman
Avraham Shenkelman

The second kibbutz:

Shlomo Shapiro	Reuven Rozental
Zev Nesis	Dovid Fukhs
Ava Nesis	Shmuel Shor
Mendel Veisman	Dov Saliternik
Shlomo Goldenberg	Shmuel Kern

THE END OF ZIONISM IN THE U.S.S.R

In 1921 the *Evsektsiia*, the Jewish section of the Communist Party, was formed. It was largely comprised of former Bund members. As they were strongly anti-Zionist, they used their power to stamp out their ideological enemy. Yosef Yoshpa described the destruction of the underground Zionist movement in Zinkov:[27]

> After 1917, the Zionist movement was very much out in the open; every town and city had Zionist clubs. However, after 1921 and the establishment of the *Evsektsiia*, synagogues were closed, children were forced to go to public schools, and the Zionist movement was considered to be against the Revolution. The Zionists were once again tormented and were forced to go underground. Zionism was quietly spread among the Jewish youth. At night they gathered by candlelight and studied Hebrew. They read the works of Bialik, Y.L. Gordon, Mendele Mokher Sforim, and others. For outward purposes, they all signed up for the Communist youth league Komsomol. By day they studied Communism, but at night they studied Zionism. An important topic of study was agriculture--knowledge needed for building up Palestine. In a village near Mikhalpol, members of the *Ha-Halutz* (future pioneers of Palestine) established a collective farm, learning and practicing agricultural techniques. Occasionally some members fled through Galicia or Bessarabia to Palestine. Although these journeys were dangerous the dedicated youths were not deterred.
>
> The *Evsektsiia* tried to convince the townspeople that our movement was counterrevolutionary. A meeting was organized at the end of 1925 in the building which used to be the prayer house of Reb Pinkhas'l. It was now used as a theatre. The goal of the *Evsektsiia* speaker was to denounce Zionism and to shift public opinion against the secret Zionist movement. We were forbidden to appear; however, one of our members asked for the right to speak , despite the risk of imprisonment. That night the hall was extremely crowded . The representative of the *Evsektsiia* spoke of how Zionism was against the Revolution and was an atrocity to the people of Zinkov and of the Soviet Union. Afterwards, one of our *chevra* spoke. He stated that we were not against the Revolution. Our goal, as Jews, was to build a future in Eretz Israel. Our intent was to turn around the

stereotype of the "unproductive Jew" promulgated by anti-Semites. Throughout our history in the Diaspora we were persecuted and restricted in what we could accomplish. The Zionists wanted to change our negative image into a positive one.

The crowd cheered after he finished speaking. One of the *Evsektsiia* thereby asked the police to arrest the Zionist--and a large riot ensued. In the pandemonium we were successful in freeing our member from the police. He fled the city.

Unfortunately the good impression which was made on the populace by the Zionist speaker did not help us. The *Evsektsiia* initiated more interrogations and persecutions. Working for Eretz Israel became more difficult and more dangerous.On July 30, 1926 the police arrested the three founding members of the Zinkov Zionist movement: Moshe Gornik, Dvora Feldman, and myself. We spent three days in the jail before being transferred to Kamenets-Podolsky. After a month Dvora Feldman was freed. Moshe and I were interrogated for three months; we were sentenced to exile to Central Asia. Moshe and I were sent to different places. I was sent to Ashkabad in Turkemenia and lived the hard life of an exile. In the end we were given permission to leave for Palestine. I arrived in Eretz Israel in late 1927; Moshe Gornik arrived in early 1928.

After we left Zinkov others continued the underground Zionist movement until they too were caught by the *Evsektsiia*. That is how the Zionist movement came to an end in Zinkov. Many Zinkov Zionists perished in the Holocaust.

Ironically, members of the *Evsektsiia* were themselves arrested and executed in 1939 during one of Stalin's purges.

RECENT ARRIVALS

With the virtual destruction of the Jewish communities in the Holocaust and the repression under Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev, Zionism was embraced by only a few refusniks. Within the Letichev District few Jews were left to even consider going to Israel during the Cold War.

The next group of Jews to go to Israel from the towns of Letichev, Derazhnia, Zinkov, and Medzhibozh were those few families that emigrated from the Soviet Union in the 1980s and 1990s. Occasionally, landsleit have been able to find each other even after years of separation, as told by Beatrice Furst, the daughter of the last Rabbi in Medzhibozh, Khaim Bick:[28]

In addition to our daughter and her family, Mr. and Mrs. Shmulevitch and their daughter, Marina, recent *olim* from Russia, were our guests at the Passover seder. In the course of the initial introductions, I mentioned that I, too, was born in a shtetl called Medzhibozh. To my surprise, Mr. Shmulevitch told me that his

father was also born there and lived there until the early thirties, when he left to look for work in Baku, Azerbaijan, where he married, raised a family, and remained until his aliyah. Now he lives in Bat Yam.

My parents, to brothers, to sister and I left Medzhibozh for America in 1926. I don't remember anything about Medzhibozh , but I was sure that Mr. Shmuelvitch's father would remember my family and I was determined to meet him.

One fine morning my husband Moshe and I drove to Bat Yam. I took with me all of the photographs I have of my grandparents, aunts, uncles, and a family portrait posed for right after our arrival in America. Without telling him my name nor the names of my family, I showed him this family portrait. He took one look, pointed to my father, of blessed memory, and said in Yiddish, "Of course, this is Khaimunia."

After sixty-five years of not seeing or hearing about my father, he still recognized him and called him by the diminutive of Khaim. He also identified the photo of my grandfather and remembered that he was the owner of the flour mill. He recalled how everyone accompanied my father to the edge of the shtetl when he left for America.

For me, listening to Mr. Shmulevitch reminiscing about the "old country" was both heartwarming and emotionally rewarding. I am still awed by the fact that out of hundreds of families who were hosted at Sedorim in Rehovot, the Shmulevitch family coincidently came to us. Could it only be a coincidence?

Chapter Notes:

1. See tales 11, 47, 211, and 231 in Ben-Amos and Mintz, *In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov (Shivhei ha-Besht)*, Jason Aronson Inc., New Jersey, 1983.

2. "Rabbi Gershon Kutover : His Life and Immigration to the Land of Israel", Samuel Dresner , editor of the essays of Abraham Joshua Heschel, in *The Circle of the Baal Shem Tov*, The University of Chicago Press, 1985, p. 44-112.

3. For an excellent discussion of this subject, see Sherman Lieber's *Mystics and Missionaries: The Jews in Palestine 1799-1840*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1992, especially p. 36-56.

4. Rabinowicz, Harry, 1982, *Hasidism and the State of Israel*, Associated University Presses, New Jersey, p. 49. For a detailed study of his trip and its religious connotations, see Arthur Green, *Tormented Master: The Life and Spiritual Quest of Rabbi Nahman of Bratslav*, Jewish Lights Publishing, Vermont, 1992, p. 63-93.

5. Hertzberg, Arthur, 1969, *The Zionist Idea*, A Temple Book, Atheneum, New York, 1969, p. 301-302.

6. Ibid, p. 372.

7. An analogy of the differences between biblical or talmudic Hebrew used for religious purposes and modern conversational Hebrew has been compared with the difference between Shakespearian English and modern English.

8. *HaMelits*, April 22 (May 4), 1898, #87, p.4. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

9. *HaMelits* , May 1 (13), 1898, #95, p. 3; August 5 (17), 1898, #173, p. 2; August 17 (29), 1898, #183, p. 7. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn. Chester Cohen, *The Shtetl Finder*, 1989, Heritage Books, Inc., p. 47.

10. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 1972, The Macmillan Company, Jerusalem, vol. 10, col. 1104.

11. Joseph Baratz, *A Village by the Jordan: The Story of Degania*, Roy Publishers, New York, 1957, p. 8-9.

12. Rabinowicz, Tz. M., 1996, The Encyclopedia of Hasidism, Jason Aronson, Inc. p. 37, 458.

13. *HaMelits*, August 19 (31), 1894, #188, p. 4. Translated by J.Michoel Ronn.

14. *HaMelits*, 25 August (6 Sept.), 1898, #190, p. 3.Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

15. Joseph Goldstein, "Some Sociological Aspects of the Russian Zionist Movement at its Inception," *Jewish Social Studies*, #47, 1985, p. 167-178.

16. Nakhum Yoshpa, "The Zionist and Pioneering Movement," *Pinkas Zinkov*, Tel Aviv, 1966, p. 36. Translated by Michael Gerver.

17. Ibid, p. 37.

18. Pesotta, Rose, 1958, *Days of Our Lives*, Excelsior Publishers, Boston, p. 214.

19. K'far Vitkin was founded in 1933. It was named after Joseph Vitkin (b. Mogilev-Podolsky, 1876; d. Rishon L'Tzion, 1912) , who gained fame after he drafted a proclamation calling on Jewish youth to reclaim Palestine by setting up settlements.

20. Translations of the schoolchildrens' interviews by Michael Gerver.

21. *Heavar* Tel Aviv, Vol. 17, 1970, p. 240-243. Translated and summarized by J. Michoel Ronn.

22. Unpublished manuscript, Emanuel Pulier. Courtesy of Suzanne Pulier.

23. *Heavar* Tel Aviv, Vol. 17, 1970, p. 240-243. Translated and summarized by J. Michoel Ronn.

24. Bat-Rachel-Tarshish, Jocheved, 1981, *The Path I Took*, HaKibbutz HaMeuchad Publishing House, Ltd., Israel. Selected portions translated by Carmel Ravid.

25. *Pinkas Zinkov,* Tel Aviv, 1966, p. 87.

26. Ibid, p. 109-110.

27. Yosef Yoshpa, "The Underground Zionist Movement in Zinkov" *Pinkas Zinkov*, 1966, p. 44-46. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

28. Personal correspondence, Beatrice Furst, 1992.

15

Pogrom Aftermath and Soviet Rule

by Ben Weinstock

Introduction

After the years of turmoil due to World War I, Russian Revolution, and Russian-Polish War, life was forever changed along The Road from Letichev. It has been conservatively estimated that approximately 8,000 Jews of Podolia had been killed in pogroms, accounting for more than 25% of all Jews killed in pogroms in the Russian Empire.[1] Many Jews of Letichev District lost relatives in the large pogroms. For example, the Kitzes family of Medzhibozh lost 40 cousins in the Proskurov massacre.[2] Based upon the accumulated documents concerning those killed in pogroms, we have concluded that probably no more than 100-150 Jews were murdered within Letichev District.[4] However, a significant population decrease in Letichev District did occur, and was probably due to those who had died from starvation, typhus and other epidemics as a direct result of the deprivations which occured during the Ukrainian civil war. A typhus outbreak in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan resulted in the deaths of almost half of the town's populace around 1918.[4] Moreover, it is not known how many women of Letichev, Derazhnia, Mikhalpol, Zinkov and other towns died from venereal diseases contracted during the rapes committed by the pogromists.

An orphanage was built in Letichev in the early 1920s for the more than two hundred local children who lost their parents during the pogroms and epidemics. Support for victims was organized by neighboring town councils. For example, Felshtin survivors were helped by the Jews of Zinkov. Support also came from



Sholom Shvartsbard. Shvartsbard was a Jewish clockmaker from Proskurov whose parents were killed by Peliurists during a 1919 Bar pogrom. He served with distinction in the French Foreign Legion during WWI. In 1926, he assasinated Simon Petliura in the streets of Paris. His trial caused an international sensation and was watched closely by Jewish groups determined it would not turn into another Dreyfuss trial. The Shvartsbard trial introduced to the world horrifying testimonies about the pogroms. In 1927, the Paris court found that the assasination was a justifiable act of homocide and acquitted Shvartsbard of all charges.

Jewish organizations such as the Joint Distribution Committee and by individual landsleit who had gone to America years earlier. The "Joint" itself was a product of the pogroms. It was created to coordinate the haphazard approach to relief work by landsmanshaft societies from America.

In addition to poverty, hunger, and disease, people lived in constant fear of renewed violence. Even government officials were easy targets for attacks; Boris Zinshteyn, an assistant to Trotsky, was killed by an angry mob near Novaya Ushitsa in 1921.[5]

As the doors to America were closing due to immigration quotas in the early 1920s a small trickle of families continued to leave for other countries. Within the newly founded Soviet Union there were demographic changes as well. As the Tsarist-era Pale of Settlement was abolished, Jews were finally given the freedom to travel to other parts of the former Russian Empire. Many left for the larger cities. For the first time, groups of Jews of Letichev District went to live in Moscow and Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg) either for education or for new jobs. In 1923, there were approximately 230,000 Jews in Podolia, with almost 93,000 living in the Proskurov-Letichev regions.[6]

An example of one such person who moved to a different part of the realm was Mitya Tsimmerman of Letichev. A devoted Menshevik, he was considered a subversive by the Ukrainian Nationalists. He, along with his brother Yussel, fled to Zurich where he attended medical school. He returned after the Ukrainian civil war and founded a tuberculosis clinic in Kiev. His brother moved to Moscow where he worked as a pharmacist. Neither brother ever returned to the Letichev District again.[7]

Unfortunately, numerous stories of the people who lived through these times is lacking, as many were killed in World War II. For the story of the interwar years

we must rely upon the documents of those who returned for rescue missions immediately after the pogroms; of letters of those who at first optimistically embraced the notions of Bolshevism; and of the tales of the few individuals who managed to live through the period of collectivization, arrest, exile, and execution at the hands of the Soviet authorities.

Return Trips, Relief Work, and the End of Emigration

During the war Rivka Vaynshtok had married Yakov Shimon Bashkov in Meidan and settled in Volkovintsy. Their daughter Dora, born in 1918, remembers events of around 1920:[8]

> We hid in a cellar, which was filled women and children hiding from the soldiers. I happened to peak out the window and I saw a soldier on horseback chasing my father with a long whip--whether he hit him or not, I could not tell. We stayed there for a while and when it seemed safe, we went home. From what I understand, my father was the subject of many searches. He supplied the Tsarist army with everything they needed. He was sort of a middleman and I guess that is why the soldiers were so anxious to get to him. Another time, several of them came looking for my father in our house--but of course he was hiding somewhere else. As the leader sat at the table talking to my mother, I climbed on his lap and while calling him 'uncle' I kissed him. That softened him up considerably because he told my mother that he had a daughter my age. Shortly after that, they left. In the meantime my father, fearing for our safety, came running back--but all was well with us.

Such incidents led Rivka's brother, Isaac Weinstock, to try to get the family to America. After he was mustered out of the U.S. Quartermaster Corps, he went back to Europe to contact his family and landsleit. When he arrived in Europe, via Danzig in the summer of 1920, he found the Polish and Russian countryside still suffering from the war's destruction. From Danzig he went to Warsaw and then tried to get to Ukraine. He travelled to Vilna but could go no further. He returned to Warsaw and placed an inquiry in a local newspaper, asking if anyone had news of the Vaynshtok and Bashkov families from Yiddish Meidan and Volkovintsy (he did not know that his parents had moved to Medzhibozh).

A Warsaw cousin of Yakov Shimon Bashkov, named Rachel Gabay, saw the newspaper inquiry and called Weinstock. Fortunately, she worked for HIAS in Warsaw. She invited him to the Gabay home. Not only did she advise Isaac how to proceed with his journey, but she introduced him to her sister Muni Gabay--Isaac's future wife.

Isaac travelled to a border town, Podvolochisk, where trains and people came and went from Ukraine. It was also a market center and farmers brought produce



Newspaper Ad by Isaac Weinstock.
This ad, placed in a Warsaw newspaper in 1920, was an attempt by Weinstock to contact anyone who knew the condition of his family in Ukraine. Courtesy of Dinah Roglia.

to sell. There, he made inquiries and was put in touch with a man who was travelling near Meidan. He agreed to take back some letters. Isaac's family and friends were soon contacted, and they sent letters back to him. Translations of Weinstock's documents provide us with not only his instructions but also the names of many townspeople. He wrote:

> My Meidaner friends, I ask you in the names of your friends in America to be involved in the distribution of money according to this letter. Those should be Yehoshua Feldberg, Abraham Bleyvas, Yekhiel Shuk and Tsvi Shuk. I will hold these four people responsible. Please have those who receive money sign their names. Carry out these instructions exactly as I wrote and sign a letter that you have received this via Yankel Gervits--230,000 Polish marks for the friends of Meidan. Greetings to everyone. Isaac Vaynshtok.

The residents of Meidan responded:

> We, the undersigned, residents of Meidan, have seen with our very own eyes each and every one of them sign their names with their their very own hands and there was, G-d forbid, no falsification. Therefore, we have come to affix our signatures this Monday of *Hol HaMo'ed Pesach* here in Meidan:

Moshe Alius and boys	Aron Mirelson
Yakov Bashkov	Nakhum, son of Avraham Mozaver
Rivka Bashkov	Rivka Mozaver
Dora Bashkov	Berel Ostrayh
Batya Bashkov	Leyzer Ostrakh
Bassie Berman	Khaim Pervin
Rivka Berman and her brother	the children of Israel Pervin
Abraham Bleyvas	Mirele Shatsgon
Leah Bleyvas	Moshe Shatsman
Yitzkhak Bleyvas	Shimon Shatsman
Moshe Dinisman	Mikhal Shuk

Yehoshua Felberin
Yehoshua Feldberg
Sholom Foygelman
Yekhezkal Fuks
Sarah Gershgoren
Nakhum Gervits
Yankel Gervits
Leyb Gleyzer
Feige Gorenshteyn
Israel Gorenshteyn
Ala Gorenshteyn
Rukhel Grubshteyn
Tuba and Sanya Grubshteyn
Sara Katechkes
Yankel Kheyt
wife of Yossel Krimens
Shmuel Mankevil
Yankel Metavits
Yitzkhak Meyer
Moshe Khaim Meyers
Lippe Mikhalzon
Yankel Mikhalzon
Aron Mikhalzon and son
Tsvi Shuk
Yehoshua Shmelkis
Moishe Shvarts and family
Khaike Shvarts
Levi Safir and family
Sholom Safir
Yossel Soshteyn and sister
Rivka Starostis
Ignats Tenzer
Yeshayahu Tenzer
Yankel Tenzer
Shneur Tenzer
Tsiril Tenzer
Itsik and Isaac Upsher
Gavriel Vaynberg
Bluma Vaynberg
Khayke Volkevits
Zilberman family (from Kozachuk)
Nakhman Zinshteyn
Sander Zinshteyn
Moshe Zinshteyn
Frima Zinshteyn

The family made their way to the border, where they were smuggled across the frontier in a horse-drawn carriage driven by a very intoxicated peasant. Despite the harrowing experience of the wagon overturning in the snow due to the driver's drunkenness, they managed to make their way to Lvov, where they finally reached Isaac. They later made their way to Copenhagen, Denmark where they sailed for America in March 1921. It was in Lvov that Isaac relayed the following story, *A Gantse Shtat Zagt Kaddish*, to the Yiddish newspaper in New York, *The Forvarts*:[9]

A WHOLE TOWN SAYS KADDISH

Pictures of the anniversary of death celebration, where a large community is the mourner--Lvov weeps over those who died in the pogrom

two years ago- A eulogy without words--The silence of thousands of rent hearts--A tragedy which is too terrible for words.

By our correspondent in Lvov, Isaac Weinstock

LVOV, December 5, 1920:

Two years have now passed since the terrible tragedy in Lvov. Only a short time has gone by, but it seems that centuries separate us from that bloody, fiery day. In the city, the ruins of the houses that were burnt still stand, and at the entrance to the Jewish cemetery, the graves of the martyrs are still visible. The black earth covers the martyrs, but it cannot cover the pain of Lvov's Jewry. Today is the second anniversary of their death, and the Jews of Lvov observed a day of mourning.

The Jewish community, the Central Jewish Relief Committee, the Zionist and the Jewish-socialist organizers, as well as the university and youth groups urged the Jewish population to the cemeteries to honor the fallen martyrs by being at the cemetery unveiling their headstones, which were paid for by the community. Since very early in the morning, crowds of people could be seen on the road to the cemetery, hurrying so that they could get into the cemetery courtyard to see the unveiling ceremony with their own eyes. For a short time, practically all of the Jews of Lvov left the commotion of their everyday lives, so that they could silently convey their thoughts about those who fell, victims of bestial hands, who were sacrificed because they belonged to the Jewish people.



Isaac Weinstock.

Quietly, without speaking, they stood around the sacred graves. A holy silence reigned, and only every once in a while the muffled voices of crying relatives could be heard, voices of those whose wounds had not healed so quickly. But through the silence, the cemetery was filled with anguish and pain. Over the graves hovered the pain of a whole people. It seemed as if a host of corpses accompanied these other corpses...

Rabbi Doctor Gutman and Rabbi Tsif said *yiskor*. The head cantor Zeytz lead the chorus in *Eyl Moley Rakhamim*, and then more people said *kaddish*. Thousands of eyes watered the earth with warm tears, and those tears mingled with the not-yet-dry tears of last year and of two years ago. A thousand-headed crowd of mourners, like an orphaned people, repeated quietly:

Yisgadal...

Eighty-three martyrs lie there, one next to the other. Among them are twelve unidentified Jews, whose bodies were so ravaged and so decimated that they could not be recognized. Their names are, therefore, unknown. Eighty-three tombstones were erected all in a row, all the same size, without any additional decoration. Each stone bears only a Star of David and the name of the deceased. When the unveiling ceremony was over, those with hearts over-laden with pain burst through the crowd and threw themselves on the cold graves. Mothers, daughters, and children wept for the untimely deaths of their only son.

A twelve year old girl placed flowers on each of the graves of the unknown martyrs. "My father," she cried, "was killed. I don't know where he is buried. Perhaps he lies in one of these twelve graves."

Amidst these eighty-three graves, there stands a large headstone, under which lies the desecrated, holy remains of Torahs. Among these remnants also lies the remains of a Jew, who died in the fire while trying to rescue the Torah scrolls from the flames of the Great Synagogue. This is what is written on that stone: "The hiding-place of the ashes of the Torahs which were burned during the days of unrest in the month of Kislev in the year 1918." With heavy hearts and deeply bowed heads, the crowd left the place of eternal rest and started back on the road to town.

Frost nipped at one's ears and somewhere at the side of a neglected grave, a young girl moaned and tearfully screamed, "Father dear, how much longer will this go on ?"

Joseph Stein (originally Yosef Zinshteyn) had left Kolonia Staro Zakrevsky Meidan for America in 1912 and worked in the sweatshops of New York. In 1918 he decided to return to his birthplace as he believed that the Communist ideology would make life better for Jews. His route took him from New York to the west coast of America, where he set sail for Japan. From there he went through China, Manchuria and Siberia, eventually making his way back to Meiden. At one point he was arrested in Cheliabinsk, Siberia as an alleged spy. After suffering a severe beating he waited to be shot. It was not until his captors examined his clothing and saw the New York City garment labels did they believe his story that he was an American and they released him. He was reunited with his family in Meiden in June 1919, but was in the town only three days when he survived the pogrom by Petliura's men.[10] He soon realized that the Communist dream was turning out to be a nightmare. He married Kreina Bleyvas and left for America in 1920.



Joe & Clara (Kreina Bleyvas) Stein.
Courtesy of Ben Weinstock.

The Joint Distribution Committee (JDC or simply the "Joint"), based in New York, sent representatives to the Ukraine to gather information about what had occurred there, and what help could be provided. A delegate reported on April 15, 1920[11]

> ...during my trip through Ukraine I have found the situation of the Jewish population in very bad shape; in fact, worse than presented by the other members who have covered that territory. It seems to me that the condition in that territory is getting worse day to day--the situation being almost hopeless. The commercial life of the Jewish population is at an absolute standstill and the number of people who have applied heretofore for aid from our existing committees is increasing daily with the result that our committees are at a loss to know what action to undertake in order to stop this unheard of increase of need. Reconstruction of the Jewish economic life is in my opinion not timely nor feasible. The granting of a loan to a merchant will be of no avail as long as the Polish government does not permit him to transport his merchandise due either to military operations or transportation difficulties.
>
> The medical and especially the sanitary conditions are very hard to describe. It is hardly believable that human beings can keep up their existence under such sanitation as prevails in the Ukraine; not only private individuals but institutions which expend large sums of money for the upkeep of such institutions are living under sanitary conditions unknown to the civilized world...
>
> The Jewish population of Proskurov is 25,000 of whom 18,000 are needy. The [surrounding] region has a Jewish population of 15,000 of whom 12,000 are needy...the best organized committee in the entire region is that of Kamenets-Podolsky. The Jewish population of the city is 20,000 and of the region 120,000, of whom 30% are needy...

After many delays and difficulties in proceeding to the Ukraine, two pillars of the American Jewish community, Rabbi Bernard Cantor and Professor Israel Friedlander, departed for the Ukraine from Warsaw in June 1920. Unfortunately they "set out with no companion but their chauffeur."[12] The results of one of their final missions, to Proskurov, was recorded in late June. They found that although

sixteen months had passed since the great massacre, its effects were still felt. In addition, the city had suffered from several fires and smaller pogroms. Typhus and hunger had decimated the Jewish population. To make matters worse, Polish and Ukrainian troops were dragging hundreds of people off to the front for forced labor.[13] For the next week these JDC representatives visited Kamenets-Podolsky and other towns in the area. On July 7th Cantor and Friedlander were driving through Yarmolintsy, probably on their way to visit the Letichev District. Their car was stopped by armed Bolshevik bandits, and they were murdered.



Professor Israel Friedlander.



Rabbi Bernard Cantor.

Other JDC representatives continued in the mission to help Jews in war-torn areas, often bringing money which was collected by relief committees. One of these groups was the United Medgibosher Relief Committee. This organization, consisting of approximately 1,200 landsleit in America, was formed in August of 1919.[14] Over $15,000 was sent to the impoverished Medzhibozh residents in 1920. In February 1921 an additional $300 was forwarded through the JDC in Warsaw to be distributed at $10 per person, with the following people authorized to distribute the money: Jacob Berich; Bentsion Khariton; Israel Shereshna; Moshe Khaskelberg; and Abraham Kirshner. The following people were authorized to receive a distribution:[15]

1. Rubin Bleter
2. Israel Shereshna
3. Abraham Kirshner
4. Shmuel Saronker
5. Lea Sosinker
6. Beila Sosinker
7. Taube Bleter
15. Shmuel Fises
16. Abraham Shkolar
17. Eta Cypres
18. Yosef Prizlover
19. Rafael Zhinoba
20. D. Zayen
21. Sheyva Beker

8. Jacob Berich
9. Bentsion Khariton
10. Yudel Bleter
11. Ester Shershna
12. Tsiril Bleter
13. Reizel Bleyvas
14. Pesakh Sherman
22. Moshe Khaskelberg
23. Abraham Kirshner
24. Khaim Zak
25. Simkha Chadorov
26. Basya Schleifer
27. Manam Bronstein



Bleyvas sisters, ca. 1925.
The oldest, Reizel, received aid from the JDC. Courtesy of Ben Weinstock.

The work of the JDC in the Ukraine was curtailed in November 1920 when the Bolsheviks reoccupied the region. The Red Army confiscated all funds collected by the JDC and emptied their warehouses of food, clothing, and medical supplies. The Jewish committees were dissolved. However, it was still possible, albeit very difficult, for Jews to smuggle their way out of the region. David Kurtzman recalled that a boy had his tongue cut out by a vicious border guard.[15] Benjamin Pulier recalled:[17]

> When the Soviets gained power in the Ukraine, I was working [in Letichev] for the Soviet government as the secretary of the leather combine. My monthly allowance was 10,000 rubles in paper money which had no market value, ten pounds of flour, a half a pound of kerosene, two or three pounds of cereal, and once a year, a pair of soles for my boots. My father was the secretary to the food supply combine and received the same allotment...During the Soviet-Polish War, we had no jobs and no allotments and this did not improve our situation.
>
> [One night] in the middle of December,1920 at about 9:00 p.m., we were all sitting in the dining room. Outside the snow was falling almost covering our windows with a temperature of about zero degrees Celsius. Suddenly, we heard a knock on the front door and when we opened it, a young man walked in and announced that he had just come from Poland and that our relatives in the United States collected $1,200 to enable us to immigrate to the United States...

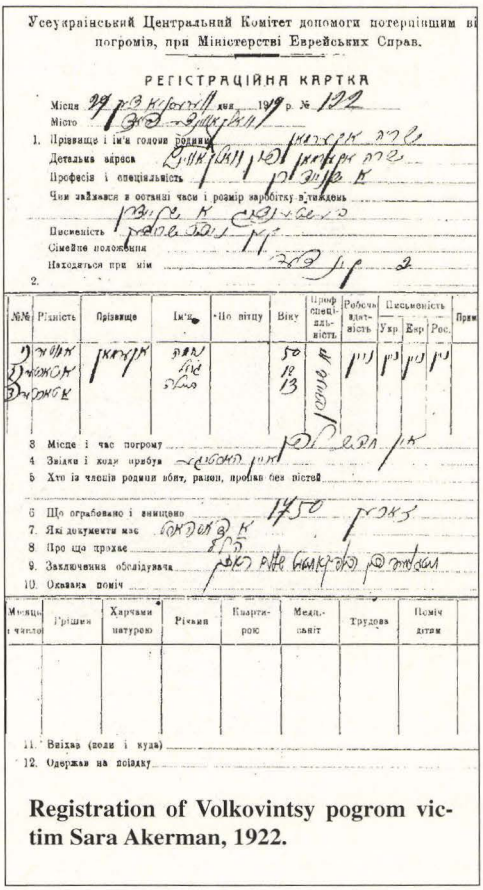
Within a period of two weeks, we sold some of our belongings...hired a peasant wagon and a pair of horses and on January 1, 1921, we left Letichev. On the second day of our journey, we were arrested by the Red Cavalry Patrol on the suspicion that we intended to cross the border illegally. All our money was taken away and we were brought to Novaya Ushitsa, lodged under arrest in one of the rooms of a local hotel. Our situation was very serious because the punishment for an attempt to cross the border ilegally was five to ten years in a Soviet [prison] camp and being that [my brother] Manny and I were of an age eligible for military service, we could have been mobilized into the Red Army, leaving our parents behind without any help or means of existence.



Benjamin Pulier, 1921.
Courtesy of Suzanne Pulier.

Now, comes one of the finest things that happened to us in our lifetime. When the Jews of the city found out about our predicament, they got together and raised enough money to bribe the commander of the Red Cavalry Patrol and we were released. In addition, under the leadership of one Samuel Greenberg, one of the local inhabitants, they collected additional sums of money to replace the money which was taken away from us, enabling us to reach the Rumanian border. As long as I live, I will remember Samuel Greenberg...

When we finally reached the Rumanian border, we found out that the border guard was changed and all local smugglers had lost their connections. The operation consisted of paying off the local border guards to allow us to cross on ice the river, Dniester, into Rumania. The Rumanian border guards were also bribed. We spent six weeks in that border city, sleeping on old floors without any heat and hiding from the authorities hoping that the smugglers will finally make proper connections. After six weeks, we received notification to travel to the Polish border inasmuch as no proper connections were available at the Rumanian border. As you probably understand, all travel had to be late at night to escape the vigilance of the authorities. We had to hire two wagons. My father, mother and Manny were in one wagon with the little baggage we had and I was in the other wagon as we left for the Polish border. At this point, one should make himself a hard and fast rule never to divide the family. We had a very bad experience. The wagon with my father, mother and Manny arrived at the border city during a raid by the border guards; however, they did succeed in crossing the border.



Усеукраїнський Центральний Комітет допомоги потерпівшим від погромів, при Міністерстві Єврейських Справ.

РЕГІСТРАЦІЙНА КАРТКА

Місця ... дня ... 1919 р. № 122

Місто ...

1. Прізвище і ім'я голови родини ...

Деталька адреса ...

Професія і спеціяльність ...

Чим займався в останні часи і розмір заробітку в тиждень ...

Письменість ...

Сімейне положення ...

Находяться при ньому ...

2.

№№	Рідність	Прізвище	Ім'я	По батькові	Вік	Проф. спеціяльність	Робоча здатність	Письменість Укр	Євр	Рос.	Прим.
1)					50						
2)					18						
3)					13						

3. Місце і час погрому ...

4. Звідки і коли прибув ...

5. Хто із членів родини вбит, ранен, пропав без вісти ...

6. Що ограблено і знищено ...

7. Які документи має ...

8. Про що просить ...

9. Заключення обслідувача ...

10. Окремі помічі ...

Місяць і число	Гріши	Харчами натурою	Річми	Квартирою	Медикаменти	Трудова	Помічі дітям

11. Виїхав (коли і куда) ...

12. Одержав на подорож ...

Registration of Volkovintsy pogrom victim Sara Akerman, 1922.

My wagon was too late and I remained all alone at night in a strange city without any documents indicating my right to be in the city.

During the civil war, nobody could leave a city without a proper permit...The driver of my wagon led me to an abandoned peasant cottage and disappeared. It was about five o'clock in the morning. I remained in the cottage until daybreak, trying to find a way out of my predicament. Finally, a Jewish messenger from Poland found me in the cottage and suggested that I cross the border during daytime because the raid was continuing and I might be picked up. The bridge connecting the Russian city and the Polish city was about three hundred feet away from the cottage. This was the only way to cross the border in the daytime. I decided to take a chance. There was no other way out. I left the cottage and walked around the rear of the houses, through the orchards, because I was afraid to walk on the street. Finally, I reached a point about fifty feet away from the bridge. Right in front of the bridge stood a group of Russian soldiers who kept on talking. There was no way to reach the bridge without arousing their attention. It was clear that anybody who approached the bridge intended to cross the border to Poland, which was against the law. The bridge itself was no more than fifty feet long and I saw my father, mother and brother standing on the Polish side of the border near the bridge watching what was going on.

Imagine what I went through. The probability of my being caught was very high. I realized that if I did not cross the bridge, my family would have tried to return. I decided to take a chance. I was dressed rather shabbily and looked like one of the local inhabitants. I started to walk nonchalantly across the bridge . I passed

the group of soldiers and they did not pay any attention to me. I expected that the soldiers may run after me or shoot. My feet were full of lead. The fifty foot bridge became for me a mile long until I reached the Polish side. The Polish border guard asked me where I was going and I said, "To America !" and he let me through.

Early Soviet Economics

After the war the economy of the region was in shambles. Trade,agriculture, and transportation had been severely disrupted. Thousands had died. Without having the means to support themselves, many broken families struggled anyway they could to survive. A typical poor Jewish family was that of the Shveytzers of Derazhnia. The husband was killed during a pogrom. The remaining family consisted of the widow and her three children. The woman with her children lived with her brother for five years in another village. She then returned to Derazhnia with her children in the mid 1920s and started to grow tobacco, like many others who lost the possibility to work in trades due to the war and the Revolution.[18]

A famine in Ukraine began in 1919 and lasted until 1922. The *gubernia* of Podolia was not affected by this; in fact, there was a significant food surplus in Podolia. However, the neighboring *gubernia* of Kherson had a deficit. Early in this crisis almost 200 train cars of Podolian foodstuffs were sent to adjacent regions. By 1922 a new policy was introduced. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic scheme resulted in a situation that 'for the good of Russia' the surplus food in Podolia was not be used to save the lives of peasants in Odessa, but was "carried through the starving regions, placed on board a steamer at Odessa port and sold in Hamburg, in order to buy implements to be returned to the peasants of Podolia."[19]

In March 1921 Lenin reported that "We are in a condition of such poverty, ruin, and exhaustion of the productive powers of the workers and peasants, that everything must be set aside to increase production."[20] Ironically, Lenin and his supporters felt that the only way to revitalize the war-torn economy was to implement private trade. Under the New Economic Policy (NEP) private traders, manufacturers, and artisans were allowed to conduct business. However, high taxes hit some "NEPmen" very hard. For example, a poor Jewish shopkeeper near Proskurov was sentenced to six months imprisonment for non-payment of taxes; although his taxes amounted to forty rubles, his merchandise was worth less than twenty rubles.[21].The economy of some impoverished Jewish towns, such as Derazhnia, revived somewhat under the NEP.[22]

Unfortunately, the Jewish entrepeneurs who prospered under the NEP soon became the target of anti-Semitism. An observer noted in the 1920s that the Jewish NEPmen "are among the most successful of private traders, which does not escape the attention of the Russian proletariat or of the less fortunate Russian

NEPman. Both point to the Jewish NEPman as the real gainer by the Revolution, the man who is turning the nation's agony into personal profit and pleasure."[23]

Examples of the positive sides of life under early Soviet rule can be found in several letters to Moshe Garber, who had left Zinkov in the 1920s and lived in Sweden before coming to America:[24]

April 18, 1926

Dear Moshe,

I received your letters and your two notes, which I passed on to Finkel and Sender Garber....Moshe, I really regret that many of my good friends are not in Russia now. I'm referring especially to Gusakov and his children. And you, why are you now in Sweden ? Why aren't you here with us enjoying the freedom of Russia ? Ha ! Our enemies are consumed with jealousy at seeing the gigantic steps forward that our country is taking. Who would have thought four or five years ago that so much would have happened in such a short time. We have to pinch ourselves to believe it. Soon our enemies won't be able to touch us. They'll forget all about us. I want to live long enough to see it. May it happen soon.

Moshe, you want to know about Zinkov? Many people have become rich. But if you speak with them, they're always crying and looking for family in America to send them money. They dress well, they live well, and they're always crying. There are those who are poor, but they suffer in silence. Moshe, there is a relative of yours here, Benden. We are neighbors. He lives on the other side, near Rozenblit. Things are very bad for him. Moshe, I would ask you to do something for him. His wife is not well. If you were to send him 25 or 30 dollars, you would give them a new life. They are good, honest people...Gusakov gets 32 rubles a month as pension and 40 rubles for his disability. You should see how he looks. He's all dressed up--like an earl. Even old Korenblit earns a lot of money and lives like a lord. All three of his sons have settled in Roskarev and live in the lap of luxury . Oh Moshe, good night. It's already late. Sincere regards to you and to your sister,

Your friend, Nekhama

Undated letter, probably sometime in the 1920s:[25]

To my dear nephew Moshe,



May Day celebration, Zinkov.
Courtesy of YIVO.

I received your letter, but I couldn't answer you until now, because I was very busy at work... I work in a photo studio as a photographer, and I'm doing all right. Sender, as before, wants to walk around idle, with a walking stick in his hand and wheel and deal. By himself, he has amassed thousands of dollars, and because he has all this money, he looks down on the poor as if he were better than they are.

Now, the shoemaker, the tailor, and the ignorant nobleman are all the same to us.

I'll just give you a short example of how much the people love our governing country. You know, of course, that we hold the first of May to be a big holiday. You should have seen how, starting eight days before, everyone both in the village and in the city began to prepare for the holiday. It was just like they used to prepare for Passover. They got costumes ready, and good chicken, and good pastry, and wine. Do you think that all of this was only for Socialists? All of the Orthodox houses also celebrated this holiday seriously and with all their hearts. While standing with my group at the demonstration, I had the opportunity to hear what people said---Jews and Christians. The old Jews said that we have to pray that this government lasts forever. May it have a long life. Hener said, "How would my child ever have become a doctor? He would never have been able to learn, but the government supported him."



Derazhnia and Meidan kolkhoz leaders, 1927.
Leib Bendich, left, from Meidan is meeting with Derazhnia leaders. Courtesy of Roza Vaks.

Here we do not have unemployment and there is no economic crisis. My Isak is serving in the army now. This year he is supposed to come out, but he writes that he wants to stay longer, because things are good for him there, and there he is learning something better than if he were out. Now you know everything that is going on with me here. I just want to write one more thing, that since Russia has existed, the common people have never had it so good as they do now. And if someone were to tell you something bad about our country, spit in his face. Because only someone who lives here has the right to speak badly about it. "My son is a big commander," says one person. Another says, "I have two sons who are engineers," etc. You can imagine the rest. If those who believe in God are happy, then the common people are certainly happy There are no libels, no rumors, no pogroms.

Heartfelt regards to your wife and children. Give my regards to Ben, and Sorke, and Rifka. Write to me about everything.

Yehoshia

For those Jews of means who managed to keep a low profile during the Ukrainian civil war, the early years of Soviet rule proved highly prosperous to them. Mordechai Giller, from the Giller family of Letichev, managed to become a highly successful businessman in Kamenets-Podolsky. When Mordechai died around 1900, his eight grown children each received 12,000 rubles, a small fortune at the time. One of them, Lipa Giller (who was married to his first cousin, Feiga Rapoport of Zinkov), owned the power and light company in Kamenets-Podolsky. The Gillers were not interested in emigrating to America because of the good life they had in Podolia. They managed to keep their fortune through the war, since Kamenets-Podolsky was somewhat isolated from most of the

turmoil. All that changed overnight when in 1921 the local Soviet confiscated the power and light company from the Gillers. Soon after, the rest of their fortune was taken from them. Only two of Lipa's children managed to escape the U.S.S.R. and ultimately emigrate to America.[26]

The Jewish Section of the Communist Party, called the *Evsektsiia*, helped to establish a new wave of Jewish agricultural colonies. In addition, the *kolkhoz*--collective farm--became common in most towns. Of the original colonies of Podolia formed in Tsarist times, only Staro Zakrevsky Meidan remained. By 1925 there were a total of 445 families farming in twenty-four new colonies and twenty-seven Jewish collective farms. Most of them were helped by stipends from ORT. Jews in other towns also received help from ORT. A crop encouraged by ORT agronomists was tobacco, with 70 *desyatinas* in Volkovintsy, 20 in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan, and 50 in Derazhnia. Other crops were sugar beets, various



The Rukhlin Family of Letichev, ca. 1925.
Seated from left: Khaim (father), Velvel, Rivka (mother). Standing: Ruth and Pinkhas. Pinkhas emigrated to the U.S. in 1929 and joined other members of his family. There he changed his name to Paul Rollin. Courtesy of Hedy Augenbraun.

types of corn, and oats. Interestingly, the raising of butterflies and moths was an activity in the collective farms, possibly for silk production.[27] The *kolkhoz* in Derazhnia was called *Loitera*. A collective was organized near Zinkov and was called *Yunger Leib* (Yiddish for "young life") and consisted of forty-nine families --248 persons in total. Members included Mordko Lekht, Yakov Rubman, Moshe Zlobinsky, Meir Eidelman, Fishel Shvartsman, Abram Bruman, Shaya Brutman, Duvid Vaynshteyn, Shulem Vainer, Naum Grinshpun, Girsh Kovalsky, and Mot Bogolunov.[28] The Jewish collective farm of Medzhibozh called *Ravenstvo* ("Equality"), later called *Krasnoe Pol* ("Red Field"), was organized by

Bergunis, Derevitsky, Tsigelshteyn, Motel Grinshteyn, and Rudensberg.[29] A few Jews from the Letichev District resettled in the autonomous Jewish province of Birobidzhan in the Far East, and in the numerous Jewish collectives in Crimea.

Life in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan in the early 1920s was relatively uneventful. Because of the "good reputation" of the townspeople, a telephone--the first one in the region--was installed there. Later a radio was installed, which received broadcasts from Moscow. However, life in Meidan was to take a turn for the worse in the late 1920s, when the consequences of the Five Years Plan hit all residents of the Ukraine.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

The Five Year Plan was instituted by the Soviet government in 1927-1928. Its goal was to increase new capital investments by over 300 percent by 1932-1933. Some industries, such as electrification, were to increase by over 400 percent; the production of coal, iron ore, pig iron, and oil were to double. Agriculture was to increase by over 50 percent, with a strong emphasis on grain production. Farms were to be formed into state-owned and collective farms.

Private trade (favored by Lenin) had risen to almost 44 percent in 1925. However, within a few years after Lenin's death in 1924, Joseph Stalin and his supporters pushed for the restriction of private trade. Those engaged in private industry, banking, and trade were taxed heavily. The harsh reality of Jewish life under Soviet rule is remembered by Khaya Burshteyn Malkiman, born in Letichev in 1920:[30]

> My father Yosef Matyevich Burshteyn was born in Letichev in 1884 to Mordekhai and Khava Burshteyn. My mother was Khava Flayman, daughter of David and Hita Flayman from Sinyava. My father was a manager of the Schedrovsky Sugar Plant. He was also the owner of a flour mill in Letichev in the 1920s. It was a big flour mill within the chain of flour mills in the region. My parents built a big stone house in 1926-1927 in a very prestigious neighborhood, right in the center of Letichev, where all of the upper class resided. Right after we moved into our house, the repression started on my parents. Unbelievably high property taxes were assigned for the house. Then father was put in jail several times. One time it was for the ridiculous accusation of the production of "very white flour." The authorities demanded gold and money. Afterwards he was sent to a jail in Starobelsk, near Kharkov, but he was not released when the one-year sentence had expired. At the end of 1929 my sister Bronya (fifteen years old at the time) made a trip to Kharkov and got an appointment with the head of the Ukrainian Republic-- Petrovsky. Thanks to this meeting father was freed, and Bronya returned to Letichev with father. It

> was already 1930. After father returned from jail our house was confiscated, and local authorities opened a regional medical clinic in it, which is still in operation. We wandered from one rented apartment to another. My father worked as an acountant: first for a local Jewish collective farm, then for a manufacturing plant.

By 1927, the government strove to have a complete monoply over peasant grain. Thus began a great struggle between the government and individuals: the war against the *kulaks*.

Kulak, derived from the word for "fist," represented the landowner, the one who held supplies. They were given the stigma of being the hoarders of great wealth, and the "cause" of economic problems. They were, essentially, the scapegoats of the Five Year Plan. Many of their rights were eliminated--they were not allowed to vote, education was denied to their children, and factory jobs were closed to them. Ironically, the "wealth" of some of the *kulaks* was at times nothing more than the ownership of a few cows, of metal spoons (as opposed to wooden ones), or past ownership of a wine-cellar. Local officials received orders from higher-ranking bureauocrats to obtain grain at any cost so that the proposed levels could be maintained. It was generally believed that individual farmers were hoarding their precious supplies, especially of grain.

From 1928 to 1930, many of the wealthier *kulaks* destroyed whatever livestock they owned. They sold their grain stores privately; this led to severely low grain collections. As they rebelled, violence erupted in many places. A well-documented revolt occurred in the village of Cherepashintsa, in the *okrug* of Vinnitsa.[31] Soviet agents were murdered, and captured *kulaks* were executed. However, authorities began to utilize the tens of thousands of people branded as *kulaks* from all over the Soviet Union: to have them work as forced laborers in the timber industry. Since the early 1920s and continuing throughout the decade, a series of laws were passed which gave the government the right to recruit virtually anyone for forced labor. As timber was needed for the construction of factories and houses, as well as for export, its collection became a priority by Soviet officials.

At the same time, the collectivization of agriculture was underway. In October 1928, there were four hundred thousand families living on collective farms on Soviet territory; one million a year later, and thirteen million by March of 1930. In 1928 the old Jewish agricultural colony of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan was turned into a Jewish collective farm.[32] People from nearby towns joined the collectives. The Jewish population of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan increased from 513 in 1930 to 979 in 1939.[33]

Under collectivization, all private property, including land, equipment, and livestock, became the property of the collective. The wealthier landowners and cattle dealers of Meiden were forced to give up their vast holdings. A man such as Velvel Tenzer, known throughout the region for his fine cattle, lost everything that he had. Supervisors were sent to towns to oversee the removal of property from the wealthier inhabitants. The first chief of the collective of Meidan was a

Jewish man from Proskurov named Shmulevich. He served until 1929 or 1930, when he was arrested and sent to jail for ten years. The second chief was a Ukrainian named Chorney, also from Proskurov. He and subsequent chiefs served for two year periods. The Jewish collective farm of Medzhibozh was extremely successful compared to the peasant ones. One "working day" of the Jewish farmer yielded compensation of one and a half, but in the Ukrainian farms, the amount received was one ruble. As such, Ukrainians wanted to work in the Jewish collective farm, and as soon as most of them were fluent in Yiddish, they were able to get work. Ukrainians represented 10% out of all collective farm members in the Jewish collectives.[34]

In 1929, the village Soviet of Meidan was ordered to choose five families who were *kulak* --- to be sent into forced labor:

> Mikhla and Bertsi Fogel and children;
> Mordekhai and Fradi Zinshteyn;
> Aron Zinshteyn;
> Velvel and Sluva Tenzer, and children;
> Sosya Kaliner.

Mrs. Kaliner, who was around 80 years old, was taken away by the local authorities on a December night. She escaped by running away from them and walking 16 kilometers to safety, on a cold snowy night while wearing only a thin nightgown. The village Soviet then chose another (name unknown) to take her place as the fifth *kulak*. When Velvel Tenzer and his family were to be taken away, his wife Sluva became sick and was allowed to stay in Meidan with her daughter, Manya. Velvel and his two sons, Hymie and Jacob, were taken away to the infamous Solovki labor camp near the White Sea, where few prisoners survived. "Not only the inhuman physical labor, insufficient food, and lack of care can explain the very high mortality. Many died of beatings, as well as the lack of camp readiness for winter, when ice ended the delivery of foodstuffs from the mainland. Up to one-third of the camp inmates sometimes died during a winter and after epidemics as well. In 1929, almost 20,000 died of typhus."[35]

Miraculously, they survived the tortures there and were then sent to work in the mines of Stalino, in the Donbass region [today the town is called Donetsk]. In 1938 they were joined by Sluva and Manya. In 1940 the entire family was allowed to return to Yiddish Meidan, only to be killed by the Nazis in 1942.[36]

The unrealistic projections of the Five Year Plan, coupled with the crops destroyed by resistant *kulaks*, led to severe punishments and ultimately to a famine and the deaths of millions. "The men gathered around Stalin ... faced a procurement crisis fueled by the contradictions between their ambitions, fears and economic policies and the realities and the needs of the country. They decided to deal with it resorting to 'old' methods: to the requisitions, violence and tortures of 1918-1921."[37] It is remembered that procurement agents of the

NKVD (forefunners of the KGB) came to Letichev (as they did to other towns and villages throughout the Ukraine), and went from house to house checking for bread and stores of grain; they confiscated whatever they could. The military and the police patrolled the streets and prevented people from escaping to nearby villages. For those who did not have any means of obtaining food ration books from the various artels, starvation was a certainty. Hundreds of dead lined THE ROAD FROM LETICHEV--Ukrainians and Jews. Some Jews were lucky in that they had relatives in America who sent them money and/or goods; moreover, many Jews received ration books, as they were members of collectives and artels. The Ukrainians peasant farmers, who generally did not have any assistance, simply starved.[38] People in some villages ate cats, dogs, and even people who just died. The dead lined the streets of Medzhibozh, where almost half of the townspeople died. In the nearby village of Shrubkov all of the inhabitants starved to death.[39] In Staro Zakrevsky Meidan a few people died from tuberculosis or dysentery. Many starving Ukrainians were taken in to the Jewish collective farms in Medzhibozh, and possibly to other towns as well.[40] In some local villages there were no first grade classes in 1940-1941 because the birth rate in 1933 had been zero.[41] In 1932, 1,244 people died in the raion of Letichev; in 1933, 5,042 died; and in 1934, 1,021 died.[42] Ironically, Soviet propaganda painted a rosy picture of life in the U.S.S.R.. Some landsleit in America, such as Charles Siegal (originally Ekheel Zinshteyn) of Meidan and Hyman Dreizen of Medzhibozh, returned to their hometowns for brief visits only to find poverty and repression.



Malya Kalina and Manya Tenzer, ca. 1930.
The Tenzer family of Meidan was split up when Manya's father and two brothers were imprisoned in the infamous Soviet gulag system. Courtesy of Roza Vaks.

THE END OF TRADITIONAL JEWISH LIFE

In the early 1920s Jewish life was relatively unhampered by Soviet authorities. Rabbis continued to exert an influence over their consituents, and synagogues remained open. However, as the *Evsektsiia* began to flex its political muscle, synagogues and prayer houses were changed to Communist club houses. Torah scrolls and religious objects were confiscated. Rabbis, ritual slaughterers, and ritual circumsisers were arrested and sent to gulags. As Zionism was considered to be nationalistic and anti-Communist, Zionists were also arrested and exiled. The Hebrew language was suppressed and Hebrew schools were closed. The Communist Party used the *Evsektsiia*, as "the Party was able to draw on and exploit the genuine resentments and antagonisms of the Jewish socialist leaders toward the non-socialist Jewish community. By having Jews do its own destructive work, the Party 'objectively proved' the existence of a pro-Bolshevik stratum in Jewish society and simultaneously avoided any suspicion of anti-Semitism

"...If the *Evsektsiia* was partially successful by its own lights, and eminently successful from the overall Soviet point of view, it was a disastrous failure froma national Jewish perspective."[43] The *Evsektsiia*, in conjunction with the poitical police, had "the right to arrest any persons considered dangerous and to deport them without any trial to prisons and labor camps."[44]

Political pressure intensified in the 1930s, and arrests continued. Ironically, the *Evsektsiia* itself was disbanded in 1930 and many of its members were themselves purged. Many Jews from Medzhibozh, Letichev, and other towns were arrested and



Letichev Komsomol, ca. 1924.
Courtesy of Vladimir Goykher.

killed in jails. A Medzhibozh BUND member named Grinberg was arrested and released ten times.[45] The intense faith of the various Chasidic sects, including the Bratslaver Chasidim, led to prolonged struggles. Despite arrests and exile, many underground movements sprang up. Bratslaver groups continued until the massive arrests of 1938.[46] People lived in terror "of the day when a 'black raven' (as the NKVD car was commonly referred to) would pull up to their home and take someone away, never to be seen again...All those arrests were made on grounds that those arrested were 'enemies of the people.' In many cases, arrests were made solely on the basis of groundless and purely malicious reports by informers."[47] Mass graves of murdered prisoners would later be discovered in various locales. Possibly the best documented case of this was uncovered by German soldiers in Vinnitsa in 1943. Approximately 10,000 people had been bound, gagged, executed and buried in several mass graves by the Soviet police in the late 1930s. Only a small number of the victims could be identified. Among those suspected of being among the victims was Mekhel Zussman, born in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan. He worked for a newspaper in Vinnitsa as a typographer, and was arrested and killed with the other members of the newspaper staff.[48]

By 1938 all Jewish institutions were closed. Jewish schools were closed, as well as the Letichev Jewish orphanage, synagogues, the amateur Jewish drama companies, and movie theaters. Anyone who was found trying to learn or teach Judaism, or attempting to worship, was arrested. Yiddish and Hebrew were not to be spoken--only Russian. Jews russified their first names, such as Pinya to Petyr, Riva to Rita, Borukh to Boris. Some tried to Germanize their last names. Traditional Jewish life had come to an end throughout the Soviet Union. The rich history of the Jews who walked along THE ROAD FROM LETICHEV was suppressed.

Although the Jews of the U.S.S.R. had to endure pogroms, collectivization, dekulakization, arrests, and purges, they had no idea of the terrible, unthinkable fate that still lay ahead of them in the summer of 1941: the invasion of the Nazis.

Chapter Notes:

1. Gergel, N., 1951, "The Pogroms in the Ukraine in 1918-1921," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, Volume VI, YIVO, New York, p. 249.

2. Personal correspondence, Vladimir Malkin, December 1997.

3. Note, we are not including the city of Proskurov in Letichev District. Proskurov, because it is near the border of Letichev District, may have been included in the district at various times in its history. Proskurov was the scene of the worse massacre loss of Jewish lives during the Ukrainian civil war.

4. Personal interviews with Roselle W. Stein and Joseph Stein in 1983.

5. Personal interview, Jane Tsygan, 1997.

6. .Nesterenko, V.A., 1996, "Evreiski Natsionalini Radi Proskurovskovo Okrog v 20-30 Roku, " in Medzhibozh: 850 Pokiv Istorii", Medzhibozh, p. 98.

7. Interview with Pauline Zimmerman Chapin, 1995.

8. Correspondence, Dora Chester, October 1984.

9. January 22, 1921, p. 6. Translated by Anita Turtletaub.

10. Personal interview, 1983.

11. "Report on Ukraine, April 15, 1920," by Leo Gerstenzang; JDC Archive, RG 247.

12. "The Ukraine Commission of the Joint Distibution Committee, 1920, with Insight from the Judge Harry Fisher Papers," Jewish Social Studies, #49, 1987, p. 59.

13. "Conditions in Proskuroff and Woloczisk,"by Leon S. Blatman; JDC Archives, RG 261.

14. The Chairman was H.I. Diamondstone, 247 E. Broadway, NYC; the Secretary was A. Butler, 247 E. Broadway; the Treasurer was A. Gnatowsky, 242 Graham Avenue, Brooklyn.

15. JDC Archive, RG 261.

16. Knox, Helen, "From Odessa to Emeritus--With Love," Pitt , Spring 1967, p. 4.

17. Unpublished memoir of Benjamin Pulier; courtesy of Suzanne Pulier.

18. I. Veitzblit, *Derazhnia-sovremennoe evreiskoe mestechko*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929. Researched by Elena Tsvetkova.

19. Fisher, Harold H., *The Famine in Soviet Russia 1919-1922*, first printed 1927, reprinted 1971 by Books For Libraries Press, Freeport, NY, p. 262, 323.

20. Quoted in: Nora Levin, *The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917*, Vol. I, New York University Press, 1988, p. 155.

21. Ibid, p. 158.

22. B. .Lukin, editor, 1997, *100 Evreiskikh Mestechek Ukraini*, (Jerusalem - St. Petersburg: Jerusalem Centre for Documentation of the Diaspora Heritage, p. 84-85. Translated by Anna Shternshis.

23. Quoted in : Alan M. Ball, 1987, *Russia' Last Capitalists* , University of California Press, Berkeley, p. 100.

24. YIVO, RG 1007; translated from Yiddish by Anita Turtletaub.

25. YIVO, RG 1007; translated from the Yiddish by Anita Turtletaub.

26. Letters from Hyman Trachtenberg and interviews with Edward Giller, 1994.

27. Kantorovich, A. 1926 *Mestechkovoy zemledeli na pravoberezhnoi ukraini, in Evreiskii Krestiyanin*, No. 2, OZET, Moscow, p. 169-177.

28. Document from Khmelnitsky Archive, titled "Protokol N. 4," dated February 6, 1925, Zinkov.

29. Lukin, B., 1997, *100 Evreiskikh Mestechek Ukraini*, Jerusalem-St. Petersburg, p. 158.

30. Letter, January, 1999. Courtesy of Igor Malkiman.

31. For more details, see Valerii Vasilev and Lynne Viola, *Kollektivizatsiia i krest'ianskoe soprotivlenie na Ukraine*, Logos, Vinnitsa, 1997, and Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village After Collectivization*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994.

32. All information in this section is based upon the combined testimonies of Joseph Stein, Yefrem Mankovetsky, and Roza Vaks.

33. Kamenets-Podolsky archive, fond 1285, inv.1, f.10, p.41.

34. Lukin, B., 1997, *100 Evreiskikh Mestechek Ukraini*, Jerusalem-St. Petersburg, p. 158. Translated by Anna Shternshis.

35. Jacques Rossi, Jacques, 1989, *The Gulag Handbook*, Paragon House, New York, p. 407.

36. For more information about the horrors of the Soviet gulag system, see : Avraham Shifrin, 1982, *The First Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union*, Bantam Books, New York, . It should be noted that the term "gulag" is an acronym

for *Glavnoe upravlenie lagerei*, or "Main Administration of the Camps"; this term was in fact a shortened version of *Glavnoe upravlenie ispravitel' no-trudovykh lagerei i trudovykh poselenii*, or "Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps and Labor Setlements." Michael Jakobson, 1993, *Origins of the Gulag: The Soviet Prison Camp System 1917-1934*, The University Press of Kentucky, p. 124.

37. Graziosi Andrea, 1996, *The Great Soviet Peasant War*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996, p. 43.

38. Personal interview, Leonid Rapoport, January 1999; correspondence, Galina Chaban, February 16, 1996.

39. Personal communication, Galina Chaban, March 25, 1998.

40. Benjamin Lukin, "Medzhibozh,", 1989.

41. "For the record: testimony of eyewitness to the famine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 2, 1986.

42. Shulha, I.H., 1993, *Holod na Podili*: do 60-richchia holodomoru 1933 g., Vinnitsa, Vyd-vo Kontynenet-PRYM, p. 103.

43. Zvi Y. Gitelman, Zvi Y., 1972, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics: The Jewish Sections of the CPSU, 1917-1930*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p. 496-497.

44. Joshua Rothenberg, Joshua, 1972, "Jewish Religion in the Soviet Union," in Lionel Kochan, *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*, Oxford University Press, London, p. 169.

45. Interview, Tevye (Anatoly) Goldberg, August 1998.

46. Ibid, p. 169, 180; see also : Avraham Greenbaum, "The Jewish Religion in the Soviet Union in the 1930s," in *Shvut: Studies in Russian and East European Jewish History and Culture*, Tel Aviv University , 1-2 (17-18), 1995, p. 158.

47. Dragan, Anthony, 1986, *Vinnytsia: A Forgotten Holocaust*, Svoboda Press, Jersey City, New Jersey, p. 13.

48. Personal communication, Aleksander Grubshteyn, 1996. See also Ihor Kamenetsky, *The Tragedy of Vinnytsia*, Ukrainian Historical Association, Toronto, 1989.



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16

The Holocaust

by David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

Introduction

In some respects the Jewish communities along The Road from Letichev suffered the same fate as numerous other Jewish communities throughout the Soviet Union during the Nazi occupation. However, there were important differences. Much of this story has never been told before.

Unlike the well-publicized deportations and systematic death camp killings of Jews in Western Europe and Poland, the fate of most of the Jews on Nazi-occupied Soviet soil was very different. For the most part, the fate of Jews in Russia followed this scenario: Outlying communities were consolidated as Jews were concentrated into ghettos. When the appropriate SS Einsatzgruppen unit (mobile killing squad) arrived, they executed the Jewish population by mass shootings. It is now estimated that perhaps 2 million Jews were murdered in this manner. The documentation of the number of the murdered was not as systematically recorded as the death camp statistics. However, it is now thought that more Jews lost their life in this manner than in Auschwitz.[1]

Because much of the record of Holocaust killings in the former Soviet Union was considered an internal affair, little publicity of these events occured in the West. The Soviet Extraordinary Commission records have only become available in the West since about 1994. These records were internal investigations performed by Soviet security agencies to identify the extent of the massacres and to locate collaborators and witnesses. Such new data provide valuable insights to

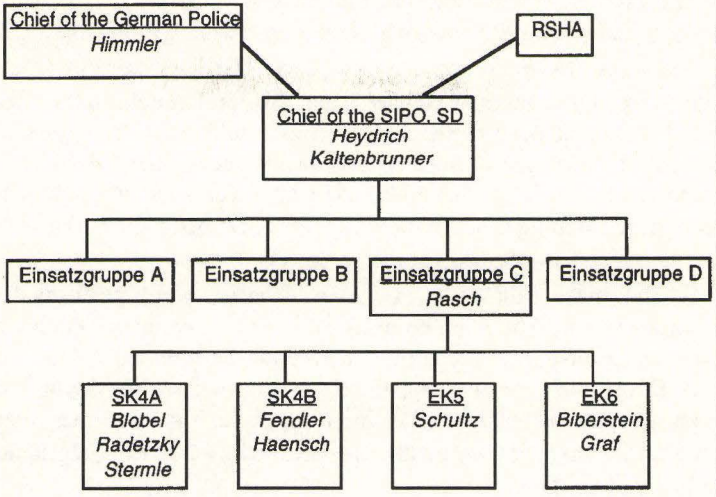
the details of the Nazi occupation. Also, recent immigrants who are survivors of the Holocaust from Ukraine are only now coming forward with their remarkable stories. Until now, history books have been silent about the specific fate of the Jewish communities of Podolia.

We discovered that there are two important differences between what happened to the Jewish communities along THE ROAD FROM LETICHEV compared with those in other areas of the Soviet Union. While the communities of Medzhibozh and Derazhnia seemed to follow the typical pattern, the communities of Zinkov and Letichev did not. The community of Zinkov was liquidated in a particularly cruel manner by the local Ukrainian Police. So cruel was the method of killing that even the Nazis were rumored to have been impressed. The community of Letichev was kept alive for an extended period of time in order to serve as a slave labor force for an important road construction project. This project, under the direction of Organisation Todt (Hitler's civil engineering authority led by Albert Speer) was responsible for upgrading the roads supplying Adolf Hitler's personal "Werewolf" bunker in Vinnitsa. The road between Proskurov and Vinnitsa was a high priority Nazi project of which Letichev fell squarely in the middle. The ROAD FROM LETICHEV is paved with the bones of these Jewish slave laborers.

The second major difference was the proximity of sanctuary to the Letichev District. Nearby was the province of Transnistria -- a short-lived territory created during the Nazi occupation. Transnistria was the spoils of war to Hitler's Romanian allies. Romanian occupied, the Jewish communities within did not see the systematic killings by German units. While certainly not utopia, Transnistria offered a place to escape the Nazi deprevations in nearby Letichev District. Thus, unlike many other areas of the Soviet Union, there were some survivors from Letichev District that bear witness to the events that took place there.

Einsatzgruppen

Unique to occupied Soviet territories was the operation of SS Einsatzgruppen units, literally "operational squads" of the security service. These mobile killing squads reported directly to Heinrich Himmler and were responsible for carrying out actions against the local civilian population behind the German front lines. In this manner, the Wehrmacht (the regular German army) relieved itself of the responsibility of mass murder. Typically the Einsatzgruppen were assisted in local logistics by rear echelon troops in the local Wehrmacht units, German police and local auxiliary police, military gendarmeries, and occasionally by members of Organisation Todt. In testimonies presented here, there may be some evidence which connects Organisation Todt with involvement in the mass killings at Letichev.



Einsatzgruppen Organizational Chart.
A portion of a chart of the Reich Security main office from Nuremburg War Crimes Trial, Records of Case 9.

Einsatzgruppe C was responsible for the mass killings at Letichev and Medzhibozh. When created in May 1941, it had 700 men divided into 4 subunits. These subunits were quite small; for example, SK4A had 160 men.[2] Einsatzgruppe C was attached to Army Group South and was responsible for some of the worst attrocities on Soviet soil, including the mass killing of Kiev Jews at Babi Yar. SK4B was known to operate in the Proskurov and Vinnitsa areas and was probably responsible for some of the killings in Letichev District, particularly in the autumn of 1941.[3]

The mass killings were suspended in December 1941, only to be resumed in the summer of 1942. These mass killings, or euphomistically termed *aktionen* (actions), resulted in the liquidation of most of the Jewish ghettos. Thus, two waves of *aktionen* took place, the first shortly after the occupation and was apparently less severe in the Letichev area and the final wave by late 1942. This final wave, beginning in mid September 1942 resulted in the demise of the ghettos of Derazhnia and Medzhibozh. A major *aktion* took place in Letichev at this time (the liquidation of Ghetto 1), but Ghetto 2 and the slave labor camp survived. The final liquidation of Ghetto 2 took place later that autumn while the slave labor camp probably lasted until early in 1943.

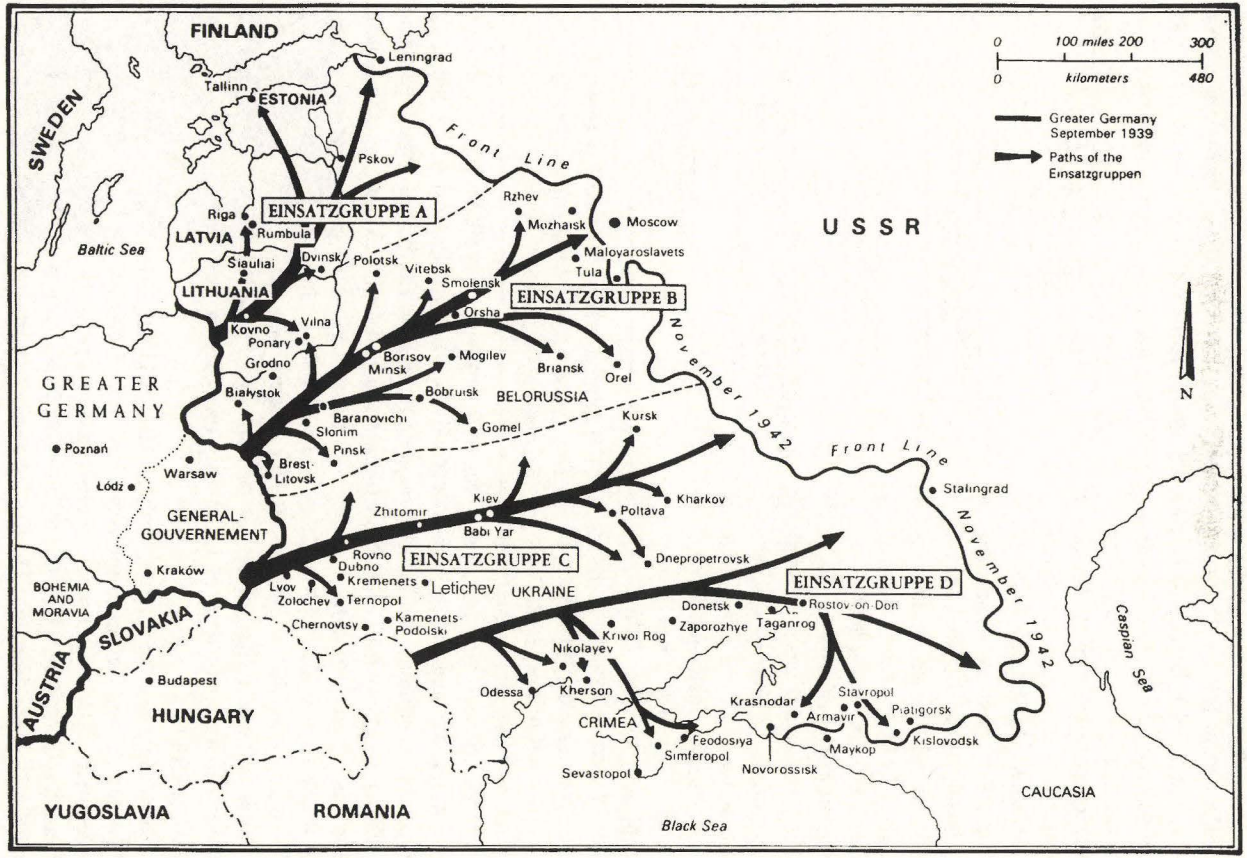
The standard pattern of an *aktion* was as follows. A suitable location was chosen for the mass killing site. Typically, these were in natural ravines outside of town in a remote location. If there were no natural ravines available, a trench was dug, usually by Jewish slave labor. In Letichev a natural ravine was used. In Medzhibozh it seems that a natural ravine was used for the largest mass killing, but satellite trenches were dug for latter executions. In Derazhnia trenches were dug especially for the killing because the sites are located at the top of a hill.

Once the killing site was chosen, the Jews were taken out to the site. At Derazhnia, Letichev and Medzhibozh, all the sites were within walking distance of the ghettos; no transportation was necessary. The Jews were marched out to these sites, forced give up their valuables and disrobe, brought to the edge of the trench, and shot in the head so that their corpses would fall in. The grave was then covered with a thin layer of soil. In several instances, the soil cover was not nearly enough to cover all the bodies. (In later years, Soviet authorities and volunteers have attempted to stabilize the sites and better bury the victims. In Letichev, bones can still be seen at the surface.)

Not all the mass killings in Letichev District were performed by SS Einsatzgruppen units. The horrible mass killing of some of the Zinkov Jews in Dunaevtsy were apparently perpetrated by the local Ukrainian Police. The mass killing at Derazhnia also was apparently performed by the local Ukrainian authorities. In spite of the differences in killing style, it is safe to say that all the Letichev District atrocities were either perpetrated by true Einsatzgruppen units or were inspired by them.



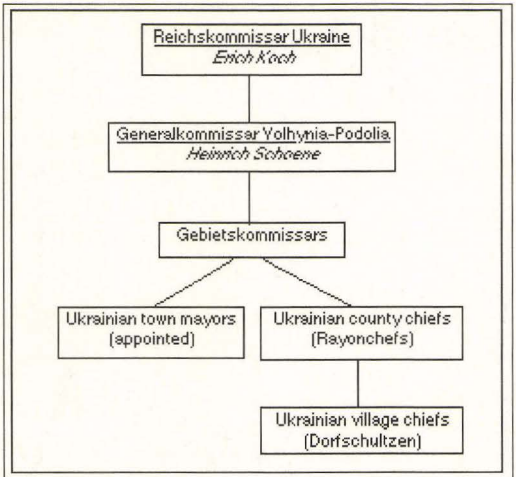
Mass killing in Vinnitsa.
Members of Einsatzgruppen SK4B casually pose while murdering Jews in a mass grave. Contrary to standard practice, the victims were not disrobed. Courtesy of the U.S. Holocaust Museum.



Map of Einsatzgruppen activities in the Soviet Union.

German Civil Administration

The German civil administration over Volhynia and much of Podolia was controlled in Rovno. The administrative area was known as *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine and was headed by Erich Koch, one of Hitler's *gauleiters* or governors. By all accounts, Koch was an especially ruthless in his role as *Reichskommissar*. Koch described himself in his inaugural speech as "a brutal dog, for this reason I was appointed Reichskommissar of Ukraine." His self-described mission was "to suck from Ukraine all the goods we can get hold of, without consideration for the feeling or the property of Ukrainians."[4] His responsibilities included recruiting and training Ukrainians to serve in his civil and police administrations. After the war, Koch was captured by the Allies and turned over to Poland in 1950 for war crimes prosecution. Polish authorities took nine years to bring him to trial, but only for crimes before he became Reichskommissar. In 1959, he was sentenced to death, but the sentence was never carried out. He lived the rest of his life under favorable conditions in a Polish prison of Barczewo. He died of natural causes in 1986 at the age of 90.[6] The USSR has never asked for his extradition. The reasons for his special treatment under Polish and Soviet authorities remains a mystery.[7] Presumably, his knowledge of the Ukrainian civilian leaders was an embarassment to the Soviets, as perhaps these people were still in some type of leadership capacity in the Soviet Union.



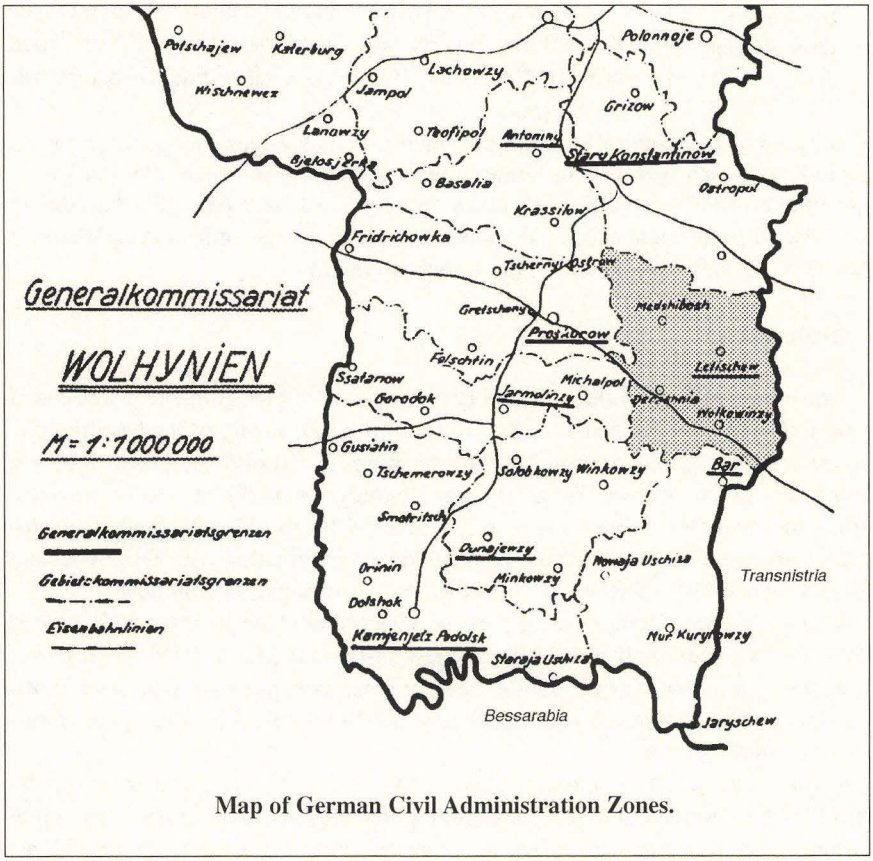
Civil Administration for Letichev District. This organizational chart shows the flow of German civil authority.[5]

According to documentation held in the U.S. Holocaust Museum, the Gebietskommissar for the German-occupied Letichev District, including the towns of Letichev, Derazhnia, Medzhibozh, and Volkovintsy was a certain Reg. Rat Hammer. The Gebietskommissar for the Yarmolintsy District, which included Mikhalpol and probably Zinkov, is not listed.[8] However, according to the Kipiler testimony, the Gebietskommissar was Eggers. According to Vladimir Goykher, who worked for a time with the German



Reichskommisar of Ukraine Erich Koch.

administrators making stamps, the Gebietskommissar for Letichev was Frieber. Another German, by the name of Köch (apparently Erich Koch's brother) was a high-ranking civil administrator whose office dealt with agriculture. This office was responsible for cattle breeding and the collective farm administration, of which the main purpose was to send farm products back to Germany.[9]



Map of German Civil Administration Zones.

Organisation Todt

A unique aspect of the German occupation in the Letichev area was the activities of Organisation Todt. It was named after its director, Fritz Todt, who died in a plane crash in early 1942. His successor was Albert Speer, who was the only Nazi in the Nuremburg War Crimes Trials to admit guilt. Organisation Todt was the civil engineering authority responsible for infrastructure construction projects within German-occupied territories. It was organized into quasi-military units, with military-style uniforms. Civilian workers and prisoners-of-war were at its disposal for employment in construction projects. Albert Speer himself described the massive deployment of Organisation Todt in the Vinnitsa area. The



Insignia of Organisation Todt.

purpose was to develop high quality infrastructure to supply Hitler's "Werewolf" headquarters at Vinnitsa. Speer described a crash program to improve the roads, railroads and airfields in preparation for Hitler's arrival during the 1942 summer offensive.[10]

Organisation Todt was divided among its various projects, with a division of labor based on the type of project. For instance, in the Letichev area, the administration for the road building project was Durchgangstrasse IV or Trunk Highway No. 4, the Baudirektor (Building Director) was named Pfaue.

Surprisingly, Organisation Todt provided nominal wages for forced laborers, including Jewish workers. In Ukraine the wages were between 375-564 rubles per month or more typically, 30 rubles per day. Jews were paid 15% less due to a so-called Judenabgabe (special tax on Jews).[11] This was confirmed by Vladimir Goykher in his testimony about the Letichev Ghetto.

Transnistria

The area northeast of the Dniester River and south of the Bug River was ceded over to Romania in August 1941 as a reward for being an ally of the Nazi regime. In part it was compensation for lost territory in Transylvania and southern Dobrudja given over to Bulgaria and Hungary. In addition, two territories, Bukovina and Bessarabia (which were annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940) were returned to Romania. Thus, Transnistria in combination with Bulkovina and Bessarabia comprised Romania's northeastern wartime territorial holdings.

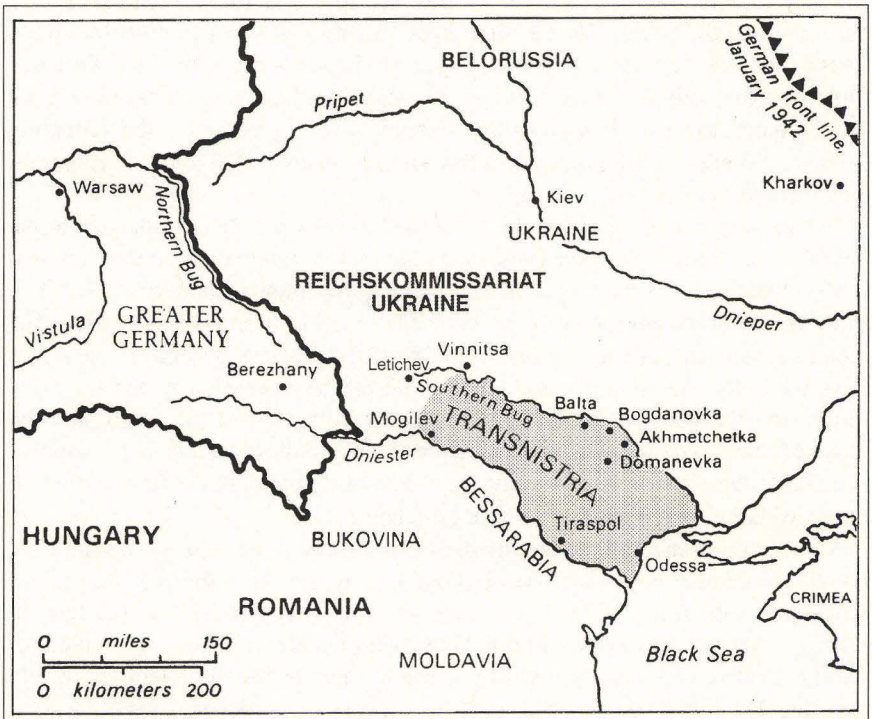
Transnistria also comprised of parts of Podolia and Odessa regions. It existed for only two and a half years from August 1941 until March 1944 when it was retaken by the Soviet army. While the Romanian occupiers were certainly anti-Semitic and in agreement with Hitler's "Final Solution", they were poor implimentors of the policy.

Unlike other areas of Eastern Europe, the Jews of Transnistria were for the most part deportees and refugees from other regions. Thus they were often complete strangers to the region, not even speaking the same language.[12] This provided opportunities for escapees from German-occupied Ukraine, and Letichev District in particular (which shared a common border with Transnistria) to blend in with the Jewish population there. However, their lives were not entirely safe, as the Romanian occupiers had their own agenda:[13]

> ...the history of the catastrophe in Transnistria can be viewed as the Holocaust in microcosm, yet there were some unique elements.... the Romanians, not the Germans, did most of the killing. Indeed, independent Romania was the only German ally involved directly in mass killings. Although the Romanian government and army set out on the path of the final solution with

> great zeal, once Nazi victory no longer appeared certain, they started to hesitate and to explore options. On the whole, Romania adopted a much more independent policy...The government thus resisted Nazi demands to deport the remaining Romanian Jews to the killing centers in Poland. In this respect, the fate of the Jews in Romania, and to a lesser extent in Transnistria, was influenced by political considerations.

Excluding Odessa, approximately 120,000 Jews lived in the Transnistria region before the war. Apparently, Einsatzgruppe D was very successful in eliminating these Jews in Aug.-Sept. 1941, before the main deportations began, as very few indigenous Jews survived the war. Interestingly, nearly 40% of the deportees to Transnistria survived. Apparently, after Sept. 1941, the Romanian authorities took a firmer control of the area, though elements of the German military and SS were granted special privileges within the territory. Deportations of Jews to Transnistria began in Oct. 1941. The total number of Jews deported (through 1943) was more than 130,000. Thus, the Romanians succeeded in replacing the Jewish population that the Einsatzgruppen eliminated. Most of the deportation came from Bessarabia and Bukovina. Since the towns and villages



Map showing Transnistria.

for the most part in Transnistria were small, the deportees were settled in small ghettos in typically as small as 50 people.[14]

Apparently, from time to time Germans would raid the territory to supplement their slave labor pool. Thus, in the summer of 1942, Bessarabian Jews were deported to German-occupied territory to fill the ranks in the Letichev camp.[15] Occasionally, Romanian deportations did not terminate at a Transnistrian destination. The deportees were brought across the Bug to German-occupied territory. At least one such deportation took place from Bukovina and Bessarabia.[16] Eyewitnesses in the Letichev camp recall Romanian deportees entering the camp, but they did not know whether these people were taken from Transnistria or were deported directly to the Letichev camp from Bessarabia.[17]

From the summer of 1943 to March 1944, when Transnistria was liberated, was an especially dangerous time for the Jews of Transnistria. The retreat of the Nazis brought German military units back into the area. Random acts of terror occured until the territory was liberated by the Soviets.[18]

German Invasion of the Soviet Union

The Nazis invaded Soviet territory in "Operation Barbarosa" on June 22, 1941. The Red Army was ill-prepared for this invasion and they retreated using a "scorched earth" policy. By the first week in July, the German 49th Mountain Corps, the 4th Mountain and 97th Light Divisions were within the Letichev District. From July 8 to July 17 major battles took place in the area. In particular, Letichev town itself served as a defensive strong point for the retreating Soviets.[19] While Medzhibozh, just a few kilometers away, fell to the Germans on July 8, Letichev held out until July 17.[20]

Just to the west of the town, the main road crosses the River Volk. Just to the south of the traffic bridge was another bridge that served to dam up the Volk into a man-made lake. As the Soviet army retreated, they blew up both bridges. When the German army advanced to the Volk, they could not cross this barrier. The small garrison in Letichev heroically held off the German column for nearly 6 days while the Germans pounded them with artillery. Eventually, the Germans outflanked the garrison by crossing the River Volk well to the south, and the attacked the town from the south and east. The soldiers in Soviet garrison of Letichev were either killed or captured.[21] Perhaps they were the first victims of the slave labor / POW camp set up in Letichev.

Jews living in the path of the invasion had a difficult decision to make. They could flee or they could stay. Most chose to stay, not knowing the Nazi plans, which were about to unfold. According to Leonid Rapoport, the simple Jews in Letichev did not know what to do. Those who decided to evacuate to the east were considered foolish by the others. Many thought that the Germans would treat the Jews well, as they did when they occupied Letichev during the First World War. In Zinkov, for example, several Jews greeted the first-arriving Nazis with the traditional Ukrainian gifts of bread and salt. These Jews were shot on

the spot.[22] Most Jews did not want to believe that the Germans were Jew-killers, in spite of the many rumors. Another factor which influenced the Jews was what the richer, more influential families did. For example, the poor Jews said, "If Vodovoz stays, why shouldn't we?" The Rapoport family survived by evacuating and ignoring such advice.[23] Thus, for the most part there were three categories of Jewish survivors: those that suffered through the occupation and escaped to Transnistria, those who fled the advancing German invasion and lived throughout the war on the Soviet side of the front, and those who were drafted into the Soviet Army before the invasion.

The evacuation was filled with numerous risks. A train with many passengers fleeing from the invading German army was bombed as it was leaving Derazhnia; among those killed was a well-known Jewish dentist from Medzhibozh named Oigenzight.[24]

Khaya Burshteyn Malkiman recalled:[25]

> Dad, mom and we (three sisters) got out of Letichev into Vinnitsa with great difficulties. The evacuation was very troubled. Letichev did not have a railroad, and we got into Vinnitsa on passing cars, buggies and by walking. Vinnitsa was a regional center. The apartment of my older sister was vacant. Vinnitsa was already bombed, and we left for the railroad station without any belongings. If we had not left that day, we would not have be able to do anything the next day. The bridge over the Bug River [from the town to the railroad station] was destroyed by bombers that night. We stayed at the station for four days waiting for transportation. A mixed train with several wagons and open cars were provided only on July 10. We survived the bombing of July 15, 1941 in Christinovka (a big railroad hub) due to the fact, that we got into open cars.
>
> We reached Dnepropetrovsk at first, and the Germans started to approach there. Then we got into the Krasnodarsk region, railroad station Belaya Glina, near Taganrog. After that we travelled by different means of transport for two months. We arrived in Stalingrad at the beginning of November. We were loaded into the hold of the cargo barge, and moved up on the Volga River. The Volga was freezing at that time, and small children and babies were freezing to death inside the hold. There were people of different nationalities inside the hold.



Pinkhas Shakhmir, ca. 1941.
Nicknamed Pinya Grubshteyn, Shakhmir (1909-1975) was from Staro Zakrevsky Meidan and served in the Red Army, shown here in his army uniform. He thereby avoided the mass killing of his relatives and neighbors in 1942. Courtesy of Roza Vaks.

These people were very embittered, and they forced parents to dump the dead children into the Volga River. It all happened in our presence.

Dad and Sonya got sick during that trip. They got infected by typhus, and we had to leave [the barge] in Penza. Father died on the third day, December 29, 1941, at age 57. It is a whole different story how we buried our father with the assistance of Jewish community of Penza. After father's death, mom, Maria and I, got sick with typhus We lived in Penza in the center for evacuation, which was a club of the local chapter of the railroad trade union. After we were healed from typhus, we got out of Penza with great difficulties. My oldest sister found out our location, and we moved to Kazakhstan, now without father [and we survived the war there].

Some of the Jews of the *kolkhoz* Staro Zakrevsky Meidan attempted to escape in the evaculation to eastern territories. A few managed to make their way to the Urals and Kazakhstan and they survived the war. However, most could not flee the German advance and were lured back to the *kolkhoz* on the grounds that the Germans needed skilled agricultural workers. As a result, hundreds of families (including many former farm workers) flocked back to the collective farms. The population of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan swelled to several times its pre-war population as the Jews believed that their farm skills granted them special



Map of Mikalpol, ca. 1941. Believed to be a copy of a German map, from the Library of Congress Map Collection.

privileges.[26] Unfortunately the Jews of this occupied *kolkhoz* also perished alongside the Jews of the Derazhnia ghetto on Yom Kippur 1942.

If there were doubts by the Jewish community about the Nazis benevolent intentions, they were erased during the first days of the occupation. Shortly after capturing Letichev, the Germans began their reign of terror. Pinkhas Michelson and Froim Burshteyn reported that the Germans summoned the Letichev rabbi and the young and prominent Jews (including their close relative Velvel Michelson), about 25 individuals in all. These people were summarily shot in a mass grave in Zavolk on the outskirts of Letichev. Leonid Rapoport also confirms this and claims that a close relative was shot at this time. After the war, this grave was flooded by the Volk River and the bones washed into the streets of Letichev. Froim Burshteyn was instumental in reinterring the remains of this brethren in the mass grave site in Zaletichevka.[27] Celia Michelson reported that during the first days of the occupation, the Germans rounded up Jewish children in a church. They forced these children, her brother Mutty Burshteyn included, to take hot asphalt with their bare hands.[28]

Resistance and Partisans in Letichev District

For all intents and purposes, there was no organized resistance in the Letichev District prior to the liquidation of the ghettos. In Boris Levin's story, for instance, he escaped to join them but apparently could not find any partisans and was recaptured. For the most part, the Jews did not resist their executions. While there was certainly terror in their hearts, they did not actively resist. As described by Goykher and others, their wills had long since been broken by Nazi humilation, hunger and disease. Death was welcomed as an end to suffering. However, there are some isolated instances of resistance. In Yarmolintsy, just to the west of Letichev District, the Jews resisted for two days, killing 16 policemen until their ammunition ran out. Among the dead was the chief of police and five Germans.[29]

There was a small underground group in the Mikhalpol area that seemed to have helped some Jews of that area escape the Nazi scourge. "An underground group of Nikoliuk was of much help to Jewish residents. It organized food delivery for Jewish families and when Jewish pogroms started, the underground group transferred about 100 Jews to the territory occupied by [Rumanians], where there were no pogroms."[30] This was comfirmed in oral testimony by Luba Tikhman, a survivor from Mikhalpol. She claimed that her neighbors hid her from the Nazis in an attic, providing food for her and eventually transferring her out of the area. She also said that this activity was assisted in part by the local Ukrainian governing body, installed by the Nazis. Apparently, they were reluctant to carry out German orders against the Jews and they had a blind eye on underground activities. Only after the Germans took direct control of the town did the local underground feel the need to help the Jews escape to Transnistria.[31]

Other partisan groups seem to have developed later in the war. Boris Levin describes his entry into a partisan band near Odessa. In the summer of 1943, German intelligence reports the establishment of a partisan group in the Letichev vicinity lead by "Lopatin (alias Zubenko)".[32] But, this was long after the

liquidation of all the Jews in Letichev District. Unusual was the reference of a solitary Russian partisan encountered by Einhorn and Huberman near Bar in 1942. Perhaps this person was a Russian soldier caught behind German lines who managed to hide his identity from them.

Reliability of Testimonies

The testimonies which follow are the only ones available from the Letichev District. Each tells a remarkable story survival. However, in detail there are some differences. Some of this may be from viewing the situation through different eyes, but some of the details are now being viewed through glasses fogged with time.

By far the most reliable of all the testimonies is that by Vladimir Goykher. He remembered incredible details which through later research proved to be correct. Of all his stories, the only discrepancy we could find is the timing of his encounter with Field Marshal List. It may be true and the history books are wrong, or his timing might be a shade off. Or, perhaps he encountered some other high ranking officer. This small discrepancy in no way diminishes the incredibly fortunate journey of his survival. Many other details have since been verified by other eyewitnesses. Goykher's story shows how someone fluent in several languages can make themselves indispensible. Serving as a "mascot" for an Organisation Todt unit, he was able to make his way to the front lines and sneak over when he had the chance.

The least reliable of the testimonies is that by Boris Levin. After the war, Levin headed a committee of Holocaust survivors in Khmelnitsky. At least one article in a Soviet newspaper has been written which criticizes his accounts.[33] His own account has some serious inconsistencies. For instance, this aborted escape to join the partisans seems strange. When recaptured by the Germans, why would one soldier choose not to kill him at that time? How would he know that the German was later executed? No one else claims that there were piles of bodies in the ghetto. Others say that the Jews were allowed to bury their dead in the cemetery. It is also unlikely that he survived by running into the woods at the mass killing site. For one thing, there are no woods nearby the mass killing site. For another thing, it was well-guarded and the chance of escape was probably nil. More than likely, he escaped before he got to the mass killing site. In spite of these inconsistencies, Levin's story is still an amazing story of survival of which the essence is certainly not fabricated.

Of the survivors whose testimony is presented here, Boris Levin, Maria Laster, Moyshe Rekhtman, Semyon Gluzman, Yehudis Vaynblat, Vladimir Kipiler, Rose Huberman and Moishe Einhorn all escaped to Transnistria. The sanctuary of Transnistria saved their lives and allowed the true story of Jews of Letichev District to be told in these pages for the very first time.

THE LABOR CAMP IN LETICHEV

by Manya (Maria) Laster[34]

Prologue

Manya Laster, maiden name Gutman, was born in 1924 in Mogilev-Podolsky and in 1927 she moved to Murovani-Kurilovtsy. Just before the invasion, she attended school from 1940-41 in Vinnitsa. She escaped from the Letichev ghetto into Transnistria, surviving the war there in various towns such as Balta, Kopaigorod, Luchinets, and Mogilev-Podolsky. In 1945 she moved to Poland and in 1950 she emigrated to Israel. Her last known address was in Natanya, Israel in 1959.

In Novaya Ushitsa

...Ukrainians kept far away from the place, being scared to walk there. After the corpses began to decay (probably they were not buried deep enough) they have been moved to another grave, a 6 year old boy escaped from there. The other group consisted of young people. Of those, about 500 people have been rushed to the Labor Camp in Letichev near Proskurov.

On October 15th of that year, a second extermination had begun and lasted up to 2 weeks. I only heard about this one (I was already in the Labor Camp). Now, they ordered survivors from the first extermination and craftsman's families, who were under special protection until then, to assemble on the public square. This time many were hiding, but the German and Ukrainian police were looking hard. They stretched this into 2 weeks, beating those who were found.

Chetnianski stood out then with his brutality. He didn't spare his pre-war friends. There are stories that one of the young boy — Leva Gorzenstein managed to escape far from the city. Chetnianski (his pre-war friend) was chasing him all along. Leva lost his energy near a pond outside the city. He thought he could hide behind a tree from his oppressor. Chetnianski sent a rain of bullets there and Leva fell into the pond.

The second extermination wiped out about 500 people. This time everybody was shot to death. They were buried in some other place, near the village of Popova.[35] Germans ploughed the graves and sowed the land with grain. After the war, the Soviets opened the graves and tried to identify the bodies.

Only a few families — those most indispensable to the Germans — stayed alive after the second extermination. They survived until 1944, the beginning of the German withdraw. Then they were terminated and buried in that village.

Not all of the Jewish property was burned. It is unknown what happened to it. Houses were probably disassembled by Ukrainians for firewood and for construction material. After the war only ruins were found.

Labor Camp at Letichev

After the first extermination, the previously separated group of young people were told to go back to their homes. In fact, a few days later the group was called in again with the intention of sending them to a labor camp. As I said before, I was among them. The group consisted of 500 people — aged 16 to 40, with 4 children aged 12 to 13. We didn't know where they were leading us. As we learned later, we were going to Letichev — 100 kilometers. on foot. Our belongings were placed on a horse cart while we were walking for a couple of days. After 40 kilometers. of walking, we reached the village of Bar. So far, we were escorted by Ukrainian police from our village. Their behaviors varied, some of them were beating us. There was Ivan Konicki among them, one of my friends from school. Our old friendship wasn't mentioned during the trip. One of the policemen's name was Ivan Stolar, a friend of my uncle whom he even tried to rescue from the ghetto. My uncle didn't want to leave the family so he refused to escape. However, he was very cruel to others. Stories were told that during the second extermination after a long search he found a hidden family which spent some time without water and were very exhausted. Stolar was beating them up ignoring their pleas for something to drink. Among those escorting us was also Stolar.

In Bar, we spent the night in military quarters. During the night we were robbed of our valuables. People shouted to the guards, who would take away whatever they wanted to. There was policeman from the Carpathian Ukraine among the robbers (even his Ukrainian language was poor, with a different accent). This one was particularly cruel. He was saying: "They kill so many Jews and there are still so many of them."

Guards exchanged in Bar: our police transferred us to the guards we didn't know. We walked during the day and slept on the fields at night. After a couple of days we reached Letichev (district of Proskurov). There was a huge fortress there since the times of the Turks and it looked like a shrine. Since those times also, there was a tall wall surrounding the fortress, the top of which the Germans reinforced with barbed wire.

The commandant of the Labor Camp was German and he lived in the city, appearing in the Camp only in the mornings for inspections. Sick and weak people were singled out then and shot to death later. The commandant was doing that selection in person. Other than that we didn't see him all day long; our guards were from Ukraine and Lithuania.

On-duty commandants inside the Camp were two Jews: Nachman — he was ruling the Camp on behalf of the German commandant. He was young (about 30 years old) and supposedly a lawyer from the district of Vinnitsa. He particularly persecuted the girls, whom he took advantage of like a degenerate. He would terminate any girl he became bored with. His assistant was a Jew named Moshe. This one was rather a strict disciplinarian, but I couldn't tell about any special persecutions.

They used to wake us up at 5 am. Food was distributed once a day and consisted of a little bit of soup and 200 grams of bread. In this situation people

suffered terible hunger. I remember that one of the girls was collecting bread for her friends who died, giving their names at the roll-call. When Nachman found out about this, he beat her up very badly. Our work was based on daily assignments: digging ditches for underground telephone lines or building asphalt roads. Those who were stronger helped weak ones, but there was no kind of organization whatsoever — everybody was living his own life. There were about 2,000 people in the Camp from different villages of the district. Romanian Jews, who had been transferred over the border at the beginning of the war were also there. There were cases of death from hunger and exhaustion during my whole state in the Camp.

Plans for escape existed since the beginning, but opinions varied. Some of the prisoners thought it made no sense because Germans shot to death those who were caught. This kind of propaganda was spread by two sisters from Kamenets-Podolsky who worked in the Camp as translators. In spite of this, escaped happened. Before I escaped, about 40 people escaped, running out in small groups within a few days. They bribed one of the Ukrainians. I knew Fania Shuster from Yaryshev, who escaped with that group.

Among the people taken out from my city was Natan Gurfinkel who also managed to escape. He currently lives in Kurilovtsy. Rumors said that after some time Germans closed the Camp. The prisoners were murdered.

LETICHEV MEMORIES

By Yevgenia Naumova Tretyak [36]
Letichev, Ukraine

I was born in 1922. In 1940, I left the town of Letichev to study in Odessa; when the war started, I couldn't come back home, and therefore, signed as an army nurse [in the Soviet army]. I think this is the reason why I survived the war. At present in Letichev, I don't know of any people who knows or remembers the life of Jewish people prior to the war. All the Jews were killed, and those who survived already died. At present, only 15 Jews live in Letichev.

During the war in 1941, the Germans set up a ghetto and forced Jews to teach their craft to the local Ukrainians. Those Jews who didn't know any craft were killed. Others were killed after they had taught the Ukrainians their craft. This first happened during Yom Kippur in 1942. Germans took them to a ravine outside of Letichev and shot all of them. They threw them in the ravine dead and alive.

People were telling me that when they were walking to be killed, the Rabbi was with them calming them down. He told them God wanted them to take this death for all the people. Little boy Boris Shtilerman was on a sleigh and when he tried to run, a Ukrainian boy ran after him and made him come back.

People were telling me afterwards that the earth over the mass grave was moving for some time. Sixteen year old Boris Levin from the village of Snitovka

(10 kilometers from Letichev) was able to escape from the place where everybody was shot. Boris now lives in the city of Khmelnitsky.

* * * * *

By Leonid Rapoport[37]
Brooklyn, New York

Our family lived in Letichev until World War II, and the end of 1944 till the beginning of 1951. My family left the USSR from different places because we didn't live together. I came to the U.S. from Leningrad. My mother [Polina Rapoport] and my sister Yadviga (and her family) went to Israel from Tselinograd, Kazakhstan. ...my mother knew Betty Rapoport, but we aren't related. Betty was born about 1922 (her name was that of her grandmother), came to Letichev in 1946 from Moscow. She came to see the grave of her parents. Her father Gersh Rapoport with her mother, brother, brother's in-laws and their two little children (all together 8 people) hid in a cellar. When they didn't have enough water, they went outside and were shot. The older son of Gersh Rapoport was shot in a group of 130 men on the day of the arrival of the Germans. Our family -- my father Lev (Leyb) Rapoport (b. 1898), mother Polina Rapoport (b. 1908), me (b. 1936), brother Pavel Rapoport (b. 1931), and grandmother Yakhtsa Rapoport -- left Letichev on July 3, 1941. My grandmother decided to go to the neighboring town of Volkovintsy to her daughter Ola Shtapel (the sister of my father). We don't know why they didn't leave from Volkovintsy. My grandmother, my aunt Ola, my uncle Aron, and their four children were shot.

A PRISONER IN THE LETICHEV LABOR CAMP

by Abraham Shmeis [38]
Snitkov, Ukraine

Beginning

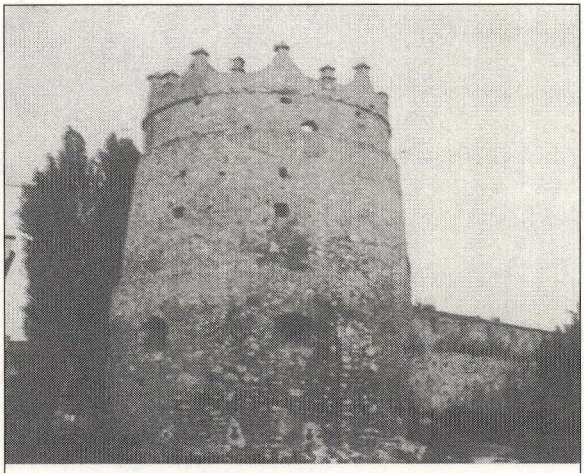
...from the town of Bar we were driven two hours and were brought to Letichev. Here in the cloister[39] was a camp where we were taken. All around the camp was a stone fence with barbed wire. By the count of the Commandant of the camp, there were 88 of us.

Meeting with the prisoners of the camp: On the gate of the camp was a sign: "Work Camp" but we called this camp "Extermination Camp" because escape was very difficult. There were few Jews in the camp because they were out working. Two Jews came to us — they were older and were thus the representatives of the prisoners. A German soldier told us that we would not get any food that day because we were not working on a job. At evening the work teams came back and gathered in the camp near the well. It was dark. There were

maybe 400 prisoners. We quickly met with them. They were like us — young Jews up to 30 years of age from different towns and villages in the Kamenets-Podolsky and Vinnitsa regions. The Germans had taken them to the Letichev camp after shooting Jews in their hometowns.

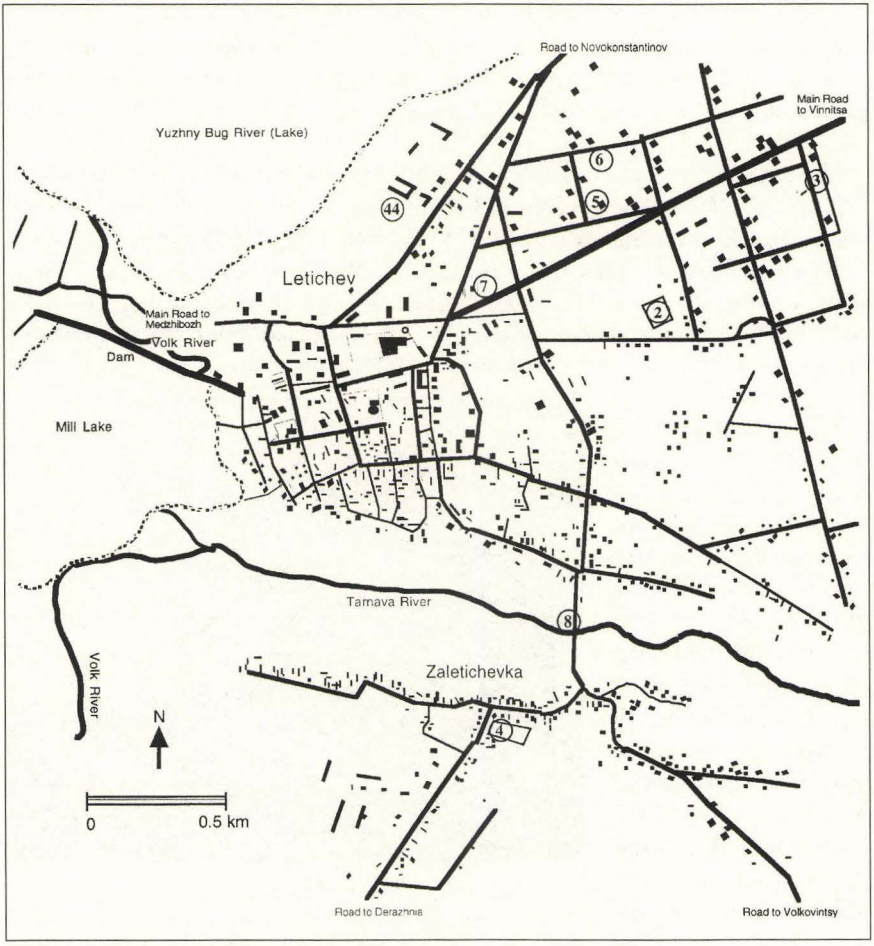
The open grave near the kitchen: We directed our steps to the kitchen to have supper. Outside the kitchen was an open grave. We didn't know why this grave was there. Our new friends told us why: Each morning the Commandant of the camp killed one Jew with a gun or with a stick. When the body was buried, a new grave was dug for the next morning. Every Jew in the camp knew that this freshly dug grave could be meant for him. We left this place where Soviet prisoners of war had been buried before we arrive at the camp.

The distribution of work for the brigade teams: At evening we stood in rows and the Commandant counted out 20 Jews. We took the place of the Jews that were killed in order to reinforce the work brigades. We were still vigorous enough at this time. My brigade leader was a girl from Bukovina. She knew Russian, German and Yiddish. Our brigade help rebuild the road near Verbka,[40] which led to Kharkov.[41] In the morning we were taken to work on trucks, but at evening we had to walk back to the camp.



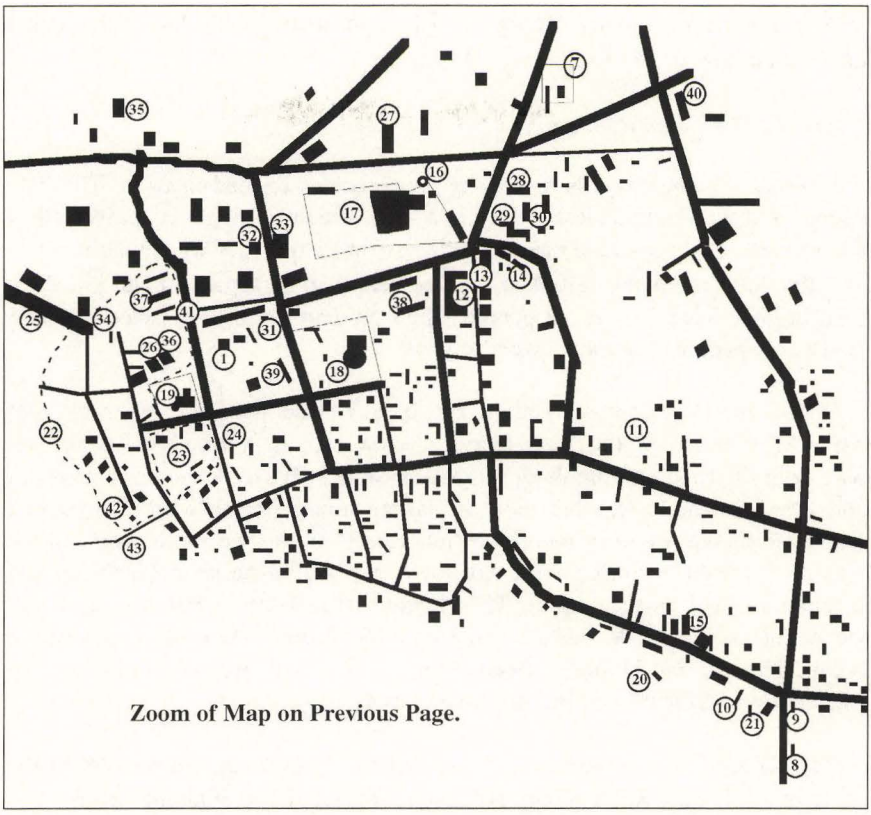
The infamous Letichev Castle.
This remnant of a larger castle complex, built in the 17th century by Polish nobles, it served as a notorious Nazi slave labor camp during 1941-43. It is now a memorial to the victims of the Nazis. Photo by David Chapin, 1995.

Lodging for the night: The brigade leader took the 20 of us to lodging for the night. She took the women to the first floor and the men to the second floor. There were very little space, it was a circular prayer room with long windows. There was no room for lying or sitting. We drew close to each other in order to get space for sleeping. We settled in. In comparison to what I experienced in the last few days, this was better. So I thought in the beginning. Here I had a roof over my head, supper every day, work and friends. It wasn't uncertain, like my days in the ghetto or afterwards. I knew here that when I would collapse I would



Map of Letichev during WWII.
Derived from a 1944 German reconnaisance aerial photograph and based on the recollections of Vladimir Goykher, Leonid and Polina Rapoport and Evgenia Tretyak.

1. Market square
2. Old Jewish cemetery
3. New Jewish cemetery
4. Mass killing site
5. High school
6. Christian cemetery
7. Jail (Orphanage 1922-41)
8. Bridge to Zaletichevka
9. Home of blacksmith
10. Home of Rapoport
11. School
12. Residence of Gebietskommissar Frieber 1941-44
13. City Hall
14. Post office
15. Home of D. Tretyak
16. Letichev Castle
17. Polish Catholic Church, which served as a work camp
18. Large Orthodox Church



Zoom of Map on Previous Page.

19. Small Orthodox Church
20. Home of Oxengorin
21. Home of Borukh __ who worked in the oil mill
22. Outline of Ghettos 1 and 2
23. Ghetto 2 (Houses of Pergament, Kuptsov, Eivin, and Erlichman)
24. Bagel baker Galer
25. Dam
26. Rabbi's house
27. German soldiers (Todt) barracks
28. School
29. Power station
30. High school (Jewish school before war)
31. Training center for apprenticing trades from Jewish craftsmen to Ukrainians
32. Soviet army recruiting station before German occupation
33. Courthouse
34. Spring where Jews in ghetto took water
35. Hungarian soldiers barracks
36. Nudelman's house
37. Hershel Shtilerman's barber shop.
38. Movie theatre
39. District Commandant's residence 1941-44
40. Gendarmerie barracks
41. Gate to ghetto
42. House of Moishe Goykher
43. House of Poludeny
44. Machine and tractor factory

be killed, but I was young, strong and I thought that I would last. Very soon I understood how wrong I was.

Part 2 - The Camp Routine

Morning: We heard yells and woke up. Brigades formed in rows. The gate opened and the Commandant arrived in a horse-drawn carriage. He passed all of the brigades. Everyone held their heads high to show that they were healthy. They new that the Commandant looked for sick people to be separated and killed. In each brigade were 2 or 3 sick people. The Commandant usually selected about 10-12 sick people. The others went to work.

The work: Whoever worked in the quarry rode to work by truck, but whoever worked on the road near Letichev had to walk. We worked on widening the road and breaking up granite stones. We took the broken stones and filled up the spaces between the larger stones on the road. We packed stones alongside civilian Ukrainian laborers.[42] While we were working we weren't allowed a break. If we sat down, we would be shot. Germans and Lithuanians had guns or sticks. They beat us or killed us when they saw that we could no longer do the job good enough. From 1:00 to 1:30 pm was a break. The civilian laborers, German and Lithuanian guards would eat. We were allowed to rest but were not given any food.

Piles of clothes upon returning to the camp: At evening, we retuned to the camp in a columns. Roll call was not taken. This led me to think that escape was possible. On the right side of the gate we saw a pile of clothing. These clothes belonged to the Jews who were selected by the Commandant earlier that day. He kept them in a box near the gate. Nazis came to the box everyday and killed those Jews who were selected. We could see by the pants or shorts who their owner was. This heap of things brought more psychological pressure on us, like the open grave by the kitchen.

Supper: We walked from the gate to the "dining room" and through the window each worker received 300 grams of bread, a small bowl of soup which contained potatoes, split peas and small pieces of horsemeat. After supper, some of us prayed; others stood near them. We were not afraid of traitors amongst us. We were told about the advance notice of the Commandant: in every brigade every tenth Jew would be hanged if somebody escaped. I knew that nobody had escaped from the camp at this time.

I think about escape: I began dreaming about escape because I understood that my strength would not last long here and it would only be a matter of time when I, too, would be taken to the box near the gate. Everday a new hole was dug near the kitchen, every evening we saw a new pile of clothes near the gate. Among the Jews of Snitkov in the camp was Nuta Mishenzhenik with his two sons. They

were missing, but they weren't killed by the Commandant. Where were they? I understood — they had escaped! From where? When? I didn't know, but I realized that I could escape too. Now I thought only of escape. People escaped but nobody was hanged.

One morning: Some days were calm, other days were difficult. I remember one such day. We stood in rows and the Commandant began to select people. I stood first in line. He went past me. I was calm because I felt good and I knew that he saw this. He ordered the Jews to show their hands — so that he could see the condition of their skin — and their heads — so that he could see who was pale and sickly. The Commandant was in another brigade when I heard a scream. He selected one man and beat him to death with a stick because he saw a louse on the man — but we all had lice. Two kitchen workers brought the dead man to the grave near the kitchen. Fourteen people were selected that day by the Commandant. They watched us as we went to the trucks.

The same day: We did the job like everyday. I was able to break stones with one or two blows of my hammer. I found a big stone which I couldn't break. A German soldier saw this and began to beat me with a stick across my shoulders. I nearly fell from the pain of these surprise blows. No, I didn't want to wait for the time when I couldn't break stones. After half an hour, a man — maybe 28 years old — sat near me. All the Jews told him that he must stand up or the Germans would kill him, but he continued to sit. He said that the other world would be better for him than this one. The German soldier screamed, "I'll kill you!" and sent two Ukrainians to dig a grave. The man was dragged to this makeshift cemetery. We heard a shot and they came back without him. I gave myself a pledge that I would escape at the first opportunity. Tired and hungry, exhausted physically and mentally, we returned to the camp in the evening. All of us wanted to be in the middle of the column, but all of us couldn't be in there. Whoever stood on the right or left side received blows with sticks. We came inside the camp. Again, everything was the same.

Itsya Shtern and the well: Our delight and comfort was the well. All day we were tormented with thirst, but in the evening we drank water to our heart's content. We drank from a bucket. In the same evening our friend Itsya Shtern threw himself in the well. We took him out and scolded him — we didn't want the Commandant to close up the well.[43] Itsya said that we did not have the right to prevent him from killing himself, saying that it wouldn't make any difference to the Commandant how the Jews died — whether in the well or in the grave by the kitchen.

Within a hairbreadth of death — bad advice: After my beating I felt bad. I had a fever. I had been severely beaten. My friends advised "Don't go to work — move away when we approach the gate." Some people did so. I had not slept all night and I had a headache. I decided to listen to my friends. When

our brigade was leaving I dodged away unnoticed, went to my place, covered up myself and slept.

In front of the Commandant: I awoke because of a yell. The voice was that of the Commandant. With two soldiers he walked around the rooms and found all of the Jews who didn't go to work that day. We numbered 25 people. The representatives of the community came and took the auxiliary workers. That left 12 men and 2 women. Amongst us was Mendel Shkolnik from Snitkov who broke down crying. We all stood before the Commandant. He asked everyone why they didn't work. He came to me. I explained that I had a pain in my stomach. The Commandant kicked me in my abdomen and took me with the other to the box near the gate.

A lucky chance: We were closed in the box by the gate. Later the Nazis would come to kill us. Our things will be in the pile near the gate. What can rescue us? Some people lied down, others looked through the window. We waited for death. We were in a terrible situation. Itsya Shtern and Mendel Shkolnik had become weaker and wanted to be delivered from the torments, but I was strong. I never remembered such a long day in my life. Last hours, the end of my life. Why didn't I escape from the work on the road when I had the chance?

The day came to an end and the Nazis had forgotten about us! The people came from work but our things were not near the gate. Our brigade walked past the gate. We saw that two people come to the box where we sat: a German guard and a Jew from the community. They said "Who goes to work tomorrow? Go out!" I went first and after me four more people. The last ones lay there, among them Mendel Shkolnik. The German guard closed the door and said, "You won't have supper today." What did he say about food? I live today! I drank cold water from the well. I counted myself among the living. This lucky chance gave me life and I knew that I must escape from the camp.

Ilya Ehrenburg: about our camp: The next morning the Commandant took approximately 10 people from our ranks. This morning the Commandant's sacrifice was a tall, thin young man, 18 years old. He cried and was shot. The 10 people were sent to the box near the gate. Somebody from doom appealed to us. This was a woman, saying "We will be shot! Whoever survives, tell about them! Take vengeance on our enemy for us!"

I remember after the war I read an article written by the famous writer Ilya Ehrenburg.[44] In the article he discussed the Jewish camp in Letichev. He said that little was known about the camp because few people survived. Ilya Ehrenburg told the story of this woman. He mentioned the name, but I have forgotten it. She was a teacher from the village of Yaryshev, near Mogilev Podolsky. When I read this article I realized that I, too, was a witness to this incident.

Mass Shooting: Yom Kippur, 1942: On Yom Kippur we didn't work. Somebody was on the roof and saw a long column of Jewish people. Where the Jews were from, we didn't know, but we knew were they were going. At evening

young Jews arrived in the camp. They said that in the column were Jewish people from the Letichev Ghetto, Medzhibozh Ghetto, and Novo Konstantinova Ghetto. In this column were nearly 4,000 Jewish people.[45]

THE MEDZHIBOZH GHETTO

by Moishe Einhorn[46]
Medzhibozh, Ukraine



Wartime Medzhibozh.
A sketch by A. Vainer.

Dear Friends and Relatives:

I have received letters form you and from other people. Our landsleit have approached me with the request that I should write about their relatives who were in the Medzhibozh ghetto. To express in words what we endured, is most difficult. In this letter I will relate only about some of the happenings which ware deeply embedded in my mind.

In the Medzhibozh Ghetto

On July 7, 1941 the Germans entered Medzhibozh and already on the first day they drove all the men out of the town to work. They were forced to dig the earth with their hands and to carry the sand with their undershirts. Three German guards were stationed nearby utilizing their whips. If they worked too slowly, there were shouts: "Jew, faster!" if they were too fast, the cries were: "Jew

slower." If they carried a lot, they shouted: "Too much." If less was carried, there were shouts: "Why so little?" Each remark was accompanied by the slashing of the whips on their bodies.

A deranged person (Yosske, son of Chaim Ber) was seated in a mud hole and photographed holding two stones aloft. They also took the oldest men of the city (among them, my father Shloime Tepper - Einhorn, Meyer Gurtenberg, Pinkhas the honey vendor, Bunia Mottel, son of Avrum Beresh, Yitskhak Shoykhet, and others), forced them to lie with their faces in the mud, and on their old backs serving as a bridge, a German officer walked across them. When these unfortunate ones lifted themselves from the slime with their muddied white beards and soiled faces, there were forced to sing, grovel in the grass and then dance, while being photographed. Before returning home, their white beards were chopped off with knives. This was our first day of becoming acquainted with the Germans.

After a few days the Gestapo arrived.[47] They beat us so mercilessly that the people of the town fled to the fields and hid in the brush. The Ukrainians were not permitted to speak to the Jews. Robbing and beating Jews was considered legally permissible. Jews were not seen in the streets. All day they were in the fields hiding in the brush and at night in the houses. Fear dominated the town.

Soon a command was issued to confiscate all Jewish property including homes and animals. The people of the town were driven into one of the worst streets – the bath street — with 15-20 people squeezed into each room. During the move, plunder was rampant in the streets. Furthermore, the Gestapo allowed very few hours for the transfer to be completed. What could the frightened people take with themselves? All that remained in the houses were lost.

My family — father, mother, aunt, sister Rachel with her husband and child, my Uncle Leizer's daughter Tova, with her husband and two children, my uncle's son Simcha with his wife and six children, my Uncle Leizer and his boy Yoisef and my wife and I — 21 people were confined in one room. At first, they allowed shopping once weekly for two hours on Sundays, for the purchase of life-sustaining necessities. However, the permission was granted for 2:00 pm when nobody was left in the market. People returned to the ghetto with empty shopping bags.

Very soon a command was issued to enclose the ghetto with barbed wire and it was strictly forbidden to leave. When Meyer Purem came close to the fence, he was caught by a security officer and brought to the police station. He was beaten mercilessly and compelled to drink a half a liter from the toilet. This punishment — drinking half a liter from the toilet — was experienced by many people in the ghetto.

Every day the whole town had to go to work cleaning the snow from the highways. Most of the Jews were barefoot and almost naked. While being dragged to work, beatings were rampant. Despite the frigid winter, no room in the ghetto was heated. Beginning with the wintry dawn, the screams of the tormented Jews were already audible. In the spring, with slush everywhere, Jews were harnessed to wagons and had to drag them throughout the city.

On April 14, 1942, two hundred twenty men were taken from the town and sent to the front with horses. Among those sent were Fonye Ashkenazi, The Rabbi Abrum Shoykhet, Itzik Shoykhet, Avrum Shteyn, Simkha Bronshteyn with a boy and others. What was left of Jewish property was devoured by contributions, taxes, many deceptions, bribes and robbery. The regime became stricter and stricter. For a family of six to eight people, they started allocating only 100 grams of bread per day. People swollen from hunger began to appear in the twon, resulting in an epidemic of famine fever. The first to die in the town was Sholom Nata Gervits. Only with great difficulties was he interred in the new cemetery.

In August 1942, the streams of pogroms against Jews were renewed. The unfortunate dwellers of the ghetto grasped the seriousness of their situation and for many long nights did not close their eyes. In the nocturnal darkness, fearful humans wandered about in the ghetto, anxiously listening for the slightest sound. If two people met, they conversed in hushed tones: "What's new?" "Is it quiet?" In their rooms, people slept in their clothes, althought there was nowhere to escape. they felt as in a cage enclosed with a barbed wire fence.

At about this time, there arrived a telegram through the Red Cross from America for Gersh Korshmar, who showed it to me. It had a Berlin stamp on it. The police demanded that he reply to the telgram indicating that he was very well. However, three days later Gersh Korshmar, his wife and daughter perished in a pogrom.

The Mass Killing

On Monday, September 21, before dawn on Yom Kippur morning, there arrived at the gate of the ghetto a freight van covered with tarpaulin containing fifty Gestapo men. That night, Froike Millis and I were assigned to wake the men for work. The Jews of the ghetto were very careful to avoid more serious problems and in order that word should not get out about the epidemic, which was rampant in the ghetto, everyone (even the sick and swollen ones) went to work every day. The people worked at a stone quarry and on the highways. In the pre-dawn darkness, we noticed the men and a vehicle. We approached the gate to greet the murderers. The reply we received was that we should remain where we were and not leave the gate. Before daylight it became darker, providing us with the opportunity to move away and get to our homes. The small children as well as the older persons were fast asleep, nobody expecting such a catastrophe that night. I entered the room and shouted at the top of my voice: "Save your lives! There is a pogrom!"

My feet buckled and I fainted. When I regained consciousness, we were in hiding, 48 humans squeezed into a shelter which we had prepared during the year we were in the ghetto.

The security officers opened the gate of the ghetto and the murderers caught the chairman of the Jewish administration, Moishe Viener. The compelled him to circulate among the Jewish homes to gather all the Jews in the ghetto. Moishe walked, screaming: "Jews! Recite Vidui and come to the slaughter!"

Near the home of Nachum the baker on Rakevulizia Street, Moishe Viener collapsed and died.

The German murderers and the security men drove all the people into the square. The sick and the little children were flung into the freight van just as stones are hurled. My little sister Rachel was among this group of ill and hungry ones. When all had fled into hiding, my father remained with his sick daughter, refusing to abandon her. During thirteen consecutive twenty-four hour days of her illness, he did not sleep. As per the command of the murderers, the Jews carried their sick ones, bundled in blankets, to the freight van. My father, bent and pale with a cane in hand followed.

Approximately one thousand men, women, older people and children were driven to the square where Yampolsky's tower and Khaim Berets's guest house meet. Eighty younger persons were selected for work while those remaining were forced to their knees and pressed to surrender all the gold, silver and jewelry they possessed. This procedure was directed by the chief of the Medzhibozh police. After being robbed, these people were driven to the Russanovitz Road in the Bug River valley and killed.

Yom Kippur was one of the beautiful autumn days. After the first group was taken for the slaying described above, the rest of the captives were taken to a barrack. In the town, other than the plight of the Jews, everything was normal. The Fascist departments were operating, fruit orchards produced their fruit on schedule. The situation, however, resembled a spectacle of dog catchers rounding up dogs. A Jew was worse than a dog. People were circulating in the streets. However, repeatedly, there passed through groups of captured unfortunate Jews with famished and frightened faces who had been caught in their hiding places. These doomed Jews were also thrust into the barrack.

In the shelter in which we found ourselves, there were 48 people, including my wife's whole family, my aunt and my sister Rachel's three year old little boy. As we were in the shelter, we were able to hear the repeated invasion of our home by other murderers. They'd enter, they'd search, they'd pilfer, they can't agree on the division of the spoils. Soon after, we heard the twelve o'clock chiming of the clock. At approximately 1:00 pm, when the other murderers had invaded our home, a baby in the shelter began crying. The murderers heard the crying of the baby and started shooting down the walls. We were forced to leave the shelter. The 48 human beings from our hiding place were driven through the street where the Ashkenazi little synagogue had been. All the houses on the block had been demonlished and only four remained: Khaim Ber Goldenberg's house, Moishe Ziner's home, the watchmaker Greenberg's home and the Leeser Inn. Several weeks before the pogrom they had razed the Ashkenazi synagogue and fragments of the Sefer Torah parchments had been blown by the wind into the ruins of the demolished houses. We were led to the lineup on groups of five. I carried my sister's son, the little orphan who that morning suffered the loss of his mother and grandfather.

They brought us to the barrack and led us into a large room. In the room was the clothing of those killed that morning. Each of us grieved as we found the

clothing of friends. Our hearts were bleeding. Additional Jews were continually being caught and imprisoned. If on one day the father of the family was brought, on the morrow the mother and the following day the children. There were also whole families together. There were 250 people in the barrack. We sat on the ground and cried without any hope to remain alive. Old people prayed and recited Vidui while children were running around playing.

In the barrack were Moishe Shapiro, Leonia of the Zitsers, David Huberman with his whole family, Meilikh Kats and his family, Yerebesky and his clan, and others. Among those captured later were Yisrael Shedler, the son of the scribe and son-in-law of Ratzia the blind one. Yisrael was caught together with his mother-in-law and son. The old Ratzia was almost totally blind and sick and could not walk. Yisrael's son, Yashe, had escaped from his German captives (from another ghetto) and reached Medzhibozh in the winter with frozen feet. He had previously been ill also with famine fever and recovered but could not walk. In the ghetto where Shedler resided there were limestone pits. The German murderers threw the boy and the mother-in-law into one of these pits and ordered Yisrael to shoot them. The boy, bewildered, asked his father: "Dad, what do they want to do with us?"

When Yisrael refused to shoot, they beat him up mercilessly. The murderers then killed the mother-in-law and the boy and brought Yisrael to the barrack. On the same day they caught Pinye Radorov. However, he slit his throat and was left lying in the ghetto.

On the following day, a company of Gestapo men arrived. Some of the S.S. officers came into the barrack, took a look at the unfortunate prisoners, asked where they had been the day before, and left at once.

My sister-in-law, Rose Huberman, had worked in the stone quarry loading stones. Simultaneously, she served as a German/Ukrainian translator. When an S.S. man had once ripped his parade pants, she repaired them so well it was almost impossible to detect that they had been torn. And this was the Gestapo captain who had now come into the fortress. When he saw her, he called her out immediately, together with the musician Leib's son Yosef, a virtuoso violinist, as well as Shmuel Yampolsky, Mottel Sigal and an eighteen year old girl. Those called out were lined up in the corridor. When Rose asked that he also take out some of her relatives, the pogromchik answered: "Only men able to work." The door of the barrack was opened and someone shouted: "Moishe Einhorn!" I raised myself from the ground. Near me sat my aunt, my wife and my sister's three year old son. I was very frightened. I could not take another look at them and walked out. The door was closed at once and I never saw them again.

We were led out to the eighty people who had been chosen for work while the unfortunate ones were led out to be killed. When the clatter of their moving was heard, our room was filled with bitter crying. The Gestapo men soon entered with clubs in their hands and began beating.

"Whoever wants to die, should go out immediately," they shouted. The first to run out was Roizman's seventeen year old daughter who threw off the scarf from her head and cried: "I want to die with my parents, my brothers and my sister."

Soon after her, Mottel Sigal and his daughter ran out: "We too don't want to leave our wife and children, sisters and brothers."

These were followed by another one. All were ready for death. After taking these four, the Gestapo men closed the door. The cries were horrible. The Gestapo men did not come in again. One of us chosen to be responsible, Froike Millis, came in and pleaded that we should stop as four more humans were taken because of us. He himself fell upon me, lost himself completely, and wailed louder than all.

When the captain of the Medzhibozh camp, Willy Kepke, a German from Berlin, came in to us, Rose Huberman dropped to his feet and pleaded with him to let her join her parents. However, he replied that she must still live. He himself took out a handkerchief from his pocket and wiped her eyes. We entered the large room and kissed the ground on which our loved ones had just sat. The sun was now shining on the site where but a few minutes before there had sat healthy, dear, innocent people, who were now being driven to their death.

At night, newly captured Jews were often brought, many of them mercilessly beaten. It was difficult to recognize their faces. Among those brought in were Perl Kogan with two children — a twelve year old girl and a five year old boy. The girl's hand had been wounded from a bullet with mangled her elbow during the capture. The child was rolling on the ground wailing, while the mother was standing bewildered. In the meantime they brought Khatskel Goldenberg's wife, whose face had been cut up with knives and Yisrael Shedler's wife. Throughout the night the wailing and screaming of the women continued. Adelya Kitser and many others became insane. Young women tore the hair out of their heads. We just lay on the bare ground — nobody falling asleep that night, but quietly weeping from time to time.

At dawn, they gathered and led us to work in the stone quarry. We carried stones for a whole day without being given any food. When we returned to the barrack after work, nobody cried. We were envious of the dead.

Throughout the whole night: additional captives, more screams and wailing. When we returned from work that second day, there was a deadly silence. None of the captives were left alive to work. All had been shot.

On the third day, at midnight, they brought my uncle Leyzer Bronshteyn together with his children, his son-in-law and grandchildren, as well as Yisrael Shedler's sixteen year old daughter. I was together with them for the whole night. Before dawn, when I had to go to work, I bade farewell to my last friends of Medzhibozh. It is difficult to describe with words such a parting. From my daily ration of bread — 200 grams — I gave each one a bite, took one bite myself and departed for work. When I returned at night I found none of them.

The pogrom lasted three weeks. The last Jews who were captured were left to liquidate the ghetto, to collect what remained of Jewish possessions. (Bedding and other items were transported to Germany in automobiles.) We were carted away to the Fascist camp in Letichev.



Mass grave in Proskurov.
It is estimated that over 7,000 Jews were killed in this grave. This it is about the same size as the one in Letichev. Courtesy of the U.S. Holocaust Museum.

The Camp at Letichev

The camp was in the Letichev barrack. They led us to the gate, counted us and gave each a number. My number was 5005. No person was called by name. The names were exchanged for camp numbers. They took us into a room on the lowest floor where the window panes were missing and the walls blackened from smoke. As there was nothing in the room, we slept on the cement floor. There were forty of us who, not having enough room to stretch out for sleeping, were forced into a arrangement where the heads of those in the second row were placed on the knees of those in the first row. Every night we were given 200 grams of bread each, as our ration for the next day. Around midnight there was a bang on the door: "Out to work!" This was not repeated. The frightened people ran in a frenzy at the first signal, lest they be among the last who were always beaten.

From three to five am. we stood in line, many almost naked and barefoot. The pants were torn up to the knees and the sleeves of the shirts up to the elbows. Most were barefoot, without caps, with unkempt overgrown beards and with black, muddied feet. Outside it was beginning to get cold. We were working on the major highway leading to Vinnitsa. All day long, with hammers in our hands, we smashed stones. The guards, Gestapo men, walked about with truncheons, beating people ruthlessly. All along the highway one heard only the barking of the Gestapo: "Jewish gang: work!" Throughout the day and also under the glow of the moon we continued toiling. The fear was so crushing we forgot our hunger. But at the signal to stop working we couldn't even lift ourselves. Our eyes were glassy and we still had to walk eight, ten or twelve kilometers from the worksite to the camp. Every day the road back was strewn with people who couldn't make it to the camp and died on the way.

Upon returning to the camp, we received 200 grams of bread and soup from a dead horse, and if there was no carcass we received only the bread. When there was soup, it was available only to those who had a chip from a broken china pot or a tin can from preserves. Whithin the confines of the camp there was a very deep well. A half-liter tin can from preserves was tied to the rope of the well and the exhausted people had to stand in line for hours for water. Those who were ill and remained in the camp were shot the same day. Hence, many captives who were sick with as high as a 40ÞC temperature, ran to join those leaving for work. I knew a student of the Odessa conservatory who became ill in the camp. As long as she retained her sanity, we dragged her with us to work. When we returned on the day we left her, we no longer found her. There were innumerable such cases. In addition, since the camp was designed for one thousand captives, those added after the pogroms increased this number, and the weaker ones were shot.

A large proportion of those in the camp were from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and from the towns and villages of the former Podolia Province. During the time I was in the camp, we had one day of rest. The day before this rest day, some Ukrainian peasant women threw us some food. I succeeded in catching two potatoes and my sister-in-law Rose Huberman, two little apples. Upon returning to

the camp, our neighbor, Shmuel Yampolsky, fainted and his eyes became cloudy. Rose then asked: "Yampolsky, what's with you? Do you recognize me?" "Yes, David Huberman's daughter, Rose," he replied. "You're hungry, Yampolsky, aren't you? Here is an apple."

As he didn't have the strength to hold the apple in his hand, Rose put it to his teeth. He crushed the apple with his teeth and expired. On this rest day, those of us from Medzhibozh dug a grave in the barrack and buried him. Also on the same day, a girl from Medzhibozh died. Thus we spent our rest day burying the dead.

Dense clouds begain descending, often accompanied by rains. In the mornings it was already slightly frosty. Through the shattered windowpanes the wind was whistling. On the cement floor where we slept for four hours out of each twenty-four, we had no bedding on which to lie or with which to cover ourselves. We had to keep each other warm. Vermin, flies, lice in the millions, came pouring from the ceiling, leaving our skins torn. With our filthy and wet clothes sticking to our bodies our unheated room was enveloped in fog.

During one of these nights, my neighbor Moishe Itzye Brill turned to me: "Einhorn, are you asleep? No? Perhaps we have already died and must pay the penalty for our grievous sins? Can Gehenna[48] be so dreadful?"

There was a bang on the door as it was time to go out to work. It was frosty outside but I was barefoot, without a cap and half-naked, my teeth barely able to chatter. To my great misfortune, as a result of the cold, the tractor from Gambrok's factory had broken down. In Letichev there were two companies which boasted that whatever they produced was of superlative quality: the Messer Company and the Gambrok Company.

Forty men from the camp, including me, were brought to Gambrok, a tall, healthy German dressed in warm winter clothing. They forced us to haul the tractor down the hill. Gambrok, himself, stood with a long stick beating us as oxen are beaten. The men who were hauling the tractor kept on slipping on the frozen ice with their bare feet. I fell twice and was rewarded with two whacks from Gambrok. That day, I decided to extricate myself from the camp — either alive or dead.

The cold weather was followed by a combination of rain and snow. The route through which we were driven from the Gambrok factory to work left us with particular memories. Here was a nake woman, wearing only a blouse, standing with rain and snow enveloping her. The Gestapo were not satisfied with her work. There lay a man with a bloodied cracked skull, a woman at his side wrapping his head with a rag. His work too, was not satisfactory to the Gestapo man who smashed the Jew's head with the hammer he used to chisel the stones. At that moment, when we were on the highway from Letichev to Diakovitz, with forests on both sides I ran out of the lineup. Bullets were flying all around my head, but I kept running into the forest between the trees. Exactly what happened with me, I don't remember. When I opened my eyes the sun was about to set. Then I recalled the morning's snow and rain and my escape from the lineup. At daylight, I set out on the road which brought me back to Letichev, to the barrack which contained the "free" ghetto of Jewish specialists. I entered the barrack.

The most skilled Jewish craftsmen: tailors, watchmakers, shoemakers, carpenters, welders, etc. were employed by the regional governor. Before the pogroms they were brought to Letichev from all the towns and villages of Podolia. A specialist had the right to bring his family with him. In the "free" ghetto I went to an acquaintance, Shaiya Garber, where I was hidden. From among the Jews they obtained for me a pair of pants, a shirt, a cap and also two pieces of bread. The following day I left for Medzhibozh.

Back to Medzhibozh

Considerable anxiety and fear was my lot that day, but by about midnight I reached the barbed wire fence of the Medzhibozh ghetto. After the pogrom, the ghetto was in ruins. Those remaining in the ghetto went about collecting clothing, bedding, brass pots and other items. The ghetto was encircled by security guards who watched the few people left, but the mode of life there was less precarious than in the Letichev camp.

I crept through the barbed wire of the ghetto only about thirty meters from where a guard was standing. It seemed to me that he was hearing the pounding of my heart. I was so frightened I entered the first house near the wire, through a broken window. It was the home where Michael Zingesser once resided and still contained some of the furniture. On the floor were strewn fragments of broken mirrors, dishes and other things, like after the pogrom. After I calmed down, I began to contemplate how in this room were once celebrated weddings, Jewish holidays, joyous occasions. From the adjoining room I heard the coughing of someone ill. I entered the room and was Shimon Gervits, his wife and sisters, his brother-in-law Froim Kupershlok from Volochisk with a fifteen year old girl and Itzye Ber Gervitz's thirteen year old son. I told them about the camp and pleaded, cried for them to give me some poison. Shimon Gervits once had a pharmacy. They refused. (Subsequently, however, they themselves took poison at the last moment when the last Jews were taken to be killed on November 2, 1942.)

In Medzhibozh I learned that in Proskurov some Jews were still living in the ghetto. I could not remain in the Medzhibozh ghetto because the police knew each of the few Jews who had been left ot liquidate it. That day I was hidden. At night the Jews put together two morsels of bread and I left the ghetto.

If creeping in was difficult, creeping out was horrible. I kept on praying, reciting Shma Yisrael, until I saw the open fields. I went through valleys and swamps and happened upon a valley not far from the Bug River at the Rossanovitz road where those killed were buried. In the dark night I sat near the undried earth of the grave. I bade farewell to my parents, relatives and friends, with whom I shared so many hard times. Then I headed through the forests to Proskurov.

The Proskurov Ghetto

It took me eight days to cover the 35 kilometers. During the day and night Hungarian patrols were roaming the forests. They were used by the Germans, in

the hinterlands, to battle the partisans. I had good weather the entire time except for the final night before Proskurov, when it rained. I kept on slipping in the mud until I finally saw the ghetto of Proskurov.

After creeping through the barbed wire, I knocked on the door of the first house and said very quietly: "Jews, please open. I am from Medzhibozh and suffered through the pogrom. Let me in to warm up." There followed a hubbub in the house. "Who is knocking?" several voices asked. I repeated my previous plea. For a while there was some discussion inside. "What do you say, Reb Noiach?" "I feel we should let him in." But a woman began ranting: "If you let him in, I will start screaming."

The people were very frightened because of the ruling that if they permit the entry of an alien Jew, all the occupants of the house will be expatriated to the camp. And tens of families had been crowded in every house.

After the rain it became extremely cold. Drenched from the downpour, I stood near the wall of the house waiting for the morning.

Just then, the window of the neighboring house was opened, I approached and conducted a conversation with a young man. He told me that in his house there were several sick people suffering from famine fever. The epidemic did not spare the Proskurov ghetto. He suggested I come into his room. However, at daylight he awakened me, saying: "Please leave. The Gestapo are already in the ghetto."

I ran to join the lineup for going out to work. A woman standing next to me asked why I wasn't wearing the Jewish symbols which all Jews were required to wear: one on the heart and the other on the shoulder. These were Mogen Davids (stars of David), eight centimeters in diameter, sewn in black on a yellow background.

In the Proskurov ghetto it was the same as in Medzhibozh. In each home there were 15-20 people to a room, many ill with famine fever, yet all went to work. However, each in the ghetto received 200 grams of bread daily. The specialists lived in the "free" ghetto but also had to wear the Jewish symbols. As soon as we passed through the gate of the ghetto, I separated myself from the lineup and went into the "free" ghetto, where I met a former Mezhibozh tailor, Elya Millis. Elya was a skilled artisan — a military tailor. The most senior officials would come to him to sew their officer uniforms. The day I was with him he was approached by a Romanian railroad official. Millis told me that the occupied area of the Dniester region, from Odessa to Zhmerinka, was under the control of the Romanians. This county was now called Transnistria.[49] Jews lived there in freedom and were not molested. This was confirmed by others who came to him.

Some natives of Medzhibozh who resided in Proskurov heard about me and came to hear about their loved ones. The Medzhibozh Jews gave me a change of clothing so I shouldn't look like the Jews and also obtained for me various currencies. Pessya, Cantor Baruch's daughter, gave me food for the journey. In the evening, two women came from Yarmolintsy, which isn't far from Proskurov and told about the killings in Yarmolintsy that day. It was only a miracle that they were saved. Elya suggested that I remain in Proskurov. However, I explained my conviction that it is imperative to flee from Proskurov as soon as possible and

recommended he join me in escaping. But not all were able to run. There were the ill, the children, old folk and outside it was snowing.

My plan was to return to Letichev, for if I was to save my life then my sister-in-law, too, who was suffocating in the camp, must also be rescued. I finally arrived in Letichev after great difficulties and dangers. Through the Jews of the "free" ghetto, word about me was conveyed to her. I told the Jews of the camp and the "free" ghetto about Transnistria. Not everyone was able to run and escaping did not yet assure that one's life was saved. Winter was in absolute control. Many wished to flee from the camp but it was not possible. Some who did try were caught and were killed with a horrible death.

A woman from Medzhibozh, Khaike Kendiches, ran out of the lineup while being led from the camp to work and was killed with the first shot. In the confusion which followed, Rose Huberman ran out of the lineup and, thanks to the fog, succeeded in getting to the "free" ghetto.

Taking our lives into our hands, we went out of the ghetto before dawn and walked forty kilometers while the snow was coming down. We spent the night under the viewless sky. On the following day it was impossible to proceed. With great effort, though, we managed to get to a field with bales of straw. I began to glean straw from the bales to make a den in which to hide, while Rose lay down on another bale of straw and was soon asleep. When the den was ready, I found Rose completely covered with snow. We entered the den and enveloped it with straw which was very soon covered with snow.

The wind was roaring awesomely as the storm became increasingly violent. Suddenly, we heard the approach of a sled which stopped near our den. We lay in fright and listened for every sound. We were too well acquainted with the ruling that a reward of two kilow of salt would be given to anyone who brings in a Jew, dead, alive, or even just his ears. Fortunately, the wind was so violent that these straw collectors couldn't gather the straw from our area and had to move on to another place.

On the second and again on the third day there were were straw collectors, but on the fourth day we left the area. We walked in the deep snow and had to pass through a little street in the village of Olizentz. Looking at us, the people wept. An old lady invited us into her home and others from the street brought us food. Here they had already forgotten about the Jews as two months had by now passed since the last pogrom of the Jews. We couldn't spend the night in the village due to Hitler's order of the severest punishment — hanging — for anyone who permitted a Jew to enter his home. However, the people of the village showed us how to reach the border.

After leaving the village, we walked for several kilometers but could not continue as the wind was ferocious. In a field of straw we began to prepare a den but the straw was tightly pressed together, leaving our hands bloodied. We barely managed to get ourselves into the den but our feet were in the snow.

Thus we had to endure in the fields for a month and a half, often hungering for three consecutive days without seeing bread. We had to lie for five days in the last den. On the sixth morning I went out of the den to shake out the straw from

my shirt, which made me very uncomfortable. The snow was extremely deep; the roads completely covered and the telegraph poles uprooted. It was strictly prohibited to go from one village to another. I noticed a sled approaching from a distance. As it came closer I wanted to creep back into the den but it was too late. On the sled sat a man on whose sleeve was imprinted "Guard number 56", together with two Ukrainian women. The guard stopped and sked me for my documents. When I told him the truth, indicating that I was a Jew, he needed no more and began looking for a rope to tie me up. the Ukrainian women began pleading with him:

"Let him go. See how wretched he appears. Besides, the horses are up to their bellies in snow. Where will you take him?"

The guard thought for a moment and then told me to thank the women who pleaded my case. When I asked how we might extricate ourselves, the women replied that to be saved was impossible.

When the sled departed, Rose, who had heard the conversation from the den, came out, her face was as white as the snow. For a few minutes we just stood there. We realized it made no sense to proceed on the road as we had planned, because after the guard made his report, we would surely be sought. Rose, at first, suggested we return to the camp. However, she finally agreed that since death was certain there we should proceed.

It was approximately ten kilometers to Bar. We followed the road to a valley in which there was a forest. In the distance we could see a farmhouse and heard the echo of what seemed to be someone hammering. We stopped on the road and began to ponder wheter it might be more prudent to hide in the forest for the day. We proceeded, however, I was in front and Rose was behind. Suddenly, we saw a man dressed like a Russian soldier. I approached and addressed him:

"As far as I am concerned you are G-d. I am a Jew who escaped from the Fascist camp. In my whole life I never harmed anyone. How can we be saved?"

"And who is the woman?"

"She is my sister-in-law who fled the camp with me."

The soldier, who was a Russian partisan, led us into the last room of the farmhouse. As the room was still not finished, nobody was living there yet. He brought us food and urged us to relax and make ourselves comfortable. After several days, when we were already able to stand on our feet, they took us over the German-Romanian border to Transnistria.

On Romanian territory the Romanian Jews were of great help to us, but there were often raids by Germans who were searching for escapees from the German side. Those caught were transported over the border and killed.

Thirty-six Jews from Bar, including Dr. Feinstein, were captured that winter. The unfortunate ones, dressed only in their shirts, were forced to run, shouting: "Hurray for Lenin." They were led across the border and killed. I, personally, witnessed this scene.

Dr. Teich,[50] the chairman of the Shargoroder Jewish Community Council, announced during Yom Kippur 1943, that there was an order to transport the Jews of Transnistria to Lublin. None of us understood what this Lublin business

was all about. However, thanks to our rescuers, as the Germans suffered an inglorious defeat,[51] they forgot about the Jews.

Early morning one spring day, Shargorod was raked with gunfire. Twenty-eight of us, hapless and isolated from our families, were gathered in the room of a poor peasant in the outskirts of Shargorod. In the city the Jews were hidden in cellars and shelters. When the shooting ceased, I went down to the bridge which the Germans had set on fire. On the way I met Jews who were hastening to pass on the good news about the liberation. Dressed in their holiday clothes, the Jews gathered at the burnt wooden bridge and waited. A regiment of the Red Army soon arrived and a lieutenant addressed us:

"Dear Comrades: Please pardon our late arrival. However, we have now rescued you even before the final victory of the Red Army."

I returned to the people in the last house of Shargorod to share the tidings of the liberation. None of us were happy. With bitter tears and unrestrained sobbing, we remembered our innocently butchered parents, sisters, brothers, wives and children.

My letter is the testimony of a living witness from the Medzhibozh ghetto and the Letichev camp.

ESCAPE FROM MEDZHIBOZH

by Hershel Polianker[52]

On a cold, rainy night, a large number of German executioners, with frightening dogs encircled the ghetto and began to chase the people out of town, to an out of the way place, to three deep pits not far from the field which borders the Jewish *kolkhoz* (outside of Medzhibozh). The Germans told the people that they were going to take them to another village where they will live and work, Medzhibozh being very tightly-packed for them. The worn out, hungry, full- of-worries old people, young women with babies in their arms, and scores of sickly people were chased out with guns, sticks, and dogs.

Are they going to murder a few thousand unlucky, innocent people? Why? For what type of sin? No, no one even thought of that as a possibility. They thought so because they are people, not animals.

The Germans commanded the mass of people to stop at the deep pits, near the forest, which was not far from the Bug, and to undress... Finished with the people, the wild beasts returned to town--to rob and destroy the houses so that no memory of Medzhibozh should remain. The Germans even knocked over the tombstones in the old cemetery and took the stones in order to pave the dirt road. Only by a miracle, two modest gravestones managed to remain--the Baal Shem Tov's and Hershel Ostropoler's and right besides them--a few others which were already sunken in the ground for a long time, overgrown with grass.

...Next to me [after the war, at a Medzhibozh memorial service] -- a short, buxom woman with large bright, good eyes, with gray hair. Braine Zatz...the only survivor of that horrible execution...by means of a miracle. Braindele was then thirteen years old. She stood deathly afraid, hugged by her mother on the edge of the pit. The night was dark, rainy. Everyone was commanded to undress. Her mother shouted, "Run, save yourself !" and gave her a strong shove in the direction of the river. Braindele doesn't remember from where she got the energy. Her feet led her somewhere. Although she couldn't swim, but using her last bit of strength, she swam across the river, and then ran towards Stavnitsa, a nearby village. Before dawn, she arrived, half dead, in the first hut, where the *kolkhoz* worker Irina Radietskaya lived. This warm woman took care of Braindele, filled her up with warm milk, and then wrapped her up in old rags and hid her so the executioners shouldn't find her. She remains a living witness--the only one of the 3,000 who were tortured, cut down, murdered.

by Bronya Khalfin[53]

I was born in Medzhibozh in 1928. The ghetto was formed in 1941. I remember that the police took a beautiful 16 year old Jewish girl named Genya (last name not known), raped her, and then shot her.

A few Jews of Medzhibozh told the Germans that they were Ukrainians; when the Germans wanted laborers, these few Jews joined with (real) Ukrainians, and went to work in mines in Germany (thereby avoiding the tragedy of the Medzhibozh ghetto).

The ghetto was enclosed by high fences, with barbed wire. Many people were taken away and killed--the Rabbi, old men, soldiers, etc. Those who worked in the quarry had to suffer not only the 14 kilometer walk there and back, but also the terrible beatings. The Jews were mocked; they were forced to sing the same song --" My Country, my Moskva".



Bronya Zats Khalfin.

Many people died of hunger. During the early days of the ghetto, burials were permitted in the cemetery. Later , burials required permission. Obtaining this permission required money. So many people died later that they were buried in a yard.

The Germans surrounded the ghetto on the night of September 21 / morning of September 22...I escaped....a woman hid me, but her neighbors betrayed me; I ran to Letichev...there I tried to hide with a boy, but we were betrayed. The boy was murdered...

* * * * *

Bronya was eventually hidden by the blacksmith of Stara Sinyava. He helped her to conceal her Jewish identity. After the war he helped her to marry former front-line soldier Iosif Srulevich Khalfin.

by Khayka Burshteyn Malkiman[54]

There were almost no Jewish people left in Medzhibozh after the war. One Jewish man survived by a miracle, who escaped from the ghetto. His name is Yaingorin. And, also one woman, who got out from under the bodies of murdered people during the shooting spree.

MEMORY ABOUT MY LIFE — THE LETICHEV GHETTO

by Boris Levin[55]
Khmelnitsky, Ukraine

I was born on April 22, 1928 in the small village of Snitovka, near Letichev. Born in a peasant family, I had four brothers and one sister. We lived in harmony, loved labor, had a large household, studied in school and in the summer we worked in the collective farm where my father was employed. My mother was a housewife because she was often sick. In childhood, I mastered and grew fond of all kinds of agricultural jobs and this love remained with me all my life.

In 1941 I finished seventh grade. My oldest brother, Yakov, finished tenth grade, my brother Joseph finished fifth grade, my brother Ruvin finished the third grade, and my sister Sophia studied at Lvov University. In 1941 when the German fascists attacked the U.S.S.R., our family did not evacuate because we waited for Sophia to come from Lvov. Therefore, in July the Germans relocated our family from Snitovka to the Letichev ghetto. It is very difficult to tell about our torment and mockery that we faced in the ghetto from the German fascists and Ukrainian police. All able-bodied workers had to work in the sand quarry of Rusanovka, or work on the Letichev-Vinnitsa road, or repair houses for the German officers. I worked in the quarry, my sister worked on the road, and my father and brother Joseph worked on houses for the Germans. My father was a



Boris Levin.

good carpenter and glazier. We worked from early morning to late at night. Our daily food consisted of light soup and a bit of bread. When we returned each night to the ghetto tired, hungry, overheated or freezing the SS and the Ukrainian police would mock us and torment us.They took away the small pieces of bread and some food that we obtained from the Ukrainian townspeople, they beat us and made us wear yellow circles the word "Jew" on a Mogen Dovid on the front and back of our clothes. If you didn't wear the yellow circles outside the ghetto, German soldiers or Ukrainian policemen could shoot you on the spot. They tormented us with their dogs. Often for amusement, these deviant monsters would throw bread, potatoes and other food at the barbed wire fences. When people would run for the food, the soldiers or policeman would turn the dogs loose on the people. Any Jew who couldn't stand the suffering, or were feeble and sick, the fascists killed under different pretexts. Every morning near the gate, corpses were stacked in a heap. Later the corpses were taken away to Zaletichevka.



Boris Levin's family, ca. 1935.
Boris is seated in his father's lap. The entire family, except for Boris, perished in Letichev. Courtesy of Boris Levin.

I worked over one year in this penal servitude and I often thought about escape. One rainy day in the quarry, we crushed the jailer with some stones and ran away. Forty people worked in the quarry. I, along with 6 other boys, took a cart with some horses and ran (using country trails) to the forests near Verbka. There we abandoned the cart and ran into the forest looking to join the partisans. We had heard rumors that partisans occupied these forests. We did not find the partisans, and after the third day German soldiers found us. In the same forest, they ordered us to lie face-down in a small ravine and they shot us. I survived. Later I found out that among the German soldiers was an anti-fascist who didn't shoot me. The Germans later killed him. When the soldiers left, I got up and looked for the partisans. I met some people but they took me to the Commandant at Letichev. In the Commandant's office they beat me and after that they put me in the Jewish camp. I survived but I did not have the strength to try to escape again.

Around this camp was a high stone fence. The camp had the same rules as the ghetto, but the fascist soldiers were more cruel. They hanged people high above the camp. One time, the fascists hanged my sister Sonia, because the suspected her of associating with the partisans.

In the camp, I met my cousins Grisha and Rakhil Zelniker (brother and sister) from Medzhibozh. I met with boys from Stara Sinyava, Derazhnia, Volkovintsy, Gorodka, and refugees from other towns and villages from the Kamenets-Podolsky region. I remember Mikle Kleinera, Srulya Fainberg, Ritu Fishboim,

Moishe Zocender, Boris Shuster, brothers Joseph and Pinya Barenboim. These people were all taken to the Letichev camp after the mass killings of Jews in 1942 in towns and villages throughout the Kamenets-Podolsky region. The fascist leadership moved many young men to the Letichev camp before they shot them.

I was in the Letichev camp on January 30, 1943. On that date, the fascists ordered us to take our belongings and to form a column to move to another camp, but they turned south toward Zaletichevka, instead. Ahead of us was another column with a convoy of Germans and Ukrainian police. We came to the place where the fascists killed the Jewish people before.[56] Smaller groups of us were ordered to come near the wide part of the ravine and undress. The fascists would then shoot us with a machine gun. The scene was unforgettable: Swearing Germans soldiers and Ukrainian policemen; sobbing and praying Jews. Somebody cried: "People, escape!" Along with many Jewish people, I ran from the gunfire into the forest. As I ran, I fell several times. I don't remember what happened next (because I became unconscious). When I came to, it was late at night and I lay in a ravine. I had a headache, and I had pain in my leg and spine. When I realized I was still alive, I crawled out to the road. Then I walked back to Letichev. I don't remember how long it took, but I came to the Letavsky house at the outskirts of Letichev. Nowadays, Boris Letavsky lives there, but in 1943 his mother and his sister Vera lived there. The Letavskys were friends of my family. They took me into their house, since I was nearly unconscious. I was beaten: I had a cracked skull, my left leg was broken, and I had a twisted spine. The Letavskys hid me and nursed me back to health for about a month. Later, they moved me to Zhmerinka.

Here, the Romanians occupied the area. I only stayed in Zhmerinka for a few days because the Jewish people were segregated into a ghetto, and out of fear I was determined not to stay there. From Zhmerinka, I moved to Odessa. I was very cold, and some people who cared for ophans took me in. In Odessa, I met Mariya Moroz who led me to the village of Kamennoye, in the vicinity of Odessa. There she lived with her three daughters. I lived with her family for a few months. Some people (later I found out that they worked in the underground) forged some papers for me and gave me a new name — Boris Sevastyonov. The underground people gave me a job: I worked as a herdsman and later I worked as a horseman. I drove the horses to the mill, taking some grain with me. The mill ground it to flour, then I took the flour to the quarry and gave it to some people there. I found out that the people were partisans from the underground organization "Brevestnik" (Stormy Patrol). Later on, I would take some food into the forests for the partisans.

I did this job for about one year, but I got an order from the underground organization to leave Mariya Moroz's house and settle with Domna Tretyak. She was very rich, but she cried alot for her son who was in the Soviet army. I was a farm laborer for Domna Tretyak. I no longer took food to the partisans because some townspeople became suspicious and threatened to tell the Romanian officer in the town. Domna Tretyak lived with a very old man and his sick daughter Mariya. The old man taught me his religion. I learned "Psalter" (psalm book),

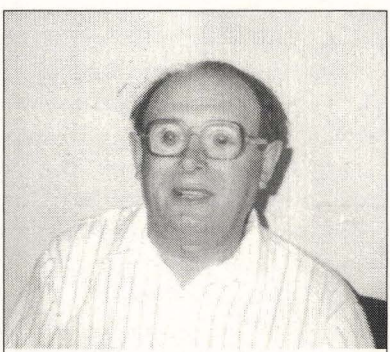
prayers, and became a member of the Orthodox Church. I continued to work for Domna Tretyak as a herdsman.

In 1944, the village of Kamennoye was liberated by the Soviet army. I served in a self-defense detachment in Kamennoye. We guarded the village and participated in patrols that searched for pockets of Germans and their sympathizers in the forests near the town.

HARD LABOR IN THE LETICHEV CAMP

by Moyshe Rekhtman[57]
Brooklyn, New York

The village of Kalus, district of Khmelnisky, where I was born in 1927 and lived with my parents, was on the Dniester River. It was taken over by Germans during the first month of the war. All the Jews were gathered and taken to a ghetto. Those families whose houses were outside the ghetto boundaries, were taken out of their homes and forced to move into the ghetto. My family, which included my mother and father, my younger brother and sister and me, were also thrown out of our house and into the ghetto. Everyone who was capable of work, women and teenagers, were taken to work. They cut forests, built a bridge over the Kalus River and also built a new road into the district center Novaya Ushitsa. All work was done under the watch of the Germans. Also, we were watched by masters and policemen, who were our own Ukrainians. They were very cruel to us. In the beginning of July 1942, part of the work-capable ghetto dwellers -- 100 people including me -- were taken into the district center Novaya Ushitsa. From there, together with other Jews from the villages of the district (500 people in all) were taken by trucks into the city of Letichev, district of Khmelnitsky. There, was formed a camp on the premises of an old church and monastery. It was surrounded by two rows of fences.[58] The German officer in charge of the camp -- the commandant -- was a man about 25-28 years old. The guards were Lithuanians.



Moyshe Rekhtman.

Already, there were about 1500-2000 Jews in the camp when we arrived. We were all lined up in the yard by 3 and the commandant announced that from now on we will be working on the building of a new road into Vinnitsa. We will be given 200 grams of gread and a bowl of soup after work. If someone tries to run, they will be hanged in the camp yard. Each was given a number on a square piece

of cardboard. We were given places, every inmate had its place in the camp yard. Every inmate had to know his place, where he had to sleep on the stone floor, covered with a little bit of hay. On the camp premises there was only one well and a few metal barrels filled with water. In these barrels we were supposed to wash, drink and bathe ourselves. In order to wash or get some water, one had to wait in a gigantic line. We got up at 6 o'clock, in 15-20 minutes we had to be at our assigned places. The commandant used to come with the guard and check each inmate. We were beaten with sticks and rubber whips. Then we were given to our masters who took us to our work sites. We worked very hard and were beaten for every little misdemeanor. If the guard did not like how someone worked, he took away the inmate's number. That meant that when the inmate returned from work, he got 25 whips. Also, his dinner was taken away.

At the end of August 1942, a new load of Jews arrived. Some of them I knew because they were also from my village. One of them was my father's brother, Jacob Rekhtman. They told me that on August 20, 1942 all the Jews from my village ghetto were killed. In the same day the ghetto of Novaya Ushitsa was also destroyed. Those who were capable of work were taken to Letichev. That's when I found out that my family, my parents, sister and brother, my grandparents and 34 other relatives were killed.

At this time there began an epidemic of dysentery and typhus and other similar contageous diseases. Because of insufficient nourishment, people were not capable of working anymore. There was no medical help of any kind. Those incapable of work were put into a separate isolated section where they didn't get any food. Soon, they brought in machines which were designed to kill people with gas. They filled those machines with half-alive inmates and took them to the forest. They threw them into graves and filled them with dirt.

Because of very little food and terribly hard work, I began to loose my sight. The only help I had came from my uncle who helped me the best he could. Without him, I would not have made it.

Once I tried to skip work. That day, the gas machines came. I ran to the kitchen and was hidden by kitchen workers. Another time I hid with a few other prisoners in one of the basements, about which the Germans didn't know. After that I started thinking about escape. They weren't watching us as much. The work was almost over, and I knew that soon the whole camp would be liquidated. I, my uncle, and two other prisoners decided to run when the time was right.

On November 25, 1942 we were returning from work in the dark and were able to run away. We were walking for 3 days, mostly at night. We got to a village called Luchinets, district of Vinnitsa. There was also a ghetto there, but the Jews were not yet killed because they were guarded by Romanians. In May 1943 I was taken from that ghetto to another camp to work called Tulchin, in the district of Vinnitsa. I was there for 3 months and again I escaped to Luchinets. I did not go to the ghetto again, but hid in a Ukrainian family's house. Their last name was Kulchitsky. There I stayed until the end of the occupation, until March 1944. At the end of April 1944, I returned back to my village. I was hoping to find someone left alive. All I found was on grave where 850 Jewish women, old people,

and children were buried. All Jewish homes were destroyed. Instead of houses were gardens. The village of Kalus did not exist anymore.

From 1945 I have lived in Chernovtsy, Ukraine until I came to America on March 29, 1985. During the years of occupation, I lost my sight. Now I am almost blind and incapable of work.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE LETICHEV GHETTO

by Vladimir Goykher[59]
Brooklyn, New York

I would like to tell of one's sorrow. This short story is about the life of the Jewish people in Letichev and my life during 1941-45. It is a small part of life for the Jews of our generation. The future generations of Jews must remember.

I dedicate this story to the 50th anniversary of the catastrophe of the Jews of the Letichev ghetto. Except for me, no one can tell this story. I was in Letichev at the beginning of the Nazi occupation and after the first mass killing in 1942. This will always remain in my memory.

Honor the dead by helping the living.

Childhood Memories, My Family

My grandfather, Efroim Leibovich Nudelman, and my grandmother Dvoira Abramovna (Zilberman) Nudelman, lived in Letichev in the 19th century. They searched for a better life and moved to Odessa. My grandfather's brother left Odessa for America; my grandmother's parents and brothers left Letichev for England, where they opened a successful cigarette business. After a while, my grandparents returned to Letichev to live.



Vladimir Goykher and his wife Galina.

Efroim Nudelman was very religious and strictly obeyed all Jewish laws, even during

the civil war, pogroms and Communist rule. His wife loyally assisted him in obeying the Jewish tradition.

They had four sons and four daughters. Three sons, Leib, Moishe, and Yoina lived in Volkovintsy and were peddlers. The youngest son, Joseph (b. 1912), studied in Odessa.[60] Two daughters, Rukhel and Brukhe, lived in Letichev. Manzya lived with her family in Vinnitsa; and my mother, Hana lived in different towns and villages where my father, Yosef Goykher, worked. These towns were: Letichev, Stara Sinyava (where I was born in 1928), Podvolochisk, Gorodka, Chornoostrov, Proskurov, Golenischevo, and Volkovintsy. These were the places where the communist chairman in Kamenets-Podolsky sent my father on important party work.

My grandfather, Efroim Nudelman, worked privately as a tailor in his house in Letichev. He hated the U.S.S.R. because taxes were high and he despised blasphemers and antisemites. During the Civil War (1918-1922) there were a series of small pogroms in Letichev, but the family kept their religious traditions through those difficult times.

A major disappointment for my grandfather was when my mother went to the Young Communist Party and married my father — a Communist and atheist — against her father's permission. Efroim disowned our family. I was born in 1928, my syster Asya in 1931, but my grandfather didn't acknowledge us. When we lived in Volkovintsy, all of my mother's brothers came to visit us with their families. We talked, gave each other advice, and sang Jewish songs. It was a friendly time.

My mother taught my sister and me how to sing and dance. We enjoyed these lessons very much. When I was a little boy, my mother took me to all of the rehearsals and performances of the Jewish amateur theater, where she had starring roles. I remember that the best Jewish play was "Hershel Ostropoler". The theater was in Volkovintsy until 1938.

My grandfather, Moishe Goykher, and grandmother, Rachel, were very poor. Moishe worked as a teacher, and during World War I was an engraver of seals. His family was very religious. My grandmother's father[61], Rabbi Nakhman of Bratslav, was one of the founders of the Chasidic movement in Medzhibozh. Old Jews called my grandmother "Rebbitsin" (Rabbi's wife). They had one son, Yosef, (my father, born in 1903), and three daughters: Hana, Ella, and Shifra.

My father taught in the Letichev high school and after school he privately tutored mathematics in students' homes. This extra money was a big help for the family and his sisters were able to get a free education. When the family was poor, my grandmother, Rachel, would divide a single egg between every two people. The sisters themselves became teachers and ended up living in different towns.

When the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union began to organize in Letichev, my father became the first organizer. This became his profession. In 1924 he was directed to serve in the Kiev artillery school. After serving in Sevastopol for one year, he worked in many towns and villages in the Kamenets-Podolsky region.



The Goykher Family, ca. 1924.
Seated are Rachel and Moishe Goykher, Vladimir's paternal grandparents, who were killed in the Letichev ghetto. Standing is daughter Ella who survived the Holocaust by evaculating to the Urals. Courtesy of Vladimir Goykher.

In the late fall 1934, our family moved to Volkovintsy, where my father worked as a manager in a big factory. On April 19, 1938 my father was arrested and sentenced to 15 years in Siberia. His address was: Far Eastern, Nagaevo Bay Magodan Region. He was sent to a prison work camp called "Foggy Field". The prisoners had to mine for gold. Hundreds died there every day from exhaustion and disease. During the transport to the camp in Siberia, he threw a letter for his wife onto a railroad station. A good man forwarded the letter to my mother. In the letter, my father described how the examining magistrate beat him and compelled him to sign a statement that he was an organizer of an illegal Zionist group. After reading the letter, mother made arrangements to sell half of the two family house and used the money to take a trip to Moscow. After waiting for six months she was granted an appointment to see the Chairman Supreme Power — Kalinin. She gave him my father's letter. It was the time when a new minister of the Department of Interior came to power. Some prisoners were "rehabilitated" and thanks to the letter, my father was released in 1940. He returned a sick man.[62]

My mother was half-educated, but she was a woman of decision - clever, cheerful and well-cultured. She was a woman who acted young. My mother was an excellent role model and an inspiration for me.

1941-1942: Goodbye young one, Goodbye peacetime

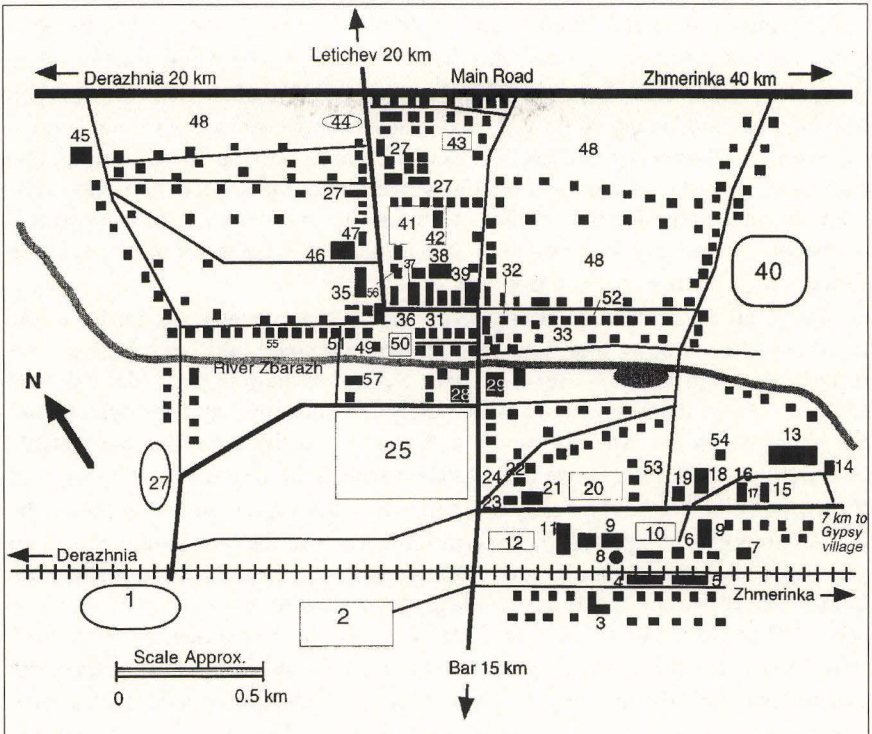
All was green and in full bloom in the summertime in the little village of Volkovintsy and the railroad station of Komarovtsy (on the Proskurov-Vinnitsa line). Most of the trees were fruit trees. We boys knew all of the forests, ponds, and mountains near the military camp, where we often brought fruits for the soldiers who were going through their war training in the forests. Sometimes the soldiers showed us how to use the topography maps and field glasses. It was very interesting for us and we went every year to visit the soldiers. In the winter, the boys came here for skiing; in the evenings we rode our sleds. Unfortunately, the winter fun ended and we boys began to think about the spring and summer of 1941.



Hana Nudelman Goykher, ca 1924.
Hana was Vladimir's mother who perished in the Letichev ghetto. Courtesy of Vladimir Goykher.

From the window of our house, I saw troop trains pass by. We all knew that soon there would be a war with Germany. The war came on June 22, 1941. I don't remember why the students from our grade had to be at school at 8 a.m. on June 22. We were outside near the school when airplanes appeared with swastikas on the wings. One airplane flew very low and we saw two pilots — one pilot even waved to us. Our school was near the railroad and across from it there was a small military garrison. The airplane began to bomb the barracks and some buildings in the garrison. Then the plane flew to the railroad station where the pilots bombed two troop trains at the station. When we ran to the station, we saw many wounded soldiers. Some were dead. At noon, people listened to the radio. Molotov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, told us that this was the beginning of the war with Germany.

On June 24, 1941 I saw endless streams of refugees evacuating from Peremishele and Lvov. Everyday airplanes appeared and bombed the refugees. After about ten days of war, the people in Volkovintsy were panic-stricken. All stores, banks, and food factories were open. The streets were windy and I saw the air filled with money, bonds, and other papers. People took home all that they wanted. Boxes of butter and cheese from the dairy factory were brought to the railroad and refugees took as much as they wanted. When all of the boxes were distributed, my father took the horses and a wagon to our house. My mother put some things and food on the wagon. Eight people were on the wagon: my family and the Shapiro family. I don't know the day or time that we left Volkovintsy, but I remember that late at night on the next day we arrived in Vinnitsa and stopped at my Aunt Manzya's house. We were refugees!



Map of Volkovintsy, 1941.
From the recollections of Vladimir Goykher.

Legend:

1 - Military Barracks
2 - Cemetery
3 - Butter Factory
4 - Grain Storehouse
5 - Loading Platform
6 - Komarovtsi Train Station
7 - Community Bath House
8 - Water Tower
9 - Houses for Railroad Employees
10 - Small Park
11 - Railroad Club (Cinema)
12 - Fuel Depot
13 - Sawmill
14 - Blacksmith
15 - Dining Room for Sawmill Employees
16 - Manager's Family House; Goykher Family Residence (June 1935 - Fall 1937)
17 - Stable
18 - *Kolkhoz* Grain Storage
19 - Office and Home of Sawmill Owner (Mr. Kepershmit)
20 - Machine and Tractor Station
21 - Hospital
22 - Post Office
23 - Telephone Station
24 - Partisan Memorial Cemetery
25 - Old Cemetery
26 - Kitchen Gardens
27 - Schools
28 - Cattle Yard
29 - Bakery
30 - Pond
31 - Market Square
32 - Pharmacy
33 - Bazaar
34 - Beverage Factory and Warehouse
35 - District Committee and District Council
36 - Club
37 - Workmen's Cooperative
38 - Jewish School (closed in 1938)
39 - Police Station and Jail
40 - *Kolkhoz* "First of May"
41 - Central Park
42 - Summer Cinema
43 - Catholic Church (in 1937 was converted to a Cinema)
44 - *Kolkhoz*
45 - Military Commissariat (Recruitment Station)
46 - Church
47 - Court of Justice
48 - Fields
49 - Power Station
50 - Synagogue
51 - Goykher Family Residence (Fall 1934 - June 1935)
52 - Goykher Family Residence (Fall 1937 to 1941 Occupation)
53. Garden
54. Home of Andrei Visotsky
55. Home of Leib Nudelman in 1934.
56. General Store
57. Home of Starosta

Early morning we left Vinnitsa and continued to move eastward. For two and a half days we escaped together with the Soviet troops. The whole time we were pursued by the German bombers. They bombed and strafed us several times each day, and we found many victims of these attacks along our way. In the small town of Dashev my father and Mr. Shapiro were mobilized into the Soviet army. A few days after we came to the town of Ilintsy, we found ourselves in German-occupied territory. Some Jewish families in Ilintsy gave us shelter. Time stopped and we began to care only about survival at that moment. We did not think about the future — for the future was unforseen.

Almost all of the Jews in Ilintsy lived in one part of town, except for a few families. After three or four days the German command told the refugees: "All refugees must go to where they lived before. Any violation of this order will lead to death." Early the next day we joined the same unhappy Jewish people, whom we had seen on our way during the evacuation. On the same day we stopped overnight at one Jewish house in Lipovtsy. I had a hard day with our horses, but the owner helped me and the next morning we continued on our way. At noon the Ukrainian police stopped all the Jewish refugees. The Shapiro family stayed on the wagon, but my mother, sister, and I decided to get off the wagon and walk home. Before we got to the next village, the police took all the Jews to some school. Whoever came to the schoolyard watched the policemen put other Jews into a truck and drive off. Soon my mother, sister, and I stood in a classroom where Jews had to stand in a line before several tables. On those tables were valuables: gold, jewelry, money, and other things. When it was our turn at the table, a German soldier who was there looked for our valuables and was surprised to see that we only had 30 rubles, one piece of sugar and a comb. A German officer, who stood nearby, asked my mother, "Why did you run away from us?" To this my mother replied, "For you it is the same — a rich Jew or a poor Jew — you kill him." A Ukrainian policeman took us out to another classroom, where Jews stood in line waiting their turn to be taken away. We just knew that we would soon be taken away to be executed. In the evening, the police pushed us into the truck with other Jews. It was a big truck and it was full. I don't remember where they drove us or how long it took us to get there. When we finally came to our destination — a large pit — the police ordered us to take off our clothes. We saw clothes from the other Jews who were killed before we got there. At the time when we began to get undressed, the German officer arrived who had spoken to my mother earlier that day. He ordered our family and one young girl to get dressed and run into the forest. We ran and waited to get shot in the back, but everything was calm. Only when we were well inside the forest did we hear any shots. I didn't understand why the German officer decided to let us go. That day I think that the Nazis must have executed about two hundred Jews near this village of Voronovitsy, between Lipovtsy and Vinnitsa.[63]

Early the next morning we arrived in Vinnitsa where we said goodbye to the young girl and came back to the home of my mother's sister, Manzya Bekman.

Going Back to Letichev

My mother decided that the best thing to do was to go back to Letichev, and I agreed. In the morning my mother, my sister, and I, together with the whole Bekman family went to Letichev. We walked along the road to Letichev. This was a dangerous, two-day, 70 kilometer trip in which we encountered a continuous convoy of trucks filled with Germans heading eastward (the opposite direction). As we approached the Jewish cemetery in Letichev, some German soldier fired shots to our side from a submachine gun. Finally, we came to my Aunt Ruchel's home. I lived in Volkovintsy (20 kilometers from Letichev) before the war, but Letichev was my second home.

Letichev was a small Jewish town. For many centuries Jews of varying professions came to Letichev and enriched the community. According to an old man who lived in Letichev, there were approximately 7,500 Jews in the town before WWII. At the beginning of the war, between 200 and 300 Jews left in the evacuation. During the German occupation, there were between 7,000 and 7,200 Jews in Letichev.

I don't remember the date when we arrived in Letichev, but it was in the last days of July 1941. At this time all of the Jews still lived in their own homes. When the Soviet army retreated from Letichev all of the stores, factories, and banks were left open. People took home food, materials, and other things; the Jews then traded with the Ukrainians who lived in surrounding villages. For the first time in quite a while most of the Jewish townspeople weren't hungry.

Our family was poor and my mother didn't want to be a burden to her sister. My mother sent me to Volkovintsy to find out the situation and to return back to Letichev as soon as possible. The road from Letichev to Volkovintsy winds its way through the woods. I got there easily.

In Volkovintsy I called upon my Uncle Moishe and caught up on the news. I also met my good friends from before the war — Anatoly Zvolski and Evgeny Bereshuk. Anatoly's mother was German and therefore had preferred treatment over the Ukrainians and the Jews. Evgeny's father was a *starosta* or town leader. Anatoly told me that our family was first on the list for execution. I didn't tell him that my family was in Letichev — instead, I told him that we were staying in Shmerinka.

I soon left Volkovintsy and returned to Letichev. Volkovintsy was now closed to our family. After several days in Letichev, the German soldiers took 25 or 30 men and killed them at Zavolk on the road to Medzhibozh. Among them was my Uncle Bekman from Vinnitsa. After the war their bodies were found and buried in the Jewish cemetery in Letichev.

The restricted area of town was near the two bridges over the Volk River, to the west of town. One of these bridges was near the Jewish part of town. Hungarian soldiers stood guard over these bridges, and they allowed boys to fish near the bridge. Once I whistled a Hungarian tune while fishing, and a Hungarian soldier called to me, "How do you come to know this song?" I told him that my mother taught it to me before the war. She remembered it from 1919 when Hungarian soldiers occupied Letichev. The soldier came to our home and spoke with my

mother, and then allowed me to go to their barracks. I began to work in the kitchen of the Hungarian barracks and for a long time, I was able to take home some hot food. I was now the breadwinner for our family.

The Letichev Ghetto

It was Noonday, the first day of Rosh Hashana, 1941.[64] The police began forcing the Jews of Letichev out of their homes and into a common part of town, near the Volk River. This became the ghetto of Letichev. Two or three families had to live together in one house. Efroim Nudelman's house was in the Ghetto and all relatives came and lived together — four families, nine people total, were



The Nudelman/Galer house in Letichev.
This was the house of Rukhel Nudelman Galer and Yankel Galer, Vladimir Goykher's aunt and uncle (and their four children). This house was a typical Podolian-style inn. Yankel Galer was a baker who died in 1934. Inside the main door, to the left was a bakery, a room for coachmen, and behind was a place for wagons. On the right lived Yankel's uncle. Upstairs lived Rukhel and Yankel's daughter, Mania Galer Vishnevtskaya. Vladimir and his family lived in this house during the Nazi occupation when it became part of the Letichev ghetto. In the winter of 1941-42, Vladimir and several boys helped demolish the house to use as firewood. Photograph was taken ca. 1935. From the Taranushenko Archive, courtesy of V.A. Dymshits.

all crowded together. For the next two days the ghetto was encircled with a fence. The *starosta* in the ghetto was Mendel "Pricheper" Tsidulka. He knew all of the Jews, and he knew who had what. When the Gebietskommissar Frieber demanded valuables, Mendel knew from whom to take them. He had two appointed helpers. If Mendel did not cooperate, he would have been killed.

During the first week, the ghetto gate was open and not guarded. Jews were free to come and go as they pleased. Jews went to the market to buy food, some exploited the situation and took concealed property to their new dwellings in the ghetto. I went back to work, but the Hungarian soldiers banished me because I had to now wear on the front and back of my shirt a yellow circle, inside of which was a Mogen Dovid.[65] On Sunday morning, Gebietskommissar Frieber came to the market and commanded all the Jews to go into the ghetto, which was now guarded. Jews were not allowed outside of the ghetto unless they had a permit. A few people were given permits — the hairdresser, a few cleaning ladies who were sent to Gebietskommissar Frieber and Kommissar Köch's offices,[66] etc. The Ukrainian peasants and lower middle class were given permits to enter the ghetto to visit the shoemakers, tailors, and other skilled workers. The Jews were paid with food for their services.

Little by little the Jews of Letichev ghetto began to starve. Bribing the night guard enabled some Jews to trade their clothes for food. Efroim Nudelman and other specialists still had their old customers. More or less, they had a job and got paid with food. At each home there were many people and little food. Our family lived together with relatives, but we ate in another room — Grandfather Efroim still didn't speak to us. To him I wasn't a Jew.

Access to food almost ended. Those who had nothing to trade for food lived miserably. Starosta Mendel and a Ukrainian policeman named Ivan Kupriyan continued to take valuables from the Jews. Frieber always took a portion, as well. Poverty and hunger became widespread in the ghetto.

During the Civil War, my grandfather Moishe Goykher engraved seals on documents for the local authorities. Because power changed hands almost every week, he had a lot of work. Somebody remembered this and recommended to the Kommissar that my grandfather's skills be used again. My grandfather got the tools for the seal, stamp and pattern from each village that needed the seals. My Grandfather Goykher couldn't see well and didn't have the heart to do the work, so he decided to teach me. The tools were very good and after two days I did one seal and stamp. There was a lot of work to do. Employers gave me good presents for the jobs I did — food. I did seals for many villages in the vicinity of Letichev. When someone came from Volkovintsy needing a seal, I hid from him. We were still on the executioner's list in Volkovintsy.

I did stamps and seals for about two months. The last job I did was for the Gebietskommissar in Letichev. It was a very hard job. Next to me sat a German officer in one room of the Kommissar's office who watched me while I worked. The picture to be engraved was complicated. The officer warned me, "If you mar the picture, I will kill you." I worked five days on this seal and every hour was like my death hour. I finally finished the seal and the officer

checked up on my work. I believe that the officer must have been the artist who drew the picture. He confiscated my tools, gave me a kilogram of wheat bread, allowed me to bring the bread into the ghetto, and said, "Go away, accursed Jew." This ended my career as a sealer and engraver. During my time working on seals, I don't remember too much about life in the ghetto. This was because I was busy and tired.

The shortage of food in the ghetto resulted in sickness and depression among the Jews. This was how the snowy winter of 1941 began.

A Hard Winter, A Hard Spring

Any Jew who could work was taken out of his house by the police for clearing the snow off the road from Proskurov to Vinnitsa, where everyday from sunrise to sunset there was a continuous German troop column heading east. At this time the powers in charge decided to give Jews bread for cleaning the road. The workers received 117 or 124 grams of bread, and for their families they received 65 grams for the elderly, sick, and for the children. Maintaining regular service on the road was very difficult. Sometimes we shoveled snow from before dawn to late at night without a break — if we stopped, we were immediately beaten by policemen. We were cold and hungry and it snowed frequently. Perpiration instantly froze into ice on our clothes. We worked like clockwork toys and a lot of people wanted death to come. The commandant gave an order for the police to go to the ghetto and confiscate winter clothing for the German soldiers. Starosta Mendel tried to help the old and very poor, but many died. My cousins Sonya, Abrasha, and I worked the road; my grandfather Efroim, Aunt Brukhe and my mother sewed and were paid with food, like other skilled workers. Starosta Mendel worked closely with the skilled — encouraging them to give up some of their food, to be divided up to those who were starving. For most Jews in the ghetto, time stopped. After a hard job on the road, some young men went outside of the ghetto to their former houses and tore out wooden planks and boards to be used as firewood in the ghetto. In this manner, they demolished many houses for firewood, but the Jews didn't want to die from the cold. Most people said goodbye to all their hopes. Imperceptibly, the spring of 1942 arrived.

The Jews of the ghetto had a dread for the future — they dreaded starvation and loss of their lives. We were made to feel useless by Gebietskommissar Frieber. He was a handsome man with savage instincts who committed numerous atrocities. He had a distinctive gold tooth. Every time he required jewels, gold, and money he threatened to massacre all of the Jews. People hid in cellars. I remember these cellars were jammed with lean, hungry people. Old Jews told stories of the pogroms in Letichev from long ago — but how the survivors of the pogroms were usually left alone. But in the ghetto, nobody survived.

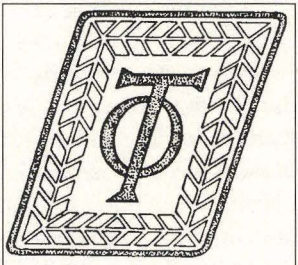
I knew a few who ran away from the ghetto. They never returned to Letichev. I remember when Khaike Krishtal ran away in 1942. She lived across from our house. Her parents and sister Zile were later killed in Letichev. The Ukrainian

police were just as dangerous as the German soldiers, if you ran away. Most Ukrainians were willing to betray Jews to the local police or Germans, but a few noble Ukrainians risked their lives and those of their families to hide Jews.

When springtime came, the ghetto was in quarantine and we were not allowed out except to bury our dead in the cemetery. During Passover[67] the police entered the synagogue (actually the ghetto synagogue was in the Rabbi's house) and took all of those who were praying to work. They were forced to clean a war-ravished house. This was done to make a mockery of the Jewish religion, and of the old observant Jews. My grandfather Efroim was weak. He couldn't bend and I tried to help him but I was beaten back by the Ukrainian policeman Ivan Kupriyan.

At this Passover my mother, sister, and I for the first time in my life sat with my grandfather Efroim to celebrate the occasion. I remember what he said: "Children! Observance of the Jewish religion was above all in my life. I never violated any of the commandments. This is the first time in my life I was forced to work on Passover. Our God has allowed a mistake to creep in here. Maybe our God is no more? Maybe Judaism is paying for their children's sin against the truth? The children turned traitors against Judaism, the Jewish nation and their God... I've prayed all my life to God and I continued to believe — it was my life..." and he burst into tears. He took a prayer book and read aloud a prayer for Passover. It was his meaning of life.

I think it was in April of 1942 that the engineers of the Organisation Todt[68] arrived in Letichev. They were going to reconstruct the main road from Proskurov to Letichev to Vinnitsa according to German standards. The Germans forced all able-bodied people to work on this road. First they tore up sections of the old Catherine the Great -era road, then they widened and asphalted half of the road. When the first half was finished, they did the other half. German military convoys moved east every day. To complete the job faster, Ukrainians were enlisted and paid by the Germans. Jews from the ghetto were paid several times, as well.[69] Moldavian Jews were brought in to the Letichev camp at this time. Their camp was a short distance from the ghetto in the old fortified Catholic church. The camp was guarded by Lithuanian fascists. At first, these Jews worked together with us on a section of road; later they worked on a separate section. Their condition was very, very bad. The Lithuanian guards jeered at them while they were working on the road. Sometimes they killed unfortunate people right before our eyes.



Organisation Todt officer's collar insignia.

German civil engineering officers directed and organized the work. The soldiers gave explanations as to how to do the job — each of us had to do the work of four people. The Ukrainian guards handed out fierce beatings to those who slowed down. Ivan Kupriyan was especially cruel. He was an animal who beat many Jews to death.

The Jews grew weaker and weaker. Those who passed out were often killed on the spot. The Moldavian Jews suffered the most because they passed out more than the Jews of the ghetto.

An early phase of the road building was done by twelve boys (ages 13-15), including me. We dug sand for 12 hours a day, 6 days a week. We had one hour from noon to one for rest and dinner. The meal was like water. Under the supervision of the German soldier Franz,[70] we dug sand and put it on a conveyor. If the conveyor belt was not completely filled with sand each and every boy was beaten. Sometimes Franz beat us simply because he was bored. The weather was hot and we were wet to the skin. We worked with all of our strength to avoid being punished. Organisation Todt Senior Officer Hainy Keller came to us one day and gave us an order that we had one more week to work in the sandpit. You can imagine how horrible we looked.

The job on the road was hard, too, but after the hell of the sandpit this job was like paradise. I worked hard but was still afraid of the beatings. I didn't feel physical pain, instead it was mental anguish. Everyday we suffered from hopelessness, for we were defenseless against the brutality. The days, weeks and months were dead. Every day was like the day before it. The tailors, shoemakers and other skilled workers of the ghetto were given several rooms outside of the ghetto by the Germans. Ukrainian apprentices were given to each craftsperson. My mother and her sister Brukhe worked here, but my grandfather Efroim did not work in these rooms because he was old and deaf. Sometimes their new apprentices brought them food. It was a much better job than working on the road.

The suffering of the Jews in the ghetto was beyond description. During the last days of August 1942 the ghetto was closed for quarantine. The police were ordered to stay away from the ghetto, and the sentry guards were doubled. We didn't know what was going to happen. All waited for the arrival of a high German leader, who came after a few days. All of the Jewish people had to stay home when the German leadership looked around the ghetto. Most Jews hid in cellars. A few boys, including me, climbed to the top of the attic and watched the area in front of the ghetto. If troops appeared, we would have to hide in the cellars, but instead a motorcade came with an escort convoy.

The leaders left the cars and walked outside of the ghetto from the gates to the church. There was a great deal of talk, but we didn't hear what they said. Starosta Mendel later told us that among the leaders was the Reichskommissar of the Ukraine — Gauleiter Erich Koch — and some representatives from Berlin. Maybe among them was Adolf Eichmann, but I am not sure. At the beginning of the Eichmann trial in Israel, I recalled hearing his name discussed in the ghetto at that time when the leaders came from Berlin. It was likely that during this visit, the fate of the Jews of Letichev was sealed.

The First Mass Shooting of the Jews in Letichev

Soon it was the autumn. Our toil of the roadwork came to an end as the last sections were being completed by the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians had easier work than we did.

Gebietskommissar Frieber commanded the partitioning of the ghetto into two parts. The second part of the ghetto was made up of skilled workers and their families. The first part of the ghetto was made up of the other Jews, including Jews from some of the nearby villages. A few craftspeople with their families from Volkovintsy and Derazhnia were also settled in ghetto #2. The people from Volkovintsy included my Uncle Moishe Nudelman and his family and the Shapiros — they all went into the second ghetto. The parts of the ghetto were divided with a fence between them. The house of my grandfather Moishe Goykher was in ghetto #2 and all of the Nudelman relatives moved in with him; Moishe Goykher and his wife Rachel were supposed to move to the Nudelman's house in ghetto #1 with another family. They weren't specialists in any trade. My grandmother Rachel didn't move in time to ghetto #1 — she was too late.

In ghetto #1, the Germans and Ukrainian police moved the people out of their houses. The group was led away to Zaletichevka to a narrow ravine, where they were forced to strip naked. Then they were shot. All day long we heard the shots. All were massacred — about 5,000 in two days.[71] It is terrible to think that we saw our families in the groups, knew where they were going, and later heard the shots. At the same time we knew that we would soon suffer the same fate. Old people, children and young people were killed that day.

For the next two days and nights, the Germans and Ukrainians looked in ghetto #1 for any Jews who might have tried to hide in cellars and other places. The Ukrainians found them petrified with fear and took them to the church near ghetto #2. The church had a stone wall around it and the gate was adjacent to the gate of ghetto #2.

On the third day in the morning there came an order that all Jews from ghetto #2 had 30 minutes to form a column in the area near the gate. We knew that hiding was useless and we all obeyed the command. We felt certain that we would next be ordered to march to Zaletichevka, to our deaths.

Frieber soon appeared with his retinue, including a German officer who served as a translator. He commanded, "All Jews who must be in ghetto #1, walk forward — if even one Jew from ghetto #1 is found among you, all the Jews of Letichev will be killed." My grandmother Rachel stood beside my mother and some other Jews who were supposed to be in ghetto #1. Nobody spoke up about them to the Germans. Everyone suspected that we would all be taken away to Zaletichevka to be executed, anyway. The translator said something, but all of us turned to look towards the gate at the church where the Jews who had been hiding in ghetto #1 were imprisoned. The guards marched these Jews out of church before our eyes. Maybe the Germans wanted to scare the Jews of ghetto #2.

My grandmother Rachel saw her husband Moishe in the middle of the street. She left her place next to my mother and ran to her husband. They took each other's hands. About 40 Jews were taken away that day to Zaletichevka.

We stood in silence and horror, and the translator kept silent. Frieber and his guards looked toward the road that led to Zaletichevka. Frieber then ordered the remaining Jews to "Go away — go home" but the Jews just stood there. Frieber and the officers then left ghetto #2. The weather was warm and bright, but everything was dark on our souls. Afterwards, when we heard the shots, the Jews of ghetto #2 dispersed.

The Jews of ghetto #2 knew their future and waited for their execution the next day. For a few days no Germans or Ukrainians appeared in the ghetto. Then Commissar Köch made an appearance, commanding all the craftspeople to work and to continue teaching their Ukrainian apprentices. By this time all of the Jews from the district of Letichev had been executed except for the Jews in ghetto #2 and the Moldavian Jews held in the nearby camp.

The Ukrainians continued to work on the road. Senior Officer Hainy Keller took me to the road where I was to translate to the Ukrainians how to do the work. Almost everyday I was taken to work by the German Immy Ertle.[76] Half of the day I was on the road but at noon I went to the German officer's and soldiers quarters, where I cleaned their shoes, washed their clothes, did the dishes, and other odd jobs around the barracks. One day Hainy Keller, Herman Mayer, Immy Ertle and Karl[73] took me with them to some village in order to trade matches, needles, sewing thread and cigarettes for bacon. They then sent parcels of bacon home to Germany. Another day Elsa — the secretary and mistress of the Chief of the Engineers Feltzman[74] — called to me and asked me to clean her room and then walk her dog named Falk. The next few days I worked only for Elsa and I was able to bring home some food.

I saw that the engineer squad was to set out on a journey. In the evening, Immy Ertle came to the ghetto and called on me. He wanted me to accompany him to translate his love to his girlfriend Ksenya, a Ukrainian. They had supper in the kitchen. On the way back to the ghetto he told me that the engineer squad must be at the railroad station at Derazhnia at 5:00 a.m. They were heading east for some technical work. As we drew nearer to the ghetto, he told me that soon all of the Jews of Letichev would be killed.

I Leave the Letichev Ghetto

That evening, I told my mother what Immy Ertle told me and then I tried to get some sleep. In that one room slept thirteen people. At night, my mother woke me up and made me get dressed. I knew that we were not going to hide in a cellar and I didn't know what was happening. In the kitchen, my mother and Aunt Ruchel told me that I must leave the ghetto, go to Derazhnia and try my luck with the engineer squad which was heading east, or to try to escape if that didn't work.

They told me not to return to Letichev because we knew what our fate was here. My mother said that she didn't want to live to see my death before her eyes. She knew that this was the last time she would see me... I stood and looked at my sleeping relatives: my sister Asya, my grandparents, Brukha, Sonya, Abrasha, Luba Galer, Ete Galer, and one other Jewish family that had two people. Luba and Ete were sick, probably with typhus. This is the last image that I had of the ghetto. My Aunt Ruchel kissed me. Then my mother hugged me with tears in her eyes. She looked at me and said, "I think that you will survive." I never saw my mother again but I will always remember her last look at me.

I don't remember exactly how I escaped the ghetto. I ran through Zaletichevka, 100 meters near the ravine where all the Jews from ghetto #1 were executed. I hurried through this place, but ahead was uncertainty. This night was the first snowfall of 1942.[75]

The Step to Uncertainty

Early that morning I arrived in Derazhnia and saw a few flatcars and boxcars. One flatcar was occupied with equipment, but on another flatcar I saw the mobile home where Feltzman lived with Elsa. When I came near the railcars I saw a group of German officers and soldiers. Among them were Hainy Keller, Immy Ertle, Herman Mayer, a German soldier by the name of Klaus, and Franz. Franz asked me what I was doing in Derazhnia and what I wanted. I asked for a job because, I said, I was very hungry. Hainy Keller gave me some buckets and sent me to bring some water for the kitchen. When I took the water at the station, a policeman came over to me and said, "A Jewish boy in Derazhnia? Where are you from?" He started taking me to the police station, but I showed him the buckets and pointed to the German soldiers. The policeman went to the German soldiers and said, "He is a Jew!" Whereupon Herman Mayer,[72] who was very drunk, took out his pistol and threatened to kill the policeman. The policeman became frightened and ran away. Mayer was often drunk, but I never saw him in such bad condition. He was scheduled to take a furlough to go home to Germany. He was so drunk that he promised to take me to Germany after the war and adopt me. I knew well enough of his hatred for Jews and I waited for trouble. Fortunately after two hours he left Derazhnia for Germany and I calmed down.

Hainy Keller spoke to Feltzman and Elsa about me and they agreed to take me with them to various jobs along the way. They had plenty of work for me to do. I heard Feltzman tell Hainy Keller that they would kill me later.

The kitchen was in a separate car. In this car they also kept footwear, clothes and food. Otto Zalbovitz was a cook and kept house.[77] Soon we left Derazhnia and moved east. Otto gave me new civilian clothes. Hainy Keller said to me, "If somebody asks you who you are, say that you are a German boy!" I lived together with Otto in the kitchen car. The entrance door to the car was open. I sat down and looked upon the snow-covered hills. Twenty kilometers was between me and my mother. I thought only about my mother, sister, and relatives, and I

was concerned for their lives. The train went through Volkovintsy and I saw our house. I remembered all of the good and bad times in that house, and my carefree childhood. I became choked with anger.

Early morning the train came to Fastov (about 50 kilometers. from Kiev) and I saw between the trees that there was a big, new cemetery for Germans who were killed in battle near Kiev. I was glad — it was their penalty for the annihilation of the Jews. In Fastov, the train stopped for several hours and I did many odd jobs such as carrying water, firewood, coal and other supplies. In several days we arrived in Avdievka where our railcars were uncoupled and we went onto a siding. I was relieved because the water faucet was near the kitchen wagon and I didn't have to carry heavy buckets full of water.

After a while I began to feel very sick. I was dizzy, everything was going dark, and I was reeling from side to side. Otto took notice of my condition. Over the next several days he nursed me back to health and told me not to tell anyone about my sickness because Feltzman would kill me. After three or four days I felt better, thanks to Otto.

A week later we left Avdievka and came to the Dronovo train station in the mining settlement "Krasnaya Zvezda" in the Donbass, a coal mining region. In this town, the soldiers of our unit stayed in a fire station. One room was reserved for Herman Mayer, who was still on furlough in Germany. With Elsa's permission, I stayed in this room and looked after Herman's belongings. Feltzman and Elsa, along with the field kitchen, were located across the street in a school. I did all of Elsa's housework and I also helped Otto in the kitchen. Across from the kitchen was a small room where I stayed until 9 p.m. Then I retired to my room, which was actually Herman Mayers'.

I got into trouble when Herman returned from Germany. Feltzman ordered me to bring Herman to him. When I went to get Herman, I saw him sitting together with the Commandant from Chistyakovo and they were drunk. Herman told the Commandant that I was a Jewish boy from Letichev. The Commandant swore like a trooper and said that in this district "There are no Jews and there never will be any Jews!"

When I escorted Herman Mayer to Feltzman, he told me that when he returned to the Donbas region from his furlough, he passed through Letichev. All the Jews in Letichev had been killed there. As I walked with Herman and the Commandant I thought about my mother and sister — not about my situation.

The Commandant and Feltzman decided to kill me. I couldn't escape because the winter was very cold and it would have been the equivalent of suicide. Feltzman, Elsa, the Commandant and Herman Mayer had supper and afterwards the Commandant went to the district town of Chistyakovo. During their supper I sat in my small room and overheard their decision to kill me after I did Elsa's housework.

After I cleaned the dining room for Elsa I went outside and saw Karl, one of the German officers. I told Karl of my plight. He took me to a house and told the

owner so I could lodge there. Karl gave the man some tobacco, as payment. The homeowners were named Verevkin. The Verevkin family had seven people. The house was very nice, on the main street of town, across from the police station. Mr. Vasily Verevkin did not ask me any questions. His family was kind to me and I slept well.

My Escape

After the defeat of the German army at Stalingrad, the Germans began to make a fighting retreat. Many Germans left the Caucasus to the west via Krasnaya Zvezda. The battlefront approached the settlement where we were. I decided that the next day I would leave the settlement and go to meet the Soviet army. In the evening I saw Vasily Verevkin and his wife, Dusya, crying. They showed me a paper that the policeman brought and laid it on the table. The policeman warned them that if they took the paper off the table, the entire Verevkin family would be killed. The paper said in German, "Here lives a Jewish boy who knows the German language." Verevkin was told that the police were waiting for a command from the Commandant to kill me. I wanted to run away, but Verevkin reminded me of the cold weather and dissuaded me from leaving at night — better to try in the morning, he said.

Suddenly, an armoured troopcarrier pulled up to the Verevkin's house and three officers entered. They ordered that two of the three rooms were to be for themselves, and the Verevkins were to move into the third room. One of the officers looked on the table, read the paper and showed it to the senior officer. The senior officer asked, "Who is this boy?" I replied that it was me. At the same time we heard noise from arriving cars and the officer pushed me into the kitchen. He ordered the other two officers not to let me out of the house. When they were settled in, they were to take me out to the field and kill me. A soldier entered the house guarding a tall, slender grey-haired old man. It occurred so quickly that the officers who were "guarding" me left without closing the door to the kitchen and forgot about me.

The officers took their supper and asked me where I came from and how I found myself in this place. I briefly told them about myself. After supper they spoke a



Field Marshal Wilhelm List (1880-1971).
A brilliant general, during the summer of 1942 he was in charge of the German Caucasus offensive in southern Russia. Courtesy of the U.S. Military History Institute.

long time about the army group commander of the Caucasus — List, and I understood that they were talking about the old man. This grey-haired man was Field Marshal List![78] He was also protected by guards outside of the house. One officer told me that it was now -27ÞC and that early in the morning they will take me outside to the field and shoot me like a dog. They ordered me to take off my clothes except my underwear and lie down on the floor. I knew that this was the end of my life. I couldn't sleep. I had a pain in my stomach and I told one officer that I wanted to use the toilet. I put on only my boots on my bare feet and went with a guard to the outhouse. He stayed on the porch and watched while I was inside. There was a driving wind with sleet. I drew off one board and crawled through and found myself on the other side of the street. I ran away from the guard through the cover of the sleet, getting my bearings from the direction of the high voltage line. I came to a miner's settlement and looked for a poor house. I knocked on a door and begged the owner for some clothes. He gave me an old quilted jacket and quilted pants. They were too big for me but the clothes prevented me from freezing. I began walking towards the battlefront 40 kilometers away but I realized that it was impossible in this cold. During the night I probably walked around 15 kilometers. I made my way back to Otto at the kitchen at around 2 p.m. He asked me no questions and gave me new clothes. Since I left Derazhnia the only words that I heard him speak were "give me...", "bring me...", "take this..." but now Otto openly spoke of the westward German evacuation. Only Hainy Keller, Immy Ertle, one other soldier and Otto remained.

Otto told me that Hainy wanted to see me. Hainy knew that I had escaped at night and now wondered why I came back. He considered it his duty to carry out Feltzman's command and to take me with them when the truck arrived for their escape west, away from the approaching Soviet army. When the truck arrived they loaded it up with goods and equipment and moved west via Donezk. There was happiness in my soul as I saw the German army retreating in confusion in an endless stream.

I waited for the right moment to escape. On the outskirts of Donezk, Soviet bombers appeared and began bombing the German troops. All of the Germans ran to hide themselves in shelters. This was my opportunity. I grabbed two blankets from the truck and made my way east during the bombardment.

That evening I came upon the town of Makeyevka (12 kilometers from Donezk) and I asked one homeowner for permission to stay overnight. I told him that my father was a policeman in the district town of Rovenky and we were running from the Soviet army. But today the Soviets bombed Donezk and my father was killed; now I must return to my mother in Rovenky. There was a truck in the yard and nearby was a German soldier. I made sure that he understood my situation. In Polish, the soldier told the owner to let me stay overnight. The soldier fed me and promised to take me 20 kilometers east the next morning. Then the soldier said, "God should help you return home."

The town of Rovenky was free from occupation and I liked my story — "I am the son of a lost policeman." Thanks to this tale I was able to survive. In Charzisk

I left the soldier with the truck and along back roads I returned to the miners' settlement Krasnaya Zvezda once again. For a few days, a Russian woman named Galya Behchmeteva hid me in a shed behind the firewood. Karl had lived near her and maybe he told her that I was Jewish. Her husband was a pilot in the Soviet air force and she had a son my age. She looked upon me with pity and tried to hug me. I trusted her with my life.

After a few days we went to a shoemaker. He asked me about my life and told me that I must leave the settlement early in the morning and try to make my way over to the front near the small town of Snezhnaya. He gave me directions and how I was to address the Soviet soldiers. Galya Behchmeteva brought me some of her son's clothes.

I came to Snezhnaya but the battlefront was broad and I couldn't find a place where I could sneak over to the Soviet side. In the evening I arrived in the district town of Krasny Looch.

In all of my wanderings I instinctively looked for a poor house in which to ask for lodging — poor people were more reliable. I found a house on the outskirts of town and was taken in by the owner. He gave me food and hid me. In the morning I again tried to crossover to the Soviet side, but again without success. At night I returned to Galya Behchmeteva .

We knew that my hiding place was not safe and she decided to send me to her parents in a small village called Strukovo, which was 15 kilometers from Krasnaya Zvezda. The way was very difficult for me but eventually I found her parents. Unfortunately there were many Germans in the town and her parents couldn't hide me. I left Strukovo and headed towards the front. It was about March 23, 1943.

The sun was warm at noontime but at night it was very cold. I went to the police station for permission for lodging. I told them my story about my policeman father, and they believed me. I continued to walk along the front looking for the right place to cross. I spent the night of March 25 in Krasny Looch, where I was before. On March 26, at 12:40 p.m. I crossed the front when the Germans were eating their lunch. The burst from their machine gun came too late. I fell on my back across the Krasny Looch to Rovenky Road and within a few minutes I made my way to the Soviet soldiers. At 2 p.m. I met with the Soviet military commander from the mining settlement of Bokovo-Antrazit.

Again, a matter of life and death

The Soviet military commander listened attentively to my story. He promised to introduce me to his friend — a Jewish officer — who could help me. The commander asked me if I knew about the location of the German ground troops. I told him I did. I was taken to the reconnaissance center and was introduced to an intelligence agent. I showed them on a map the location of the troops and artillery near the front where I had been travelling for the past few weeks. The intelligence agent asked me about the symbols on the cars and trucks. I answered

to the smallest detail what the symbols I saw and where the Germans were. He made a telephone call and to my shock I found myself in the midst of the security service: I was suspected of being a German spy!

Three examining magistrates interrogated me around the clock, not believing that I was Jewish, not believing my story, and threatening to torture me. I was not allowed to sleep. They wanted me to say that I was a German reconnaissance scout. They asked me questions and I had to write my answers on a paper. I was asked where I studied, the name of my instructor, and who gave me orders. All of my answers were the truth. I couldn't believe that I was being accused of espionage.

After four days, they left me in peace. In the afternoon, a major came to me and asked me how I knew to use the maps correctly. I told him that every summer in Volkovintsy the Soviet soldiers taught the boys how to use the army maps.

The next day I was free and went to the commander. He was happy to see me because I was cleared by the security service. I was introduced to his friend, the Jewish officer. Late into the night we spoke about Jewish life. His parents were left in the occupied territory in Belorussia. In the morning he gave me clothes, food, a letter to his wife in Georgia and helped me with transport to Rovenky.

The spring came into its own. I sat in the truck and took off my fur cap, as the April sun was already warm. I didn't notice that my documents from the commander had fallen out of my cap. In Rovenky I fell into the security service once again but I remembered the number of the security service in Bokovo-Antrazit. I was in Rovenky for one week. I was given new documents and I was free to go.

A Free Boy

It is nice when a boy is free and he has knowledge of life, but I had no notion of a life. What was I to do? I wandered half a month across the Caucasus and people of good will gave me refuge in the village of Elhchotovo, on the Terek River. The owner, Slakva, was a manager of the grain elevator. Slakva treated me kindly, like a son. On May 1, 1943 Slakva received guests to celebrate May Day. I looked at the children who spoke to their parents — "father", "mother" — and I realized that I will never speak these endearing words. My heart was heavy and I wept bitterly for the first time since leaving the Letichev ghetto. I was sick for a few days. Then I found my way back to the battlefront.

One evening I saw a heron flying under the open sky. I fired a tracer bullet at the heron and the German artillery opened fire on my position. This place also happened to be near the Soviet army headquarters. For the third time I arrested by the security service. This time I was in their custody for about a month and a half. In the last days of August 1943 I was freed.

At this time, the Soviet army liberated the miners' settlement of Krasnaya Zvezda. I went there. Vasily Verevkin, Galya Behchmetera and other people were glad to see me. I lived together with the Verevkin family and worked in the mill from September 1943 to the middle of January 1944.

I wanted to be with the Soviets as they approached Vinnitsa, because I wanted to return to Letichev. I wanted to arrive in Letichev with an advanced detachment so that I could kill the vicious Ukrainian policeman Ivan Kupriyan. I also hoped to meet the surviving Jews. I returned to Letichev on March 23, 1944. I asked Ukrainian named Poludeny Prokup about Kupriyan, but I was told that he had escaped west with the German soldiers a few days earlier.

I paced the area where the ghetto was and then I walked to the site where the Jews of the Letichev ghetto were killed. I sat on the grave and a picture of desolation rose before my eyes. I remembered when the Jews from ghetto #2 stayed in line and we heard shots as the sun shone upon us. Now the grave was covered with snow. Here and there under the thaw I saw patches of earth mixed with bones. Here the Jews of Letichev met their death. I had a fit of depression and soon left this place for Volkovintsy. I spent the evening in Kozachki because German troops still occupied Volkovintsy.



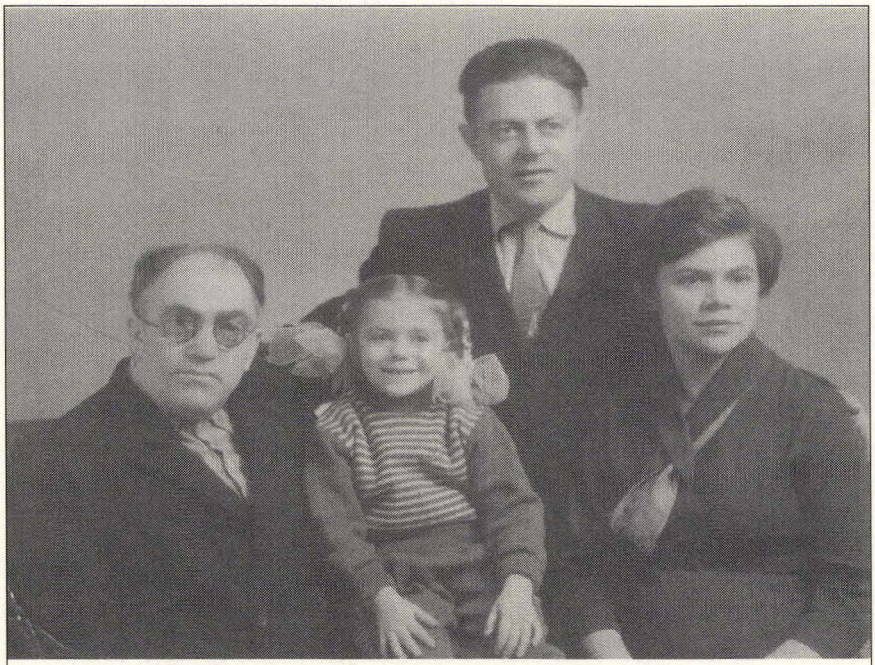
Vladimir Goykher in military uniform.
Goykher became an artillary specialist in the Soviet Army when this picture was taken in 1950. Courtesy of Vladimir Goykher.

In the morning I returned to Volkovintsy and was stopped by a Ukrainian woman named Evgeni Visotsky.[79] Our house was spared, but I couldn't live there because it reminded me of the past. On April 29 I met my neighbor and she told me that she met my cousin Luba Nudelman in Kiev and she gave me her address. I begged Evgeni Visotsky to supply me for a trip to Kiev. At the same time Mr. Kozubovsky, a former employee of my father's, came and gave me a letter that my father had written to him. I took down my father's address and was ready to fly like an arrow to meet my father. This was the happiest time for me in years.

On April 30, 1944 I met my cousin Luba in Kiev. Before the war she studied nursing in Kiev and at the beginning of the war she was mobilized as a nurse into the Soviet army. She later joined the partisans. Her parents and brother were killed in Letichev in 1942.

My father worked in the Saratov region and after one week we were reunited. I told my father about what happened to our family after our parting in 1941. It was a difficult task for me to tell him the story.

In July of 1944 we returned together to Volkovintsy, stopping along the way to meet with Verevkin, Behchmeteva , and other friends in Krasnaya Zvezda. When I returned to Volkovintsy I walked to Letichev to look for letters from displaced persons. I found letters from my uncle Joseph Nudelman (he was a soldier), from my father's sisters Ela and Hana and their families My cousin Genya Galer returned from evacuation. After one year we found my cousin Nelly. She was together with her mother Shifra Goykher in the Zlatopol ghetto. When the Jews in that ghetto were massacred, Nelly's mother pushed Nelly to the ground. A Ukrainian woman named Levitskaya rescued Nelly and took her home. These were my only relatives who survived the war.



The Goykher family, 1960.
Standing is Vladimir. Seated is Yosef Goykher (his father who survived as a prisoner under Stalin and served in the Soviety Army during the war), daughter Anna, wife Galina. Courtesy of Vladimir Goykher.

Postscript

I visited Letichev nine times since 1961. Everytime I saw more and more anti-Semitic inscriptions on the monument at the execution site. Everyone should know that anti-Semitism is everywhere. If you are a religious Jew or not remember that our strength lies in the united front against anti-Semitism with all possible means. I have confidence in the younger generation of Jews.

THE *HALATL* OF RABBI BORUKH OF MEDZHIBOZH

by Yaffa Eliach[80]

When Rabbi Israel Spira of Bluzhov was a little boy, he loved to travel with his illustrious father, Rabbi Joshua of Ribatisch. He especially enjoyed their Passover visits to his maternal grandfather, Rabbi Jacob of Delatin. His most memorable trip to the small Rumanian border town of Delatin was during his Bar Mitzvah year. On that occasion, Grandfather Jacob gave Israel one of the family's most precious possessions, a *halatl*, a silk robe that had belonged to the Baal Shem Tov's grandson, Rabbi Borukh of Medzhibozh [1757-1811]. Rabbi Jacob gave the beautiful snow-white *halatl* to his beloved grandson and said: "May its merit protect you now and save you in difficult times to come."

Israel was especially pleased with the unique gift, not only because of the accompanying blessing, not only because it had belonged to the grandson of the founder of Chasidism, but because his own grandfather, Rabbi Jacob of Delatin, used to wear it to synagogue on Passover when reciting the Prayer for Dew.

Israel had often helped his grandfather put on the beautiful snow-white *halatl*. Then he would stand close to his grandfather in front of the open holy ark as he prayed in his melodious voice:

> We pray for dew...
> For thou art the Lord our God who causeth the wind to blow and the dew to descend.
> May it be a blessing and not a curse! May it be for life and not for death.
> May it bring plenty and not scarcity.

The *halatl* became Israel's most cherished possession. He wore it on all important occasions in his own life and in the life of the community. Israel Spira grew up to be one of the prominent Chasidic personalities in Poland. Each time he wore the snow-white halatl, his grandfather's melodious voice would ring in his ears and fileds blessed with dew and peace would stand before his eyes.

World War II broke out. The rabbi decided to put on the *halatl* under his regular clothing and not to part with it. After much suffering in ghettos and death camps, the rabbi was transported to the infamous Janowska Road Camp. Under his con-

centration-camp clothing, he was still wearing what had once been his snow-white halatl.

One day, Rabbi Israel Spira was driven with a group of Janowska inmates to the bath house on Shpitalna Street in Lvov. Each of these trips to the showers ended in a bloodbath. The strange procession of tired, filthy inmates was accompanied by S.S. Untersturmführer Rokita, the most bloodthirsty Askaris,[81] and empty carriages for bringing back the dead. Each inmate knew that in entering the portals of the Shpitalna bath house, he was standing at the threshold between life and death.[82]

On that particular day, the Rabbi of Bluzhov was among the victims selected at random to die. Outside the bath house, those in the unfortunately selected group were ordered to strip naked. One by one, they were bludgeoned to death while Rokita showered insults upon them and a group of Askaris played sentimental Ukrainian tunes on their harmonicas.

The rabbi's turn came. He refused to remove the *halatl* of Rabbi Borukh of Medzhibozh. The Askaris began to inflict blows with their truncheons. Rokita, in a state of rage, kicked the rabbi with his blood-stained boots. But all Rabbi Israel Spira could hear was his grandfather's melodious voice praying for dew, life, and peace. They tried to undress him forcefully, but the rabbi crossed his hands so they would not be able to remove his *halatl*. One Ukrainian pulled on one sleeve, a second on another. They pulled the *halatl* up to the rabbi's neck and began to choke him. His face turned pale. Blood covered the once pure-white *halatl* wrapped around his neck. "The dog is dead," pronounced one of the Askaris. They kicked him once more. His body did not respond to their boots. He was thrown onto the wagon with the other dead bodies.

One of the rabbi's Chasidim, the cousin of Menakhem Freifeld, and a few other Jews were ordered to bury the dead. As they lifted the bodies, Menachem's cousin felt a reflex in one of the rabbi's toes. He touched the body and it was still warm. With the help of a few inmates, he carried the body back to the barracks. There he located a Jewish doctor by the name of Solomon, who was known for his dedication to saving human lives even in the Kingdom of Death. Dr. Solomon rushed to the barracks with stolen medicine and gave the rabbi two injections. Slowly Rabbi Israel Spira opened his eyes and rejoined the living. The famous *halatl* of Borukh of Medzhibozh, which his grandfather Jacob gave him before his Bar Mitzvah, was still wrapped around his bloody neck.

> We pray for dew...
> For thou art the Lord our God who causeth the wind to blow and the dew to descend.
> May it be a blessing and not a curse! May it be for life and not for death.
> May it bring plenty and not scarcity.

THE ZINKOV GHETTO

by Vladimir Kisilevich Kipiler[83]
Givat Olga, Israel, 1992

In our small town of Zinkov, before the second World War lived 6,000 Jewish people. Zinkov had a big beer factory, butter dairy, tractor factory, and many small producers of articles such as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, etc. Zinkov had Jewish, Ukrainian and Russian schools.On June 20, 1941 I finished Ukrainian middle school in Zinkov and I dreamed of going to the highest technical institute (Baumana) in Moscow, but my dreams were shattered on June 22 with the German invasion of Russia. A few days later the evacuation began, but my family remained behind. On July 8, 1941 the military registration enlistment office ordered that all young men 17 years and older must come to Vinnitsa to be drafted. When we arrived, the Germans were dropping in by parachute and we decided to return to Zinkov on July 12. When we returned, German troops had already occupied Zinkov.

The German leader took all the men from Zinkov to help rebuild the main road. After two days we were returned back home. A few days later the Germans organized local authorities. The Village head man was appointed — Matuschak, and head of police — Lisuk — plus 10 newly appointed policemen. On July 20, all the population was assembled in the main square where Matuschak read an order which said that anyone who attempts sabotage of German equipment, kept weapons, or listened to Russian radio, would be killed immediately. If German soldiers were attacked, 100 hostages would be immediately put to death. After the order was read, Gebietskommissar Eggers ordered that all Jews must wear yellow symbols with a white star of David. If a Jew was found not wearing it, he would be punished.

All the Jewish people in Zinkov were forced to live in one place, a ghetto. I was in the ghetto with my family — parents, sister, and brother. In the ghetto the conditions were difficult — crowded, hunger, sickness. Every day the Germans took us for hard labor. The managmement of Zinkov set up a Jewish ruling body. This ruling body had to see to it that all the German orders were obeyed, and they had to take gold and other contributions to the Germans. No strangers were allowed to be admitted to the ghetto.

By the autumn, many children and old people became sick. In the winter of 1941-42 the first deaths occurred. In May 1942 the ghetto was surrounded with police and they began to take out the children, the old, and the feeble. They beat them cruelly. These people were taken toward a ravine near the village of Stanislavka — 3 kilometers. from Zinkov. There, 600 Jews were shot.

Two days later I and several other young Jewish boys were sent to the railroad station of Dunaevtsy (18 kilometers from Zinkov). There was an organized Jewish labor camp there. We were the first prisoners there. We did forced labor. In July 1942 we were loading grain into a truck and on young Jew remained inside of the truck. With two other boys, we made a wood screen. The police

found out, and took from the truck the young Jew together with an old woman. When they discovered the wood screen, they took us to the police station. The young Jew was discovered when he tried to give 2 kg. of grain to the old woman.

They beat us until morning and returned us to the labor camp. In the center of the camp, all the prisoners assembled. The four of us boys lead the group out and we were given shovels. Then the commandant picked our four more people and they got the order to bury us with their shovels. The commandant of the camp — Krause — read the sentence to execute us. The shovels we had were to be used to dig a pit for ourselves. They took us to the field. I went to the right side, in front of me was a Jew from Lvov, behind me was Shimon Rozenblit from Zinkov and the young boy who gave the grain to the woman. In field near a small pit the police gave the command to stop. I put my shovel in the pit and ran, dodging from side to side. Police began to shoot and I heard the whistle of bullets. I ran on the field for a long time, but I was free!

I reached some village, but I hid near it until late in the evening. It was maybe 5 kilometers. from where I had escaped and I understood that the police might look for me there. At night, I went to the first house in the village and asked for food. I saw that the owner was sick. He asked me where I escaped from. I told him what had happened. He was on the battlefront, taken prisoner by the Germans, escaped and came home sick. His name was Grigori. His wife gave me something to eat and some clothes. They allowed me to spend the night in their shed.

The next morning these good people fed me and I went to Pokutentsy (8 kilometers from Zinkov). In this village lived my father's sister and another two Jewish families. My aunt was afraid for my life in Pokutentsy and we decided that I must go to Cherkasovka where my father's old friend, Todor Dobrianski, lived. Before the war, my father worked in Cherkasovka (4 kilometers from Zinkov) and he made friends with Dobrianski. I found his house quickly. They hid me in their shed for a few days. After a few days, Todor's son Vasili brought food for me and told me that he had heard shots coming from Zinkov. I decided that it was a pogrom. It was Oct. 7, 1942. Vasili told me that all the Jews from the Zinkov ghetto were forced to march in a column toward Stanislavka. There they were all shot. Three days later Vasili told me that near Cherkosovka some people saw my mother and my brother.

Early the next morning, I left my hiding place and went towards the forest hoping to find them. I stroll all day in the forest but I didn't see anyone. Near a ditch I heard talk and the voice of my mother and brother Aron. Mother told me what had happened since the time I had left Zinkov. When they knew I had escaped from the police, they spent two days trying to find me. The Police took 10 hostages and told the people that if they didn't find me they would kill the hostages. In order to rescue the hostages, the Jews proposed to the police that my mother, sister and brother be set out to work in the fields in order to attract me to them. They were watched by an undercover policeman. In Sept. 9 in Zinkov the pogrom began. The workers in the field knew that many police were arriving in

Zinkov. My mother, sister Sonya and brother Aron decided not to return to Zinkov. The undercover policeman heard about their plans and he returned to Zinkov to report about it. My mother with Aron and Sonya ran to different places (they worked in different work brigades).

I wandered in the forest and by a lucky chance I met my mother and brother, but we were afraid to leave the forest. At night we left the forest and came to Cherkasovka to our friends the Dobrianskis. They told us that Sonya came to their house earlier and she was going to head toward Transnistria. We decided to go to Transnistria too. More hope for rescue, but we never saw it. We hid one week in the forest and since I would have liked to know the way better, at night I came to my father's friend's house. When I came in, I was stunned — in the room sat my father!

My father was in the Proskurov ghetto where he made crates for things that the Germans wanted to ship back to Germany. My father applied to the Commandant with a request to look for his family. The Commandant was nice to my father and he gave him a permit for 10 days.

Father wanted to return to Proskurov, but he decided to go to Sharovka and hide us with his sister. On the way to Sharovka we met two policemen. My father showed them his permit in German from the Commandant. They couldn't read but they let us go. In the evening, we arrived in Sharovka. Early morning my father went to Proskurov but the family remained behind in Sharovka.

A few weeks later me together with 20 young Jewish boys from Bogdanovtsy (where I escaped being shot) did work on reconstucting the trunk line. We lived in an old mill. After a few days I went to a neighboring village to beg for food. There I saw an advertisement that the police were looking for me and they offered a reward. The advertisement did not have a photograph.

I decided to talk about this with the brigate leader. He was nice to me. In the evening after work I told him: "Master brigade leader I would like to tell you that I am very sick and I need for you to help me get to Sharovka." Sergei, the brigade leader, offered for me to remain at the mill. I understood that he didn't know about the search for me and I told him about the situation. He told me that he heard that in Dunaevtsy one Jew escaped from Police when they took him out to shoot him. They looked for him, but he did not know that I was the same Jew. Sergei offered for me to spend the night with him. In the morning he gave me a paper which said that I was sick and I can return to Sharovka.

When I came to Sharovka I knew I was very sick. I lied at home for a few days. After I was better, I met three Jews from Zinkov who went to Transnistria and knew the way. I begged them to take my mother and my brother together with us, but they did not want to. My mother persuaded me to go together with the boys to Transnistria and she with her little son Aron moved to Proskurov to be with her husband.

Early the next morning the 4 of us boys left for Transnistria. We took food and knives. We moved only at night. All day we hid in the forests. After three days we came to Yaltushkov (near Bar). We asked one woman for a way to Transnistria and the next day were arrived. Some people advised us to move to

the Kopaigorod ghetto. There, the ghetto had no fence and the Jews can enter or leave freely.

Jews in Kopaigorod worked in different places. I was lucky as I met my father's cousin and he offered me to live with him. Later the head of the Jewish community offered me a job as a woodcutter in the forest. Each worker had a section. We worked hard but we lived. We took from the forest some firewood, and for this job we received Romanian money. This was during the winter of 1942-43. In the summer we walked to the Romanian Jews in Popovka and they gave us many small things. We went to other villages to try to sell them. Spring 1944 had set in. All talk was about becoming free soon. Suddenly, Soviet soldiers appeared. We were all very happy. I decided to return to Zinkov. Will I find out anything about my family there?

Our house and all the Jewish houses in Zinkov were destroyed. I heard that my sister Sonia was alive as a partisan. Later she returned to Zinkov. Our parents and brother were shot together with all the Jews from the Proskurov ghetto in 1942. It was maybe in Lesnovo near Proskurov or near the railroad station in Grechani — the Jews of Proskurov were shot in two waves. Over 6,000 Jewish people lived in Zinkov before the Second World War. Some of the people were in the army, others escaped. ONLY 27 JEWISH PEOPLE RETURNED!

Those from Zinkov who survived and returned after the war — the only survivors out of 5,000 Jews:[84]

1) Foygelman, Khaim
2) Foygelman, Leva
3) Foygelman, Misha
4) Foygelman, Zyama
5) Fuks, Gersh
6) Fuks, Risya
7) Fuks, Shmil
8) Kleyman, Abram
9) Gluzman, Semyon
10) Gluzman, Minya
11) Kventsel, Musya
12) Kipiler, Sonya
13) Kipiler, Volodya
14) Khunovich, Izrail
15) Khunovich, Froyka
16) Fleyshman, Rivka
17) Roytberg, Moisey
18) Rozenblit, Abram
19) Abramovich, Ilya
20) Shapiro, Liza
21) Shapiro, Sveta
22) Izhak (Madyar), Abram
23) Izhak, Maltsya
24) Izhak, Riva
25) Berenzon, Bronya
26) Dukhovniy, Izrail
27) Reydman, Shifra

ESCAPE FROM THE ZINKOV GHETTO

by Semyon Gluzman[85]

I was born in Zinkov in 1926. My parents were also born in Zinkov. Before the war my father worked as a head of the local bakery.

I learned about the beginning of the war from the radio announcement of June 22, 1941. This was by the way, a day of the graduation from a high school for my older brother. They were supposed to have a graduation ceremony this day. The Red Army was retreating and we had no chance to escape. As far as I remember.

just a few people were able to escape. One was a local head of security and second one our physician. The physician, returned back from half way , so he did not manage to escape. The Germans came to Zinkov on July 10, 1941. Many Jews from our town, including myself, were immediately taken by Germans to the work in order to fix the roads. The local roads were completely destroyed by the retreating tanks, trucks and other heavy machinery of the Red Army. All work was performed manually, we had no buckets or wheel barrows, so we carried sand in our hats. Friday night we spent outside, people were not allowed to go home. Somehow, I managed to escape and came back home. Next day, on Saturday my father was taken to the same work. On Sunday everybody was released from the work.

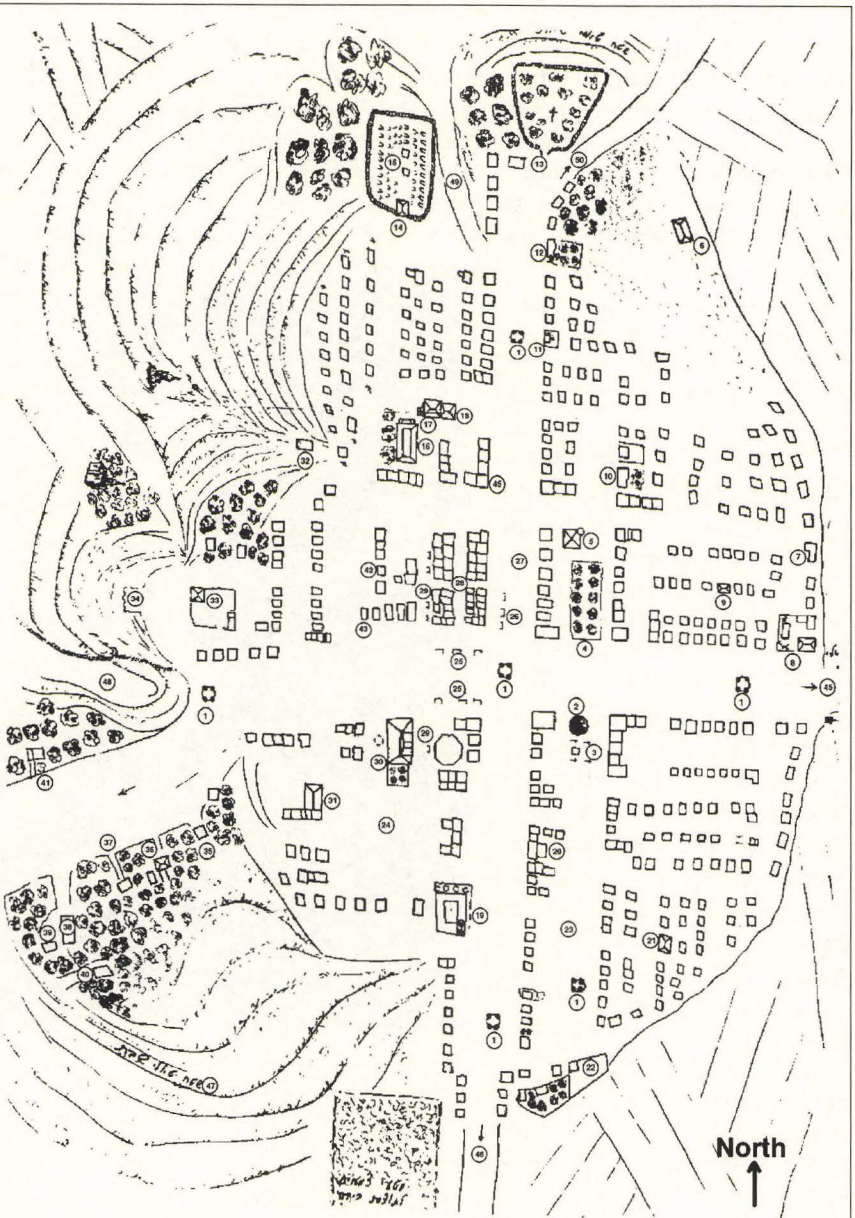


Ilya Abramovich (1920-1993).
Writer of *Ne Zabit*, the chronicle of the Zinkov ghetto. Courtesy of Ilya Abramovich.

Very soon, in the beginning of August, 1941 , we were forced out of our house, which happened to be on one of the four central streets in our town, where Jews were not allowed to live. All Jews were ordered to vacate their houses on those streets, so we moved to the house of our friends. Twelve people, my family included, lived in this house. What happened to our house afterwards? The local Ukrainians opened a teahouse there. The local administration gave us two days to move out to the new place. Our family did not take any furniture, we did not really had any furniture, so we took only fire wood. A few days later, the Germans gave us an order to attach yellow circles made from yellow fabric with Stars of David in the center to our dress, one circle on a chest, a second one on the back.

We did not know anything about what was going on in the area. There were some rumors about partisans, but I do not think we had any partisans in 1941 in our area.. The only person who knew something was a director of the local school, who had a radio and sometimes he told us what was going on .

How did we live and work? I used to get up early in morning. Usually work would start at 7 a.m. in the summer time. We were supposed to take food for lunch with us from home. Sometimes we worked in the fields, so we were able



Map of Zinkov before the war.
From the memories of immigrants from Zinkov.[86]

Legend to Zinkov Map

1. Street lights
2. The well
3. Hand pumps
4. Public park
5. Firehall
6. Slaughterhouse
7. Jewish school
8. The court of Rebbe Pinkhas
9. Old age home
10. Bath house
11. Hospital
12. Dr. Gorvatovsky
13. Christian cemetery
14. Jewish cemetery
15. Graves of the Chasidic rebbes
16. The large synagogue
17. The study hall
18. The old study hall
19. The court of Rebbe Moyshe
20. The study hall of Alter Katzenelbogen
21. Synagogue of craftsmen
22. Home of Yakov Moshe and the training camp (for youths planning to emigrate to Israel)
23. Cattle market
24. Market for pig meat
25. Market stalls for bread and fruit
26. Hatmakers
27. Pottery
28. Market square
29. The butchers lane
30. Yossil Sheiss
31. Makowsky house
32. Public washrooms
33. Post office
34. The castle ruins
35. Courthouse
36. School
37. "Bistitzke" (translation unknown)
38. The rural district administative office
39. Prison
40. The district police
41. The notary public
42. Moshelle Rofeh
43. Yekhiel Rofeh
44. Shmuel Rofeh
45. To Derazhnia and Proskurov; area for Sabbath walks
46. To Vinkovitsy
47. Area for Sabbath walks
48. The ravine pathway
49. The way to Kalinovky, Solovkovits, and Kamenets-Podolsky
50. To Adamovki and Yarmolintsy

to steal some vegetables such as cabbage, potatoes. In order to drink we had to go to the well. Two Ukrainian policemen guarded us constantly. We walked to our place of work by foot. During the winter the main job was to clean roads from the heavy snow. We had some free time at evening, so we used to come to see each other. This was in the first ghetto. Later in the second ghetto we were not allowed to stay outside of our dwellings at the evening, so the communication almost did not exist. In the second ghetto people did not really have time to talk and go outside. But if we had conversations, our main subjects were about liberation. We knew about the liquidation of the ghetto in the village of Minkovtsy. Actually, almost all the news to the ghetto came from Ukrainians potters. They traveled in the area from village to village selling their products. Letters and notes also were sent through these people and other local Ukrainians. We always expected pogroms at night. So in order to avoid being caught by Germans and Ukrainian police during the night time, I tried to spend nights outside of the ghetto.

Once I was arrested by the local Ukrainian policeman Grach for being outside of the ghetto at night. He brought me to the police station and put me under arrest. On our way to the police station we passed by an old Ukrainian lady, who tried to give me a piece of bread. She was probably very religious, but the policeman did not allow me to take this bread and was very angry at old lady. Later, several Jews, including myself who were also detained at the police station, were sent to the Dunaevtsy ghetto. The Dunaevtsy ghetto was a horrible place. The ghetto was strictly guarded and had gates.

My grandparents used to live in the Dunaevtsy. I spent two weeks in the Dunaevtsy ghetto and than managed to escape. How I did it? Once, when I was working at the railroad station, I met a Ukrainian from Zinkov by name Varenitsa, who helped me to escape from the Dunaevtsy. I returned to Zinkov. I have to tell you that in Zinkov we had just a few Germans- Commandant responsible for agricultural work and one SS man, the rest were Ukrainians. In the beginning we had many Ukrainians from Western part of the Ukraine, but they did not stay for a long time. One day, something happened and they were gone with the wind, I think they had some arguments with Germans. As you know from the Abramovich's book, the Jewish men from Zinkov were conscripted to move horses to the Eastern Ukraine. It was in May of 1942. In the beginning I was among conscripts, but later several youngsters including myself, were released from the duties, so we came back to Zinkov. Next day after the convoy with horses left Zinkov, Germans and local Ukrainian police started a pogrom. My family was awakened by the horrible screams and noise. In the middle of the night Ukrainians forced the Jews of Zinkov out of their homes on a streets. We realized what was going on outside and went into the hiding place in our house. We had our secret place build in near the oven, next to the shelf which is usually used for the pots. We build in a little entrance, which also served as an exit, the back wall was completely blocked. We spent whole day in the

hiding place along with Goyfman family with whom we shared the house. The old Goyfman couple did not join us in the hiding place, so they were taken by Germans who then realized they were specialists - furriers. This is how we survived the first pogrom in Zinkov. A few days later, a second ghetto was created. The ghetto had fence and was guarded by police. The head of the ghetto was a local bookkeeper. He was in charge of organizing people for work details, collected forced contributions. I remember the spring of 1942 and this first pogrom very well. It was a beautiful day, market day - Tuesday, cherry blossoms in bloom and a very bright sunny day. The Germans executed about 800 people this day, mostly elders and children, i.e. non-specialists. The next night, during a rain storm, bodies of the victims were washed out from the ditch. The next morning Germans ordered us to collect the bodies and bury them again. It was horrible... We knew everybody...

The second pogrom was in July of 1942. Germans and Ukrainians created a gathering point in the local school. It was a two-story building which before the Revolution served as the Zinkover rebbe's residence. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday Germans were hunting down Jews. They brought them to the building. The execution took place in Ragozovy Yar, 3 kilometers from Zinkov on Thursday evening. Once again my family managed to hide in our secret place. I should note that my father did not have a chance to go into the secret place. Normally, one person had to stay outside of the hideout in order to cover hiding place by moving a bed in our room. In this particular case, that person was my father. He moved the bed and then climbed up into the attic of the house, where he stayed during night watching what is going on in the town. In the middle of the night he managed to escape from the house. A few Jews, including members of the Goykhman family, managed to survived by being on the detail work. The shop where they worked making barrels, was next door to the gathering point - the school. As soon as the Ukrainian foreman of this group learned about pogrom he locked his Jewish workers in this shop, where they spent whole night. The name of the foreman was Stepan Kozletskiy. One of workers, a member of the Goykhman family, came to the house in the morning, moved the bed and this is how we got out. I immediately ran away to look for my father. A few hours later, my mother who stayed in the house (outside of the secret place) was taken by the Germans. Eight of us (people who were rescued by Kozlitskiy) were sitting in the attic of the shop, where they used to do street lights. From this observation point, I was able to see how my mother was taken away and killed... Kozletskiy was afraid to buy a lot bread for eight people, so he brought us bucket of cherries... My brother was on work detail in the *kolkhoz*, so he survived the second pogrom also. We spent 4 days in the shop, than policeman Podlipnyy came. He took whatever we had (soap, boots, etc.) and left. He did not touch us. Somehow we knew or it was definite sign for us that pogrom wass over and it is relatively safe to go out.

The ghetto shrank to the size of the one house. Before the war the family of Shinderman lived in this house. I was reunited with my father. This night my father managed to bribe a policeman who was guarding this house, and he let us

go. We went to the nearest village, where my father had friends. The house lady was afraid to let us in, so she went to another friend of my father in the village of Koreya, 8 kilometers from Zinkov. She took me in. During the day I was hiding in the cornfields, at night in the house. All these days I was begging my rescuers to take me back to my father. I forgot to mention, then we did not know what happened to my brother. I had bad feelings, this is why I wanted to see my father. My brother was looking for us on October 20, 1942. In the course of his search he went to the friend of our father. Once again this person did not allow my brother to stay in her house, so he was caught by Ukrainian policemen and killed on the spot.

Eventually, I was taken back to my father and stayed with him. We were moving from one hiding place to another from November 1942 until March of 1943. We already knew about Transnistria and the treatment of the Jews in this area by Romanians, so we decided to cross the German border and go there. We found a person who agreed to smuggle us into this area. The smuggler had a horse wagon full of pottery. We were at the bottom of this horse wagon covered by potteries. It was normal trade in that time - an empty pot was worth a pot full of wheat or other grains.. We left our hiding place at night. We passed the village of Verkhovka, right on the German-Romanian border. The smuggler commanded us to stand up, remove our shoes and cover our feet with socks, so nobody will hear our steps. We followed our smugglers orders and soon approached a stream. Suddenly we heard some noise. Our "leader" ran away, but we had no choice - what will happen, will happen. My father and I crossed the border and ended our journey on opposite side of the stream in the village of Romashintsy. It was in Romanian territory. We waited until the sunrise and than decided to go to the nearest house and ask for further directions. In this house, the lady gave us food and directed us to the group of people who were digging nearby, saying: "Go there and you will find a whole bunch of your 'brethren'". We passed by this group and moved further and further. Our journey ended up in the town of Kopaigorod. I could not walk anymore without shoes...

THE DESTRUCTION OF ZINKOV

by Yehudis Vaynblat-Laufer[87]
Hertzelia, Israel

I am one of the few who survived, who was successfully saved and I live in Israel. My name is Ida Vaynblat of Zinkov. I am Dudi the butcher's daughter. My name is now Yehudis Laufer and I live in Hertzelia, Israel.

When the war broke out, I was 17 1/2 and was studying in the University of Kiev as a student of history. I was not able to be evacuated because when they gave the order to leave the city, it was already too late. Hence, I remained caught under the German occupation.

I then decided to go back to Zinkov. When I came home, almost all the Jews were still alive. As you know, Zinkov once had a lot of little houses with straw and shingled roofs and earthen floors. We lived in a Jewish manner - a pure and upright life. In time, the straw roofs were replaced by shingle roofs and the earthen floors were replaced with boards and we continued to live satisfactorily. The children grew and studied and their parents enjoyed sure good fortune. There were other changes made, as well: Rebbe Moishele's big house was converted into a school for children. The *kloiz* of Rebbe Pinkhasl was changed into a movie theatre, the *kloiz* of the wagon drivers, which was called the "Kinsky" became a silo for corn for the Jewish *kolkhoz*. We davened in Mirele Tsupnis' old *kloiz* and in a small ante-chamber. The older Jews sighed and cried. The youth no longer attended synagogue and so flowed our lives.

All of a sudden a dark cloud descended over our heads - the Hitler plague. Ya'akov-Ber, the "honey Jew" evidently wanted to save himself by showing a friendly face to the German murderers on the first day when they arrived in Zinkov. So he went out of his house with bread and salt (and possibly did this out of fear). But an S.S. man shouted at him, "You are a Jew, a traitor to your land" and shot him on the threashold of his house.

They wore us out a whole year but they let us live. It was a life, yet not a life. There wasn't much to eat, even water was lacking. The water carriers were forbidden to bring water from the two wells in the valleys and they also couldn't even do this because their horses were soon confiscated.

The conscience of the Ukrainians, who were already from before loaded with racism, were without much effort poisoned. The Germans forbade the Jews not only from working in individual positions but even forbade them from selling anything - even water. If one could possibly get anything from the peasants, it was only for the price of a coat, a dress, a shirt, or a pair of pants. And how much was there already to barter? People became swollen from hunger. They didn't let any Jews bring water alone or to draw water from wells. Mothers had to watch how their children didn't even have a little water to drink. It was difficult, bitterly difficult. One had to steal everything and if one was caught, he was beaten to death. Only when God would send rain was one able to collect a little water to drink and to cook something, if one had something to cook.

One practically couldn't tell that I was Jewish. I was thought to be a Ukrainian. I would travel from the city to buy or trade things for a little flour, beans or potatoes and bring it in everyday from a different street. Only a small number of us could do this. We were afraid that the Ukrainians would recognize us and inform the Gestapo. So passed a whole year.

I and others always worried for the needs of the old and sick. We did not cease on account of any difficulties to help them.

Sometimes we would be caught by guards, who wanted to know why we went so often to the *zhids*,[88] but we already knew how to get out of such a situation and sometimes we would even get hit several times. Among those that helped were: the "Shvartser Rov", Ya'akov-Ber, Moshe Shoykhet, Mirele Tsupnis, Roize "Tsale-Hershe", the old "Kuptses", Shaya Zayenshtik, Shmuel Roife, and others.

One Sunday morning, we heard the sound of horses moving - Germans were moving, they were singing and playing music. We already knew that the great tragedy was on its way. No one went into the street. We ran to hide in previously prepared hiding places. We were running like crazies, wherever we could, in cellars, in attics, as if it could protect us from tragedy.

So the following occured when the German murderers made their first *aktion*. Exactly at 2:03 pm hey shot whomever they felt like shooting. They tore off the clothes from men and women and then chased them away. Children were killed with bayonets or were thrown while still alive. They ripped children away from their mothers with wild laughs and before their very eyes tortured or shot them right in their houses in front of their mothers. Nearby, the orchestra was playing with possibly 100 musicians - which was churning out jazz music and silenced the screams of pain and angst.

Meir Kupit stood up against the Germans and was beaten to death in the doorway of his house.

A few mothers stood to defend their children, such as Menashe Reydman's daughter Dvora. Menashe Reydman, his wife Tcharne, and daughter Dvora, with their small child were led to be shot. They wanted to take the child from Dvora and send Dvora herself to work. They told her, "You are young, until they shoot you, you can work well." Dvora spit in the face of the guard and yelled, "Bloody Murderer." They then shot her child before her eyes and then shot her.

After this, it was quiet -- the quietness of death. Those that remained alive crawled out of their holes. The Germans gave an order that we should go fill in the pits of those who were murdered.

The mass-shooting were carried out between the Stanislavovka mountains by Vinkovtsy "brum" (?). Later, they would send us to bury the martyrs. But just a short time later a heavy rain fell and the bodies floated on top of the water, so we were sent again to bury the bodies. A couple of days later, a gentile came and said that he saw a *zhid* hanging from a tree. The Jews of the community went to that place and found Khaim Roizes's (Izak's son) body hanging from both hands from a tree. He was among those that were shot. How he came to that tree will be an eternal mystery. We went to the Gestapo to ask for permission to bury him, but they asked for an enormous sum of money and for our clothes. We then went to the town residents to get help.

Lyove Finkel gave objects made of gold and his wife's earrings (Lyove Finkel was Moshe Grinman's brother-in-law and his wife Rivka was Moshe's brother). Yisroel Hinkoifev's (?) wife (Moshe's mother) gave two rings. The Fukelmans - a good field coat, Basia Vinokur gave all of her daughter Slava's equipment. And so the body of Khaim Roizes was purchased and brought to be buried as a Jew.

The Germans forced the Jews to bury all the other martyrs in mass graves. There was though no so many valuable items to purchase everyone. Zinkov was small and poor. It was decided that whoever still had anything of value should give it over in order that it would be exchanged for food to keep alive everyone who didn't have anything to exchange.

After the first pogrom, two weeks later the second pogrom occurred. Later, the third, fourth, and fifth. They murdered without stopping for 8 days. Then again it became silent. We came from Rivnitchke forest. We crawled, horribly confused. Dead bodies were everywhere. Murdered, suffocated in hiding places without air, without food or drink, or killed from fright. Men, women and children.

And now I want to note the heroism of a Jewish girl. I must write that not only Y.L Peretz [the author] could have brought us three gifts as an expression of the might of the Jewish people. Also our generation showed might on the part of a few and many holy martyrs. I want to tell you about a girl from our town of Zinkov.

The Gemeynerman family consisted of two or three brothers. One of them was Pinye the butcher. Pinye the butcher had an only daughter who was 16 years old (Petyute). She was beautiful, smart, well-raised, and intelligent. We studied in the same high school. I had already finished the school and she had one more year to go. When the second *aktion* came, she was caught by a guard, a former student of the same school. He had graduated a few years previously. He wanted to rape her but she wrestled with that strong giant, fought with him to her death. She let her soul leave her in a state of purity. We found her in a pit, where he had dragged her, a beaten bloodied corpse, but pure. She paid with her life for her Jewish name. She died as a heroine and not as a sheep. Although she was beaten to death, she remained pure and untouched. She was buried, in a state of holiness, in the Jewish cemetery.

In a hiding place located in a hole somewhere 32 people were hiding, with a child of 19 months. The child cried. They tried to quiet the baby with all sorts of methods. In the end, the baby was suffocated. The mother practically went out of her mind. She didn't want to leave the baby. She didn't believe that it was dead. Afterwards, the mother lived another 6 months. During another *aktion*, their hiding place was discovered. She was already completely insane. She didn't want to go out with the Germans and was buried alive in her hiding place. The hiding place became her grave. The others were murdered.

In one of those days, we found the mother of Velvel Tuchman laying in a pit as she was thrown in there. We wanted to take her out, but we couldn't. Then she called for Velvel Rozenberg to call for her daughter to see her. We went to call her daughter. Her daughter told the guard that she needed to take her mother out of a pit and bury her. And wonderously, she lightly took her mother's hand and she came right out of the pit. The day after this occurence, there was a fresh pogrom and all the children from that Mrs. Tuchman and also of Velvel Rozenberg were killed.

Risye Gedalya-Hersh, a religious and dear lady, was unfortunately already old and couldn't walk. They forced her to run. She asked them, "Shoot me, shoot me, murderers!" And they didn't stop dragging her by her gray hair until she fell unconscious. The murderers then stabbed her to death with knives. Her children came out and watched it all, not being able to help their mother in the slightest.

Shimon Laskin and his family lived a hard life but for a short time right before the tragedy of WWII, their life improved. His children grew up and all worked. The murderers came. The father was beaten in his own home. One son shouted, "Murderer!" and was beaten. Another son Yankel, and the daughter Sura, had to unfortunately see this and they managed to remain alive until the fourth *aktion*. They would yell, but out of fear they couldn't open their mouths.

Moshe Fani survived and so did his daughter Mania. His wife and son were killed. Woe to that father, for he was hiding with his son. He went out for a while and the S.S. caught him and shot him. Moshe remained waiting for his son to return and so he waits until today.

Yussel Vodovoz' daughter was married to the son of Perl the *svaitchkes*. The son Yankle was caught by the S.S. They sent him to work on the highway where he somehow offended an S.S. man. The S.S. man took him and stuck his feet in a boiling barrel of tar. Afterwards, he took him out and left him there. People took him back to the ghetto. He was half-burned, dark like coal and his pain was unbearable. He begged to be poisoned or shot. For 3 days, he suffered and in the evening of the third day, he expired. His sister Mani was later killed when a gentile turned her over to the Gestapo.



Yehudis Vainblat-Laufer, ca. 1965.
A survivor of the Zinkov ghetto.

The Lerman's daughter Gisia saw how they murdered her father. She herself was hiding and survived, but was killed in the last *aktion*.

I would like to relate another episode, which is so sad but true. You remember our large synagogue. Zinkover Jews took so much pride in their synagogue and one can relate about it so many things. On the holy ark were (as you certainly remember) two lions. The Germans broke and destroyed everything but a large piece of the holy ark with the guilded lions remained. The Germans evidently thought that the lions were guilded with true gold and wanted to remove the gold. They threw grenades, beat and broke the holy ark but the lions remained attached. They sent up two Jewish children to remove the "gold", but the Jews remained standing where they were. They then shot at the bulk of the children. The children fell and the wall remained standing, and I believe that until today that wall still remains.

A few days passed. We found ourselves in a ghetto. The ghetto was made not far from your street on the meadow, near the butcher store, not far from the Jewish secular school where Aizik Fukelman lived. They promised that these Jews will remain alive, because they wanted to put them to work...

By now no one had anything left to exchange for a piece of bread. We went begging in the villages and it pleases us to bring a little food from our friends....

Concerning the (Christian) *feldsher* named Gerega: During the German occupation he was very bad to the Jews. His daughter came from somewhere to Zinkov with a five year old child. She was living with an S.S. man and she was very jealous of unprotected Zinkov Jews. When she would discover where a Jew was hiding, she would immediately go inform the Gestapo and her bastard son would break the glass windows in Jewish homes. But I lived to see her dark end, when liberation came, she poisoned herself as well as her child. Gerega himself become blind and was supported by another daughter. The entire duration of the German occupation, he especially didn't want to help sick Jews and he permitted that they could shoot Jews behind his fence. These were the Jews that were yanked out of hiding. Hence, tens of Jews were buried there.

The complete opposite of him was another Christian *feldsher* name Vasik [or Vadik]. He helped Jews a lot. Unfortunately, he died a short time later. His wife and daughter couldn't bear watching the tremendous pains of the Jews and left for Monastir, so that they wouldn't have to see the destruction of Zinkov.

Concerning Sheva Abramovich (Alter-Mani-Yitskhok's daughter): Her married name was Foygelman. She was a very intelligent woman. She had four children, all boys. She and her husband, Khaim, and the children hid in a mine shaft, where they dug for phosphorus. They struggled through four years there. A peasant would bring them something to eat to keep them alive. Sheva couldn't last any longer and she died three months before the liberation, and she was buried in the mine. Her husband and the four children survived. The oldest son was already of military age, so they mobilized him in the army and three months later, he fell in battle. Her brother, Avrohom Abramovich, and his wife Itta-Leah and their son were murdered. Another son was killed in the army, and the other children were in Moscow and survived.

Moshe Fukelman hid with a gentile family in Stanislavtchik. Meanwhile, Moshe heard that things were good in Transnistria (Romania). He paid a gentile to lead him there. This gentile made a false bottom to a sled. A guard wondered why the bottom was so thick, he stabbed through with a knife and thereby stuck Moshe to the sled. Blood poured out. They practically beat the gentile to death, and they let Moshe suffer while being stuck in the sled. On the second day, they let him come out. He was already dead.

Once upon leaving the ghetto, a Jewish policeman caught me: Avroham Vasilke, he was named. He gave me over to the Gestapo. I was horribly tortured and beaten. My sin was that I was leaving the boundaries of the ghetto and was not wearing the yellow patch, the badge of shame, which the Germans commanded the Jews to wear. I was laying in the Gestapo headquarters for five days and was already asking myself to kill myself. However, I had nothing with which I could commit suicide. On the sixth day, they sent me with a transport of Jews "to work". I already knew what it meant "to work" so I jumped down from the moving truck. They shot at me, but I ran. I came to a village, Petrashi, and

remained there at the home of a Christian for two weeks. Meanwhile, I discovered that there were no more Jews in the city...

I returned to the city. It was true. They exiled all the Jews. There were no living souls remaining. I returned to the village, but the Christian told me that he was afraid to let me stay there any longer. I no longer had a place to go. I headed towards Mogilev-Podolsky. The Romanians were there and they didn't make pogroms. I managed to go there and remain there for five months. I lived practically without food. I ate a potato and half a beet a day, if I could even get that. I went around as a Jew. They watched me and sent me to a work camp in Tulchin and from Tulchin to Tiraspol. From Tiraspol, I was liberated. That is how I was freed, and you see I survived.

As I can best remember, in the Grinman house stayed members of the Gestapo. Across from that house were the police guards. At Abroham Blecher's house stayed an S.S. man and his family. At Perl the *svaitchke's* house [we think that this is Yekhiel-Mordekhai-Hershel's daughter - Y.R.] a Gestapo officer with his assistants stayed there. At Moshe Foiglman's house stayed the field commissioner. There, where Mirele Tsupnis house was, they made as the collection point where they would bring the Jewish community.

In 1947, when I was in Zinkov, only a very few houses remained. Houses of the following still remained there: Rebbe Moishele; Moishe Saliternik (Shpialter); Avrohum Abramovich (Avrohum Alter); Sender Garber, Avstriak; Hersh Yechiel Roife; Shmuel Roife; the Vinokurs; Khaim Roizes; the Garniks; the "Tanna of Nehardea"; the "Yantaniche"; and a few other individual houses. Most houses were burned, and when not, the Ukrainians dismantled them for wood. A mountain of dirt remained at every house. In a few places, one could find ripped pillows filled with feathers or a child's shoe. It was frightening to imagine how the gentiles helped to wipe out the city. On the walls of the destroyed houses were smeared sayings in Ukrainian: "An end to Jewish rulership!" "A free Ukraine shall live" "Beat the Jews, Free the Ukraine!" and a few other similar 'good-hearted' graffitti. Only then, when they saw that Hitler was not sparing them either, did they become a little better, but it was already too late.

It is difficult to live and to remember everything. I am writing this with the blood of my heart. I'm tired of writing all of this. I can't anymore. One should know how the Jews suffered. I have sworn never to forget this nightmare of blood.

Death was frightening. However, there was nothing in the world that could kill our will to live. But the lives of the survivors is also frightening enough. I, for example, live in two worlds. By day, I am a person as all others, with a family, work. I have worrisome and happy occasions, just like everyone else. But by night, I dream horrible nightmares: I am again in my home and suddenly I feel as if a pogrom (a Nazi *aktion*) is about to begin. I run, I shout, and then I wake up in a cold sweat. Only God knows how long this will last. I will never be lucky. It has already been 24 years that I have not listened to music, no concerts, I have not danced and will not dance. When I pass by a place where they are playing

jazz, I run away for it reminds me of how accompanying every Nazi *aktion*, the German murderers accompanied their murdering with the sounds of wild jazz music and with wild shouting.

I swore an oath that I will never forget and never forgive. I am certain that all of our *landsleit* will also accept upon themselves this oath. Every Jew there gave an oath that whoever of us survives, will eternally remember and in no case shall forget not only the tragedy itself but also the embarrassment of how they killed us off. We cannot and will not forget this!

SUMMARY OF THE HOLOCAUST IN ZINKOV

by Benjamin Lukin[89]
Jerusalem

Many Jewish people in Zinkov could not believe that catastrophe could happen. In their memory they remembered "civilized" German occupation in 1918, and besides this they thought that Zinkov was a holy place because famous tsadiks were buried there. One worthy old man said at the time, "If there is a God he will not let them destroy us." German troops arrived in Zinkov on July 10, 1941 and without staying they went ahead. The Jewish people gave the Ukrainians free dinners because they thought they would be sympathetic to them. But on the next day robbers plundered and pogroms happened. One of the first victims of Ukrainian terrorism was this worthy old man who called the people to be calm because he believed that the Almighty would protect them. The Nazis made their headquarters in an addition of the school. For the road to this office they used gravestones from the Jewish cemetery. For the first shooting deaths they chose the invalids and this happened on May 2, 1942 in a hollow near the countryside village of Stanislavovka on the left side of the road to Vinkovtsy (at the beginning of the 1990's on this place stood fuel storage tanks). They left the dead people in the hollow. The next day there was a thundershower and it washed some of the bodies out. After this killing they moved all the Jewish people from Zinkov to Dunaevtsy, where they organized a ghetto. In this ghetto they assembled over 2,000 people. On August 4, 1942 they moved all the Jewish peoplefrom the ghetto of Zinkov and the surrounding villages (about 3,500 people) to a phosphorus mine. The Nazis made an explosion near the mine, which sealed off its entrance. All the residents who lived nearby moved because they couldn't bear to hear the screams and moaning from the mine. "The earth was moaning." Not too many from Zinkov survived this catastrophe. Some of them were hidden in villages. A Jewish woman Shifra Reydman was hidden by a Ukrainian family. Some people were hidden in another phosphorus mine and stayed there until the Soviet army came. After Zinkov was freed on March 27, 1944, one Jewish Soviet officer came to this mine and for a long time called the names in Yiddish and asked them to come up and they didn't because they were afraid. After the war the bodies of the dead Jewish people were buried in

Vinkovtsy. Every year on May 2 - when the first killing happened -relatives and fellow countrymen gather together in a commemorative ceremony near the site of the common grave.

THE DERAZHNIA GHETTO

by B. Kh. Tsukerman[90]

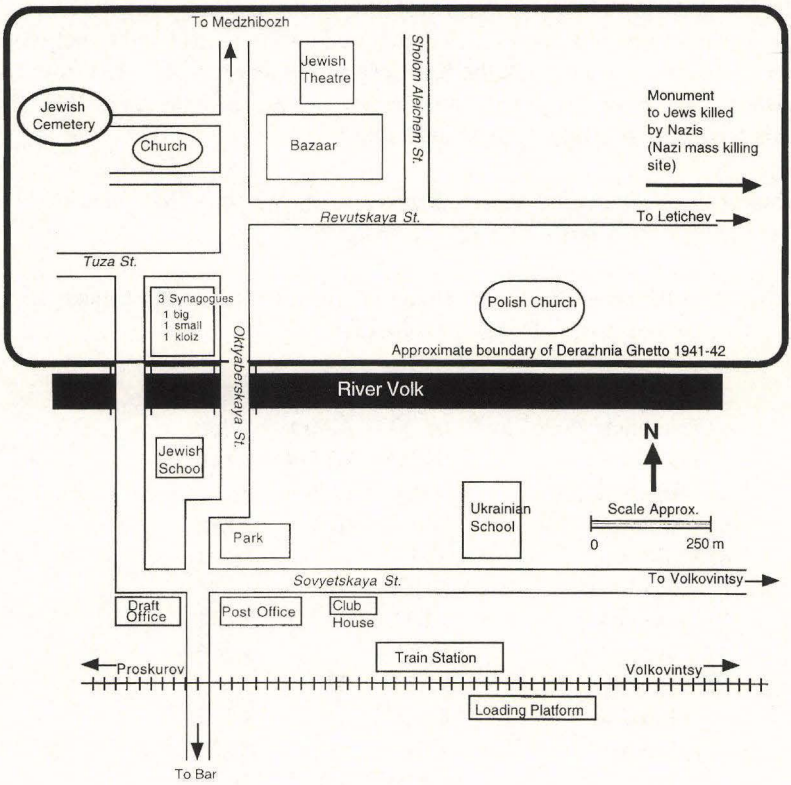
In the early years of the twentieth century there were 5,400 Jews in Derazhnia. Children were sent to the private Jewish school of Tabachnik. About 140 people used the Jewish library run by Duvid Rabinshteyn; books were sent from St. Petersburg. For entertainment, the Jewish residents enjoyed the performances of the Jewish amateur theatre. An illegal Zionist group was headed by Yampolsky and Shapiro. In 1930 a Jewish collective farm called "Loitera" was established.

When the Germans came in July 1941, Derazhnia was occupied and a ghetto was instituted. Initially, 1,848 people were registered, including 579 persons aged one month to 14 years, and 715 workers. Jews were also brought in from Volkovintsy and other towns. According to a report by the [1941] Chief Gendarme Paul Reski, Jews were classified by different skilled professions (tailors, watchmakers, barbers, bakers, etc.)

Several layers of barbed wire fences were constructed aroudn the ghetto, ranging in height from 3.3 meters to 5 meters high. Jews were forced to wears Stars of David sewn on the left side of the front and on the back of their clothes. Jews suffered from a lack of food and medicine. The guards threatened to kill them, but would allow them to live if sufficient bribes were paid. On different occasions the guards took 115 kilograms of gold, 325 kilograms of silver, and the equivalent of 59,500 U.S. dollars.

In the reports of the [1942] Chiefs of Gendarmes, Daichman and Shilts, killings began in September 1942. On the first day 1,500 Jews - elderly people, women and children - were forced to undress and then were killed. After the killing, the graves were covered but groans were heard coming from the site for days. The earth became red with the blood of the victims. The day after this first killing 3,810 people (of them, 3,647 were Jewish) were killed. This group included people from towns in the Volkovintsy area.

Jews met their deaths in all of the other Jewish *shtetlach* as well. In Yarmolintsy many Jews committed suicide, such as the head of the Jewish community Geller, who killed his daughter, his wife, and then himself. In Medzhibozh, Letichev, Satanov, Stara Sinyava, Polonoye... a Jewish word is not spoken anymore.



Map of Derazhnia during WWII.
From the recollections of Semyon and Etta Bik.

SOVIET EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION RECORDS OF NAZI ATROCITIES

researched by Ben Weinstock, David Chapin and Vadim Altskan
translated by Vladimir Goykher

The Soviet Extraordinary Commission was an operation by the Soviet intelligence services to identify attrocities committed on Soviet soil and to help locate Nazi collaborators. These took the form of various reports submitted from local districts to the Oblast (regional) level. Since the close of the Cold War, these records have only recently become available.[91]

Summary List about Evil Deeds Perpetrated by the Nazi Occupiers and their Accomplices in the Kamenets-Podolsky Region[92]

A. Name of the area; B. No. of Soviet people tortured, shot, or hanged;[93] C. No. of prisoners of war;[94] D. No. of refugees[95]

A.	B.	C.	D.
1) Kamenets-Podolsky[96]	85,000	6,000	5,000
2) Proskurov[97]	81,000	65,000	1,816
3) Shepetovka[98]	30,000	20,000	273
4) Antonina[99]	300	—	4,885
5) Vasiliya	385	—	4,234
6) Verezdovo	735	—	1,235
7) Vinkovtsy	4,835	—	2,941
8) Volkovintsy	369	—	1,836
9) Volochisk	9,297	22	3,982
10) Gorodok	191	11	3,725
11) Grizevo	1,913	8	4,285
12) Derazhnya	3,810	432	2,771
13) Dolzhovka	327	—	7,195
14) Dunaevtsy	12,000	—	2,250
15) Izyaslav	11,000	6,000	1,851
16) Krasilov	4,500	—	1,936?
17) Letichev	7,200	—	2,162
18) Lyachovtsy	3,413	51	3,227
19) Medzhibozh	2,588	—	1,710
20) Minkovtsy	3,133	—	2,132
21) Mikhalpol	93	22	1,587
22) Novaya-Ushitsa	3,222	—	5,237
23) Orinin	1,745	5	4,788
24) Ostropol	699	—	3,157
25) Pluzhnyansk	185	20	3,084

26) Polonna	8,579	—	1,954
27) Proskurova[100]	101	—	3,534
28) Satanov	647	—	1,958
29) Slavuta	150,000	150,000	2,822
30) Smotrich	2,327	—	4,490
31) Solobkovets[101]	79	—	2,140
32) Staro-Kostantinov	20,000	3,330	2,497
33) Staraya-Sinyava	2,275	—	2,543
34) Staraya Ushitsa	3,109	—	3,002
35) Teofipol	1,298	—	3,489
36) Felshtin (Gvardeskoye)	235	—	2,138
37) Chemerovets	179	—	3,125
38) Chornoostrov	109	—	3,042
39) Shepetiv	—	—	

A. Incident, B. Date of Mass Killing, C. Location of Mass Grave, D. Total number of People Killed, E. Nazi Officials and their Collaborators, F. Recording Soviet Officer and their Witnesses.

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
3678 Civilians	Sept. 1942	N.E. of Derazhnya	3678	Doichman Sholts Mugle Shtockolman Minkov	Act commission of Derazhnya District. Evidence by witnesses: Shpilberg, Mekhel.R. Beldf, D.R. Akselrod, Lazar Moisevich Kusharsky, A.B.
	Sept. 1942	Derazhnya Jewish Cemetery			
Separate	End of 1941, 42, 43, 44	Bozhivtsy Kopachevka Krinichne Korzhevtsy	Villages:		
7200 Civilians of them:	Fall 1942	4 Km. from center of Letichev in Zaletichevka	7200	Lieutenant: Gasha Gendarme:	Act commission of Letichev district from
7000 People		North-east[102] of Letichev		Peterman	May 31 and June 1, 1944
200 People	Nov. 1942	Letichev (Inside camp)			

About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmelnitsky Oblast at the time of the Fascist occupation[103]

Volkovintsy. In the Jewish cemetery at end of 1941, 1942, and 1943 369 people were shot (ages unknown).[104]

Derazhnia district. In the fall of 1941 in Derazhnia ghetto there were 3647 Jewish people of different ages who were shot in the fall of 1942. In the small village of Nizhne were tortured to death or shot 70 prisoners of war. On the platform near the railroad station in Korzhovtsy were killed 62 prisoners of war. In Bozhikovtsy in 1941 were killed 11 activists. 9 activist workers were killed in Kopachovka. In Krinichne - 3 people, Bogdanovtsy - 1 person, Yablunovka - 2 people, Cheresherki - 1 person, Derazhnia - 2 people, Shpichentsy - 1 person, Teperovka - 1 person. Ages from 20 to 3 years - Ukrainian people. Total in the Derazhnia district that were killed were 3810 Soviet people.[105]

Letichev district. In September 1942 in Zaletichevka were killed 3000 Jewish people. In November 1942 were killed 4000 Jewish people at the same place. In total in Letichev were killed 7000 Jewish people. In Letichev there was a concentration camp of prisoners of war. The camp was in the Catholic Church. Quantity of prisoners of war is absent in the documents. In the camp were men and women of different ages and nationalities. In November 1943 inside the camp 200 prisoners of war[106] were shot.[107]

Medzhibozh district. In the second half of 1942 in Medzhibozh were killed 2558 Jewish people who were in the ghetto. The shootings were from August 21 to October 31, 1942 west of Medzhibozh near the road to the village of Rusanovtsy. Among the people that were shot were women, men, and children.[108] the perpetrators were Adolf Shtolman, Vaitsenger, Fritz Mon, Fritz List, Koch, and Demyan Stukan.[109]

Mikhalpol. During the Nazi occupation, 93 people were killed. The perpetrators were Bilke Yantz and Martinyok.[110]

Zinkov. A total of 3138 people were killed at various times. The perpetrators were Eggers, Kulman, Gegelman, Kelin, Shram, Grapp and Kran.[111]

Dunaevtsy. In 1942 a total of 12,000 people were sealed up alive in a phosphate mine. The perpetrators were Eggers and Gofer [112]

Statement-List, June 20, 1944. We, the undersigned, chairmen of commission Stanislav Romanovski and members of commission Angorin and Abrutski, drew up this statement: List that, with brigands, acts the Fascist occupation did harm, list the names of families in Medzhibozh, Khmelnitsky Oblast. Names of the heads of families:[113]

1. Tselniker, Idel
2. Lipets, Shmil
3. Gervits, Shimek
4. Vaintrub, Moishe
5. Epelfeld, Etel
6. Stolyar, Ida
7. Glanets, Shaia
8. Vaisman, Iosif
9. Kogan, Simkha
10. Pritilov, P.
11. Shtul, Berko
12. Shtul, Borukh
13. Krochak, Mef
14. Aksman, Leibesh
15. Krochak, Khil
16. Efus, Gersh
17. Aksman, Mordko
18. Vainshteyn, Eved
19. Purim, Mef
20. Bronshteyn, Leyser
21. Bronshteyn, Simkha

22. Brockdit, Khaim
23. Kleinfam, Leyb
24. Mordkovich, Khayka
25. Goldberg, Khaim
26. Momentiva, Buka
27. Momentiva, Volko
28. Krokhmalnik, Shoil
29. Zilberman, Aizek
30. Zeltser, Ikhlia
31. Shapura, Ikhsel
32. Blank
33. Millis, Tsalik
34. Millis, Avrum
35. Fayngold, Leyb
36. Byalo, Yankel
37. Byalo, Leyb
38. Epshteyn, Motl
39. Goykhberg, Leyb
40. Zats, Beniamin
41. Tsinshier, Volko
42. Shamestev, Moyshe
43. Zitser, Lone
44. Idis, Moyshe
45. Kozak, Yankel
46. Kozak, Fishel
47. Tsinman, Nivel
48. Librant, Itsek
49. Khasik, Yankel
50. Eifus, Khil
51. Yosevich, Meril
52. Vayfan, Goran
53. Kalik, Mef
54. Gurfinkel, Moyshe
55. Pergament, Dude
56. Siminovker, Dvoyre
57. Shtekhman, Avrum
58. Eydelman, Khayka
59. Klinger, Moyshe
60. Zats, Khaim
61. Mite, Avrum
62. Goldfarb, Moyshe
63. Vayner, Shmil
64. Zats, Nakhman
65. Gorenshteyn, Yankel
66. Gorenshteyn, Motel
67. Gisis, Nakhman
68. Gisis, Oyzer
69. Faygenblat, Shaya
70. Faygenblat, Shmil
71. Kremen, Busya
72. Grinberg, Sopotnik
73. Gorind, Nyunya
74. Grabler, Khasya
75. Kangun, Itsek
76. Dukach, Shloyma
77. Krishtul, Myer
78. Okup, Meer
79. Okup, Avrum
80. Poyzner, Mekhel
81. Redvenitser, Reyzell
82. Shteyn, Avrum
83. Khmelnitskiy, Shulim
84. Bleyvas, Itsek
85. Latner, Shmas
86. Groyvasan, Zlote
87. Goldberg, Shmil
88. Guberman, Fanya
89. Shoykhet, Leyb
90. Zats, Iosif
91. Ilvepon, Itsek
92. Idel, Motl
93. Khmelnitskiy, Berel
94. Millis, Froike
95. Millis, Zelda
96. Vagner, Lina
97. Melamud, Olya
98. Trayger, Idel
99. Dimelson, Khone
100. Fayn, Aron
101. Gamis, Avrum
102. Yoykherman, Leyb
103. Bokserboym, Khil
104. Kigel, Gdalya
105. Beskerovniy, Khil
106. Aksman, Dotsya
107. Grik, Aron
108. Grik, Borukh
109. Gladshteyn, Kh.
110. Irilevich, Itsek
111. Irilevich, Idel
112. Lantsman, Shmil
113. Zaltsman, Zeylik
114. Isterman, Aron
115. Gelman, ?-Sure
116. Guberman, ?
117. Gonte, Moyshe
118. Raykhman, Avrum
119. Koren, Tsalik
120. Krit, Berko
121. Relfond, Bunya
122. Abramovich, Itsek
123. Aikhgorin, Shelma
124. Okup, Leybesh
125. Shtivel, Yankel
126. Tsukerman, Shmil
127. Tsiler, Itsek
128. Korchmak, Gersh
129. Goldiv, Iosif
130. Goldiv, Avrum
131. Goldiv, Khaya-Sura
132. Gindiv, Moyshe
133. Fateliv, Iosif
134. Shpaner, Srul
135. Shpaner, Bentsion
136. Schizis, Aron
137. Millis, Khaym
138. Moikherman, Lina
139. Royselboy, Feyga
140. Tsipelshteyn, Yankel
141. Grinberg, Dudya
142. Grik, Avrum
143. Shamestev, Peysya
144. Vayner, Khaim
145. Vayner, Avrum
146. Mikovetskiy, Leyb
147. Pergament, Nyunya
148. Tsipelshteyn, Yankel
149. Zon, Menya
150. Tsimelzon, Khane
151. Yashirker, Avrum-Gersh
152. Dukach, Shome
153. Duka, Noyl
154. Sherman, Shloyme
155. Shotkovich, Khaskel
156. Shteynberg, Shika
157. Melamud, Itsek
158. Gurtenberg, Mendl
159. Gurfinkel, Idl
160. Gorenshteyn, Volko
161. Dimanshteyn, Itsek
162. Glatster, Volko
163. Gluzberg, Moyshe
164. Kibrik, Tsipora
165. Lande, Aizik
166. Yarmulnik, Shmil
167. Barshak, A.
168. Ruvinshteyn, Moyshe
169. Dimanshteyn
170. Bershteyn, L.
171. Derborindiker, S.
172. Gluzman, V.
173. Gindis, S.
174. Kats, Moyshe
175. Ketser, Iosif
176. Kleyner, Khaim
177. Vaysman, Etel
178. Mirlis, Khaim
179. Malivin, P.
180. Krilerdska
181. Kloyzner
182. Lekhtmann
183. Nekhtman, M.
184. Oystacher, Leyb
185. Shtul, Shika
186. Royzman, M.
187. Shain, Zloto
188. Terpus, Meer
189. Gruver, Riven
190. Shekhvits, M.
191. Stasir, Yankel
192. Golubchik, Yankel
193. Shedler, Abram
194. Neyman, Khaim
195. Tsiler, Etel
196. Tsingif, Leyb
197. Tsipelshteyn, M.
198. Ashkenadzi, B.
199. Brondin, M.
200. Gershgorin, S.
201. Rezelman
202. Gindis, Sh.
203. Geler, Sh.
204. Gisis, Elekh
205. Grinberg, P.
206. Kirkif, Itsek
207. Melamud

208. Grinshteyn
209. Garber, S.
210. Krivoshey
211. Makhler, M.
212. Vays(f)man, R.
213. Kogan, Z.
214. Barfeld, I.
215. Shmukler, Aizek
216. Sherb, Malya
217. Snitifker, M.
218. Snitifker, F.
219. Beygelfrud, Sh.
220. Zingman, B.
221. Shapiro, M.
222. Fiks, David
223. Ronis, David
224. Litkovetskiy
225. Mashtaler, L.
226. Mandel, R.
227. Senderovich, A.
228. Zektser, Sh.
229. Idbril, M.

Executive committee of Medzhibozh District Soviet, Deputy Working Masses, the present act with certainty: Head - Romanovski Secretary - signature Two Witnesses - signature

The act is registered in the Book of Acts #224, June 27, 1944.

* * *

STATEMENT # 9[114]

May 22, 1944, town of Zinkov, Vinkovtsy raion, Kamenets-Podolsky province.

We, the undersigned :

Dukhovnay, Khava, b. 1887
Dukhovny, Iser, b. 1892
Dukhovny, Boris, b. 1904
Kelenzon, Pinya, b. 1897
Tikhman, Abram, b. 1902
Milshteyn, Khaya, b.1919
Milshteyn, Moshko, b. 1924
Burdman, Sura, b. 1904
Burdman, Rosa, b. 1912
Gluz, Manya, b. 1912
Tikhman, Ita, b. 1897
Gluzman, Abram, b. 1922
Fukelman,(first name illegible), b. 1897
Fukelman, Sonia, b. 1899
Fukelman, Sema, b. 1922
Fukelman, Moshko, b. 1897
Zelfand, Gershko, b. 1900
Breman, Dud, b.1904
Breman, Shlema, b. 1906
Breman, Gitlia, b. 1912

the Chairman of the local Soviet, also Chairman of the Commission to document the crimes which were made by the German invaders: Milshteyn, Leizer Zusevich

the members of the Commission:
1) the first secretary of the local Soviet: Podlesnuk, Olgo Gurevna
2) Lokhvitskiy, Vladimir
3) Gluzman, Motl
4) Foygelson, Khaim

make this statement that during the German occupation, on May 9, 1942, in the vicinity of the village Stanislavovka, in the ravines, 588 peaceful residents of Zinkov were killed by machine gun and rifle fire. The shooting was made by the

order of Gebietskommisar Eggers of Dunaevtsy, and Chief of Gendarmery Busse of Vinkovtsy .

Among those killed :

Elderly:
Volfbeyn, Alter, b. 1872
Volfbeyn, Sarra, b.1887
Gilsberg, Berko, b. 1872
Gilis, Sosia, b.1876
Gilis, Berko, b. 1871
Shvarts, Aron, b. 1877
Ferman, Basia, b. 1892
Berenshteyn, Moshko, b. 1887
Natanzon, Khaim, b. 1887
Kantor, Khaim, b. 1887
Kantor, Khaya, b. 1890
Latman, Zemvel, b. 1890
Berenshteyn, Moshko, b. 1885

Children:
Volfbeyn, Golda, b. 1935
Ferman, Ita, b. 1935
Kleyman, Sema, b. 1940

Persons of middle age:
Kleyman, Polia, b. 1918
Flomin (or Floshin ?), Khaim,b. 1897
Dukhovnaya, Sura,b. 1904
Shneyderman, Feyga,b. 1897
Shaposhnik, Elta,b. 1906
Gilis, Duvid,b. 1905
Shvarts, Ita,b. 1902
Latman, Frida,b. 1909
Vodovoz, Reyza, b.1898

STATEMENT #10[115]

[same heading as before]...in the vicinity of Stanislavovka, in August of 1942, 1,882 peaceful Soviet citizens of Zinkov were killed by machine gun on order of... Eggers and... Busse.

among those killed:

Elderly:
(illegible), Leyba, b.1872
" ,Sura, b.1882
" ,Zus,b. 1872
" ,Feyga, b.1882
" , Moshko,b. 1882
" , Borukh,b. 1880
" , Gitlia, b.1887
" , Yankel, b.1887
Abramovich, Abram, b.1882

Children:
Dukhovnaya, Zina,b. 1935
Dukhovnaya, Fania,b. 1937
Dukhovnaya, Volko,b. 1934
Kelenzon, Letia, b.1937
Glukh, Vova,b.1935
Glukh, Grisha,b. 1940
Abramovich, Buzya,b. 1930
Dukhovnaya, Manya,b. 1929
Dukhovnaya, Genya, b.1928
Dukhovnaya, Sanya,b. 1926
Kelenzon, Moshko,b. 1926
Burman, Lenya,b. 1926
Tikhman, Manya,b. 1928

Persons of middle age :
Dukhovnaya, Estra, b.1905
Dukhovnaya, Khaya, b.1920
Dukhovnaya, Dvoyra, b. 1902
Kelenzon, Sura, b.1900
Kelenzon, Nina, b. 1902
Kelenzon, Rukhlya, b. 1910
Kelenzon, Eska, b. 1930
Dukhovny, Sema, b. 1926
Grishgorn, Ben,b. 1897

THE AFTERMATH

by David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

The German occupation of Letichev lasted from July 17, 1941 to March 23, 1944; in Medzhibozh from July 8, 1941 to March 24, 1944; in Derazhnia from July 11, 1941 to March 25, 1944; and in Zinkov and Mikhalpol from July 12, 1941 to March 26, 1944.[116] The region was liberated by the 1st Ukrainian Division of the Red Army after stiff German resistance from fortifications in and around Letichev.[117]

There were four specific Nazi mass killing locations in the Letichev District. They were: [1] Letichev (at Zaletichevka), [2] Medzhibozh (near Rusanovtsy), [3] Derazhnia (near Nizhne), and [4] Zinkov (near Stanislavovka; also in Dunaevtsy with the Jews of Yarmolintsy and Mikhalpol). Of these sites, the majority of the killings took place in 1942 in the second wave of Einsatzgruppen *aktionen*. Unlike other areas of the Ukraine, wholesale killings did not take place in 1941. The specific reason may have been the need for manpower in the German road construction project which did not get fully underway until 1942. While there was a record of killings in 1941, such as in Letichev and Zinkov, they seemed to be for terror or political reasons, not for the complete liquidation of Jews from the area.

Of the four towns mentioned above, all had ghettos which served to concentrate Jews from outlying areas. The majority of able-bodied people were taken from Derazhnia and Medzhibozh to Letichev - the main slave labor center for the District. Thus, once their usefulness was gone, the ghettos of Derazhnia and Medzhibozh were expendible. Apparently, Einsatzgruppe C was active in the area again in Sept. 1942. It was during a period on or about Sept. 21 when three organized mass killings took place.

In Medzhibozh, according to Einhorn, the killings took place on Sept. 21. According to the monument at the mass killing site, the date was Sept. 22. By various estimates of the Soviet intelligence, 2558 or 2588 Jews were killed. The monument says 3000, which may simply be an estimate.

In Derazhnia, the date was around Sept. 20. Various Soviet intelligence reports put the number of Jews killed at either 3378, 3647, or 3678. At the monument, the estimate is 4000 people killed. Perhaps part of the discrepancy is how they counted non-Jews. According to Vladimir Goykher, there was a Gypsy village of Kitanovka outside of Volkovintsy. The entire Gypsy group was also murdered by the Nazis. Perhaps the 432 non-Jews reported killed in Derazhnia largely represent these people, who like the Jews, were murdered due to Nazi genocidal hatred.

In other locations within the district, the disposition of the Jews were as follows. The Jews of the *kolkhoz* of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan were taken to the

Derazhnia ghetto where they met the fate of the Jews there. The Jews of Mikhalpol were moved to Zinkov, where they met the fate of the Jews there. Apparently there was a mass killing in Volkovintsy in the first wave in 1941, where 369 Jews were murdered. The rest were moved to Derazhnia ghetto and died there in 1942.

In Zinkov a mass killing of 588 people (Gluzman claims 800 people) took place in May 9, 1942. Another mass killing took place in July or August 1942 of 1,882 people. Many Jews from Zinkov ended up in Dunaevtsy, where they met a horrible death. The local Ukrainian gendarmes marched the Jews naked into a underground mine and then they blew up the entrance, entombing them.[118]

Letichev also saw the 1942 *aktion*. However, the entire Jewish population was not liquidated at one time since there was apparently still some useful work to be done as a slave labor pool (in the camp) and as skilled artisans (in ghetto #2). ghetto #1 was liquidated during a two-day period starting Sept. 20. According to Soviet intelligence, 3000 Jews were killed in that incident, however Goykher estimates the true number may have been closer to 5000. By the end of Sept. 1942, by all accounts the only Jews left in Letichev District were those remaining in Letichev itself. In Nov. 1942, ghetto #2 was liquidated. The exact date is unknown, but Goykher claims it was the day of the first snowfall (which was probably early in Nov.). The slave labor camp in Letichev was kept open until possibly Jan. 1943 when the last 200 Jews were murdered.

By these estimates, it is possible that as many as 17,000 Jews were murdered in the Letichev District. The last reliable and complete count of the Jews in this district was in the 1926 Census. In that census, the number of Jews in Letichev District were as follows: Letichev - 2,434, Medzhibozh - 4,614, Derazhnia - 3,250, and Zinkov - 2,999. It was likely that given that there was only an estimated 150 survivors of Jews who survived the war, perhaps as many as 98%-99% of all the Jews who lived there prior to the war perished. Between all the testimonies and documentation, we can account for the names of only about 1,025 of the Jewish dead.

HEROS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Jewish soldiers fought gallantly shoulder-to-shoulder with other Soviet citizens to rid the Soviet Union of Nazis during World War II. Young men and women of the Letichev District who managed to flee the German invasion were integrated into the Soviet war effort. Not much is known about those who lost their lives in battle. Almost certainly, many more soldiers Letichev District fought in the Red Army than is documented. Unfortunately, because the Letichev District lost nearly 99% of its prewar Jewish population, few Jewish families survived with knowledge about soldiers who were casualties of the war.

Known casualties of war from Letichev District:
Ainbinder, Mikhail Iosefich, 1918-1943--from Letichev[119]
Dimentshtein, Ilya Isaakovich, 1918-1942--born in Medzhibozh[120]
Dimentshtein, Iosif Moiseevich, 1903-1942--born in Medzhibozh[121]
Grinman, Solomon--from Zinkov[122]
Gurvitz, Shmil c.1900-1941?--born in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan[123]
Kitsis, Fayvel--from Medzhibozh[124]
Kitsis, Pavel--from Medzhibozh[125]
Kurtsman, Ishia Leybovich-born in Letichev[126]
Malkiman, Pavel--from Derazhnia[127]
Oksman, Izrael Ruvinovich, 1911-1943--born in Derazhnia[128]
Stavnitser--from Zinkov[129]
Stoler, Motel--from Zinkov[130]

Leonid Afanasyevich Berdichevski

Born in 1908, he was the son of Micha Joseph Berdichevski, the famous Jewish writer from Medzhibozh. Serving in the Red Army during WWII, he rose to the rank of Lt. Colonel. He was the deputy commander of the 64th Detached Heavy Tank Regiment of the 3rd Stalingrad Guards Corps, 1st Baltic Front, and was awarded the Order of the Red Banner, Order of the Red Star, the Defense of Stalingrad Medal. He commanded a division of heavy tanks in the battle to liberate Yelgava (Mittau). He alone, while wounded, destroyed: a medium tank, 15 anti-aircraft guns, more than a company of soldiers, and a gun detachment, before his tank exploded, killing him. On March 24, 1945 he was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, the highest military honor given in the U.S.S.R. One of the streets in Yelgava was renamed "Hero of the Soviet Union Leonid Berdichevski" in his memory.[131]



Leonid Berdichevski.
Lt. Colonel and Hero of the Soviet Union.

Samuil Ruvinovich Shteynberg

Born in Letichev in 1918. Served in the 14th Battle Group of the Red Army during WWII. Fought in the Battle of Stalingrad. Emigrated to New York 1979.[132]



Naum Gezes.
A decorated war hero from Medzhibozh.[133]



Samuil Ruvinovich Shteynberg.
Born in Letichev and fought in the Battle of Stalingrad.



Gersh Pinkasovich Leiferman.
A regiment doctor in the Soviet Army during WWII, he was born in 1910 in Medzhibozh. He emigrated to America in 1980.[134]

APPENDIX : LETICHEV DISTRICT HOLOCAUST NECROLOGY

From Pinkhas Michelson (Letichev):

1. Michelson, Velvel was born in 1894, shot in 1941, my brother;
2. Michelson, Bluma was born in 1900, shot in 1942, his wife;
3. Michelson, Aron was 14 years old, shot in 1942, their son;
4. Michelson, Khaim was 12 years old, shot in 1942, their son;
5. Michelson, Sheindl was 16 years old, shot in 1942, their daughter;
6. Burshteyn, Ete was 72 years old, shot in 1942, Froim Burshteyn's mother;
7. Burshteyn, Khasia was 54 years old, shot in 1942, Froim Burshteyn's wife.

From Evgenia Tretyak (Letichev):

Name	Year of Birth
Pergament, Nakhman	1894
Pergament, Krisya	1900
Pergament, Grisha	1939
Pergament, Itsik-Meer	1890
Pergament, Freida	1892
Pergament, Manya	1920
Oystacher, Mayka (was pregnant)	1924
Mop, Sheyndl	1904
Mop, Shlil	1904
Sandler, Zahavi	1906
Sandler, Rebekka	1908

Name	Year of Birth
Tretyak, Srul	1880
Tretyak, Meniha	1885
Tretyak, Eosif	1912
Tretyak, Betya	1936
Tretyak, Mola	1910
Tretyak, Khayka	1911
Vodovoz, Shmil	1906
Vodovoz, Khayka	1906
Vodovoz, Beba	1930
Stepenskay, Khana	1901
Stepenskay, Atya	1921



Khasia and Froim Burshteyn, ca. 1915.
Khasia (1888-1942) was killed in Letichev. Froim (1893-1976) survived the war and helped build the monument at the Letichev mass killing site. Courtesy of Pinkhas Michelson.

Moshkovich Family — 2 people
Galer, Eosif and wife 1894
Galer, Moysha and wife 1894
Galer, Atya and wife 1921
Galer, Rukhle and wife 1901
Kersbur, Hana 1911
Kersbur, Abram 1904
Kersbur, wife of Abram and 2 children
Tsedulka, Pesya 1900
Tsedulka, Eosif 1926
Sandler, Sofia 1937
Grinsberg, Manya 1919
Sandler, Eosif 1928
Burshteyn, Marik 1900
Sandler, Grisha 1932
Burshteyn, Tsilya 1920
Sandler, Benya 1910
Burshteyn, Srul 1927
Sandler, Khaika 1907
Shtilerman, Atya 1910
Sandler, Bluma 1912
Shtilerman, Boris 1929
Kvica, Mella 1935
Toyter Family — 4 people
Kigel, Pesya 1900
Kubrik Family — 3 people
Kigel, Avram 1894
Zaydman, Khayka and her daughter
Kigel, Tema 1920
Shteyn Family — 3 people
Kigel, Marik 1932
Bresler Family — 3 people
Kigel, Polya 1900
Gluzman Family — 4 people
Kigel, 2 children Maks and Tamara
Leznover Family —
mother, daughter and granddaughter
Kuptsov, Teysya 1890
Kuptsov, Manya 1923
Uzifov Family — brother and daughter
Kuptsov, Sonya 1916
Segal Family
Kuptsov, Srul 1926
Peysatich Family — 3 people
Mihalevich, Belya 1890
Rapoport Family — 3 people
Mihalevich, Leva 1915
Shvartsbroit Family — 3 people
Lansman, Alka 1913
Shtivelman Family — 5 people
Lansman, Nellya 1938
Goldenberg, Moshe (Rabbi)
Raydun Family — 3 people
Perelmiter Family — 4 people
Zeznev Family — 3 people
Reznik Family — 3 people
Kogan Family
Ayveen Family — 3 people

From Leonid Rapoport (Letichev):

Chervonenkiy, Ushuya his daughter Ovosya, son-in-law Gersh with two children.
Shvarts Family: Mother Sinda, her first daughter Tsipa, son-in-law Zanvel with their 3 children; the second daughter Khaya with her 2 children.
Zusman, Leyb, with daughter Frima
Zusman, Benjamin, with wife Sura and their 2 children
Erikhman, Itsik, with wife Khava, their daughter Reksheva with her 3 children.
Kurtsman, Leyb, with wife Shendl, their first daughter Mena, son Abram, (their other son, Ishia, was killed in the war). Their second daughter Khamishon, Sura with her husband and child.

Sass, Shlomo, with his wife Etl and daughter Manya.
Eyvin, Kreyn.
Goykher, Moisey, with wife Rachel, daughter-in-law Khana, child Asya.
Zak, with wife Khava and daughter, and other daughter Tsipa with her husband Perelmiter
Biletskiy, Leyb, with his wife Rivka and daughter Tsilia, other daughter Ester with her son Meir and Meir's wife and daughter.
Beletskiy, Ovoyka (son of Leyb Biletskiy), with two daughters
Zamikhovskaya, Sura (my aunt, sister of my father), with two children Leyb and Zema
Oksengorin, Nesiy (our neighbor), with son Boris, son David (my close friend), daughter Bronia
Rapoport, Froim, with wife and child
Zilberman, Perl, with 3 children

From Vladimir Goykher (Letichev)

Name	Born	Relationship	Died Where & When
1. Goykher, Hana	1906	Mother	Letichev, 1942
2. Goykher, Asya	1931	Sister	Letichev, 1942
3. Goykher, Moishe		Grandfather	Letichev, 1942
4. Goykher, Rachel		Grandmother	Letichev, 1942
5. Nudelman, Efroim		Grandfather	Letichev, 1942
6. Nudelman, Dvoira		Grandmother	Letichev, 1942
7. Nudelman, Moishe		Uncle	Letichev, 1942
8. Nudelman, Perl		Aunt	Letichev, 1942
9. Nudelman, Abrasha	1926	Cousin	Letichev, 1942
10. Nudelman, Brukhe		Aunt	Letichev, 1942
11. Nudelman, Sonya		Aunt	Volkovinzi, 1942
12. Nudelman, Sonya's twin daughter #1		Cousin	Volkovinzi, 1942
13. Nudelman, Sonya's twin daughter #2		Cousin	Volkovinzi, 1942
14. Bekman, Manzya Nudelman		Aunt	Vinnitsa, 1941
15. Bekman, Rakhel		Cousin	Vinnitsa, 1941
16. Galer, Rukhel	1901	Aunt	Letichev, 1942
17. Galer, Sonya	1924	Cousin	Letichev, 1942
18. Galer, Abrasha	1926	Cousin	Letichev, 1942
19. Goykher, Shifra		Aunt	Zlatopol, 1942
20. Nudelman, Yoina		Uncle	Missing
21. Galer, Nunya		Cousin	Missing
22. Galer, Child of Nunya		Cousin	Missing

Other friends and neighbors:
Name
1. Krishtal Family - husband, wife and daughter Zile (age 17)
2. Shtilerman - Hershel and family
3. Ronina - girl b. 1930
4. Malkiman Family
5. Grabelski Family
6. Shapiro Family - 3 people from Volkovintsy
7. Boruch and his wife Hove

From Lev Moiseevich Goldenberg (Letichev):[135]

Sima Naumova (Rud) Goldenberg
Liza Goldenberg
Mikhail Goldenberg
Rabbi Moshe Goldenberg

From Moishe Einhorn (Medzhibozh & Letichev):

Yosske son of Chaim Ber

Tepper-Einhorn, Shloime
Gurtenberg, Meyer
Pinkhas the honey vendor
Bunia Mottel son of Avrum Beresh
Shoykhet, Rabbi Abrum
Shoykhet, Yitskhak
Einhorn, Rachel, her husband and three year old son
Bronshteyn, Leyser, his daughter Tova, her husband and two children
Bronshteyn, Simkha, his wife and six children
Bronshteyn, Yoisef
Moishe Einhorn's wife
Purem, Meyer
Ashke, Fonye
Shteyn, Avrum
Gervits, Sholom Nata
Gervits, Shimon, his wife and sisters
Gervits, Itzye Ber's thirteen year old son
Kupershlok, Froim and his fifteen year old daughter
Korshmar, Gersh, his wife and daughter
Millis, Froike
Millis, Elya
Viener, Moishe
Nakhum the baker
Berets, Chaim
Goldenberg, Khaim Ber
Goldenberg, Khatskel and wife
Ziner, Moishe
Greenberg the watchmaker
Shapiro, Moishe
Zitser, Leonia
Huberman, David and family
Kats, Meilikh and family
Yerebesky family
Shedler, Yisrael and wife and sixteen year old daughter
Shedler, Yashe
Ratzia
Radorov, Pinye
Yosef, Leib's son, the violinist
Yampolsky, Shmuel
Sigal, Mottel and daughter
Roizman family (parents, seventeen year old daughter, another daughter and sons)
Kogan, Perl with a twelve year old daughter and a five year old son
Kitser, Adelya
Brill, Moishe Itzye
Pessya, Cantor Barukh's daughter
Kendiches, Khaike

From Michael Gerver (Medzhibozh):

The following names appear on the monument to the victims of the Holocaust in the Megibosh Progressive Solidarity plot (Block "H9") at Beth David Cemetery in Elmont, Long Island, New York. They appear to be immediate relatives of members of the Megibozher Progressive Solidarity Society. I copied the original names in Hebrew and translated them.

Names on Monument for Victims of the Nazis from Medzhibozh, Sept. 17 (Yom Kippur), 1942:

Axman, Moshe
Axman, Abraham
Abramovich, Itskhak
Abramovich, Esther
Abramovich, Yakov
Abramovich, Israel
Abramovich, Mardkhi
Abramovich, Tsiril
Abramovich, Sarah
Gladshteyn, Gitel
Gamerberg, Yosef
Galts, Rivka and family
Fox, Khaika and family
Esterman, Gitel
Esterman, Khana
Tsifelshteyn, Sholom
Tsifelshteyn, Yakcov
Reznick, David and family
Vaserman, Etel
Vaserman, Meni
Akof, Devora (daughter of Shmeya)
Chadrav, Abraham
Goldis, Yikhiel
Goldis, Beila
Sheck, Rabbi Hillel
Shyevitch, Eliya
Met, Shlomo
Shamestes, Leib
Shamestes, Shmecha
Shamestes, Peysi
Shamestes, Yakov
Shamestes, Eliya
Edelman, Kalman Khayka
Feingold, Israel
Feingold, Abraham
Kats, Zise
Kats, Yakov
Kats, Khava
Snitivaker, Feivel
Snitivaker, Moshe
the children of Mendoks, Yakov
Zats, Velvel
Zats, Zesel
Zats, Yakov
Zats, Itskhak
Zats, Israel
Zats, Benjamin
Tsifris, Israel, Esther and children
Mashatskis, Shaya
Mashatskis, Buna
Mashatskis, Yosef and family
Kizner, Itschak
Kizner, Mindel
Kizner, Dobeh
Bleyvas, Hershel
Bleyvas, Leah
Bleyvas, Yakov

From Simyon and Eta Bik, Boris Senderovich, Fira Abovskaya, and Esther Gelman, Vladimir Malkin and Lipa Roitman (Derazhnia):

Leib Fudim
Frieda Fudim (his wife)
Etya Fudim (dtr.)
Zhenya Fudim (dtr.)
Isaak Tsukerman
Basya Tsukerman (his wife)
Shaya Tsukerman (son)
Aba Tsukerman (son)
Manya Lerner
Roma Lerner (son)
Rakhil Kraizman
Sheva Kraizman (dtr.)
Asya Kraizman (dtr.)
Zina Fudim
Boris Fudim (son)
Leiva Burshteyn
Khaya-Tuba Burshteyn (his mother ?)
Kharna Fudim
Moshe Ushitsky
Sosya Ushitskaya
Shmaya Ushitsky
Yeva Ushitskaya
Riven Ushitsky
Brana Ushitskaya
Khaya Ushitskaya
lola Ushitskaya
Shmuel Ushitsky
Anya Ushitskaya
Sonya Ushitskaya
Shimon Tsimmerman
Yenta Tsimmerman (wife)
Fanya Tsimmerman (dtr.)
Kos Tsimmerman (husband)
Etl Tsimmerman (his wife)
Itsik Tsimmerman (son)
Fanya Tsimmerman (dtr.)
Frima Lederman
Sarra Lederman (dtr)
Khaim Zam
Pesya Zam (wife)
Gitl Oksman
Motl Oksman (son)
Sara Oksman (son's wife)
Aron Zak
Roza Zak (wife)
two children of Aron & Roza Zak
Leib Zak
Roza Zak (wife--different than Roza Zak, above)
two children of Leib & Roza Zak
Beryl Zats
Sura Zats
Yosel Zats

Manya Zats (his wife)
three children of Yosel & Manya Zats
Usher Zats
Khanna Zats (his wife)
two children of Usher & Khanna Zats
Pesya Zats-Vayntrub
Itsik Vayntrub (her husband)
two children of Vayntrubs
Munya Rubinshteyn
Mendel Munik
Shmuel Munik
Zisya Koyfman
Khasya Koyfman
Khova Koyfman
Numa Koyfman
Khasya Gelman
Yosel Gelman
Tsina Tsukerman, and 3 children
Volf Goldfarb
Khana Goldfarb
Tsirl Goldfarb
Besya Plesser and 2 children
Kuna Nudel
Fanya Nudel
Abram Roytshteyn
Boris Roytshteyn
Froike Goldberg
Basya Goldberg
Khana Goldberg
Moshe Berdichevsky
Lina Senderovich
Zlata Senderovich
Srulik Senderovich
Khana Senderovich
Mindel Senderovich
Shaindel Ivanitser
Dovid Ivanitser
Azya Ivanitser
Shani Ivanitser
Leib Shamus
Etel Shamus
Dasya Shamus
Perets Goldman
Beryl Goldman
Itsak Gnatovsky
Shmaya Gnatovsky
Sheindel Gnatovsky
Shloima Gnatovsky
Sara Shlumis
Khana Shlumis
Khaskel Shlumis
Eidel Shlumis
Motel Sigal
Srul Berdichevsky
Lea Sigalman
Leba Sigalman
Dovid Shtuk
Khana Shtuk
Ruven Shtuk
Viktor Rukhlis
Khaika Rukhlis
Nema Rukhlis
Idel Rukhlis
Yosel Rukhlis
Fanya Rukhlis
Maika Lederman
Fanya Lederman
Zusya Lederman
Tabel Lederman
Shmul Kupershmidt
Yudel Kupershmidt
parents of Yosef Gonta
Yosef Gonta
Fira Tkach
Naum Tkach
Khaim Tkach
Israel Malkiman and family
Berl (Boruch) Malkiman
his second wife Rivka Malkiman, with their children
Khaim Yankel Mikhel Slobodianski, with wife and 4 children

From Ben Weinstock (Staro Zakrevsky Meidan):

Diment, Yosef
Diment, Feige
Diment, son
Diment, Nakhum
Dinisman, Itsik
Fogel, Jacob
Fogel, Shaindel
Fogel, Zushe
Gorberg, Pesya
Grubshteyn, Leib
Grubshteyn, Israel
wife of Israel Grubshteyn
Grubshteyn, Elka
Grubshteyn, Riva
Grubshteyn, Khaim
Grubshteyn, Liza
Tenzer, Aron
Tenzer, Borukh
Tenzer, David
Tenzer, Esther
Tenzer, Genya
Tenzer, Hyman
Tenzer, Ignatz
Tenzer, Jacob
Tenzer, Malie
Tenzer, Sholom
Tenzer, Sluva
Tenzer, Srul
Tenzer, Velvel
Tenzer, Yankel
Tenzer, Yoshua
Zinshteyn, Aron
Zinshteyn, Fradie
Zinshteyn, Malie
Zinshteyn, Mordekhai
Zinshteyn, Mutal



The Grach family of Derazhnia, ca. 1935. The shoemaker and family. 1. Monya; 2. Kolman; 3. Tsippe; 4. Unknown; 5. Reiza, 6. Shloime; 7. Unknown; 8. Riva (mother); Pesse (father); 10. Yasha (Yankel); 11. Unknown. Everyone in this photograph died in the Holocaust, except for Yasha. Courtesy of Simyon Bik.

From Yehudis Vaynbalt-Laufer (Zinkov):

Khaim Shoykhet (Khaim Roizes) with his wife and 2 children
The "Shvartzer Rav"
Moshe Shoykhet
Yitskhak Faser (?) with his wife and children, including his son Moti, his wife Feiga and 2 children
Zaynvid Laytman (Leizis) with his wife and daughter Frida
Reyza Vodovoz with her sister Rokhel
Basia Furman with her grandchild
The Shnayderman family
Kupets and family
Motl-Peisi - Sitch Karnik's son with his mother and wife
Moshe Kupit, Mari Kupit, Meir Kupit
Hershel Vaynblat, his wife Dvora, and 3 children
Khana of the "potch" with her husband Moshe
Mirele Tsupnis' son
Feiga Shapira, her daughter Itta and two sons
The shamesh of the synagogue
Shmuel Roife with his second wife and children.
Pinye the butcher's daughter Petyute
Efroim ("Froim") Batchkes and his wife Tsivia with their children.
Moshe Fani's wife and son
The Brezman family, who were furriers.
Leizer Vuler was an accomplished boy. He was studying to be a history teacher. He died during the second *aktion* together with his father, mother and grandmother.
The Shunderman family. Their son Avrohum, who studied in the university tragically was home on vacation and was killed together with the entire family.
Yussel Vodovoz and his wife and children. His daughter was married to the son of Perl the Svatchkes. Their son Yankle was killed by hot tar. His sister Mani was later killed when a gentile turned her over to the Gestapo.



Malie Zinshteyn, 1937. A resident of the *kolkhoz* Staro Zakrevsky Meidan, was killed in Derazhnia in 1942. Courtesy of Ben Weinstock.

Feigan Khmelniker and her daughter Itta and her son Khaim.
Moshe Fukelman died trying to escape in a sled to Transnistria.
Tsirl Rubinshteyn's entire family, except for her.
Rasi Kibrik.
The Margolis family.
The Rozen family.
The Strianik family (he was a dentist).
Mirele Tsupnis' son and her daughter Rokhel.
Ya'akov-Ber, the "honey Jew" on the first day of the occupation.
Moshe Itsi the candlemaker.
Itzik "Shtifke", as he was called, along with his sister Ester, were tortured a lot and were shot on the way, when they were being lead together with all those remaining to the mass killing site.
Risye Gedalya-Hersh.
Shimon Laskin and his family.
The Lerman family, including daughter Gisia.
Yekhiel Tnai, the fisherman, and most of his family.
The Shenker family.
Aaron, the cooper, along with his wife and 4 children.
The Geldfind family.
The Shvarts family (he was a watchmaker).
Khana Grinman
Itsak Shapirovich. He was a teacher in the Jewish secular school. He had a wife and five children. He and his wife and three children were killed.
The Mitelman family.
Yekhiel Roife's family except a granddaughter.
Leybe Stoler and his wife and youngest son.
Pini, the lame goldsmith, most of the family except two children.
The Berkovich family.
The fishmonger with his wife and two daughters.
Fiksler, the tailor's daughter was killed a short time after the liberation.
Mendel Petreshier's family was among the first to be murdered.

RIGHTEOUS GENTILES

While these stories show amazing cruelty by both the Nazi occupiers and some local Ukrainians, we were also impressed by the number of Christians who were willing to risk their lives and help various Jews survive the Occupation. These people deserve our honor for the decency they preserved in a time of indecency:

Two unnamed Ukrainian women and a Russian partisan - Moishe Einhorn and Rose Huberman
Letavsky Family of Letichev - Boris Levin
Mariya Maroz of Odessa - Boris Levin
Domna Tretyak of Kamennoye - Boris Levin
Family of Vasily and Dusya Verevkin of Krasnaya Zvezda - Vladimir Goykher
Galya Behchmeteva of Krasnaya Zvesda - Vladimir Goykher
Kulchitsky Family of Luchinets - Moyshe Rekhtman
Grigori from a small town near Dunaevtsy- Vladimir Kipiler
Todor Dobrianski and his son Vasiliy of Stanislavovka - Vladimir Kipiler
Dobrianski Family of Cherkasovka - Vladimir Kipiler
Irina Radietskaya of a villiage near Medzhibozh - Bronya Khalfin
Stepan Kozletskiy of Zinkov - Semyon Gluzman
A Jew from Zinkov, Froim Khunovich, was hidden by a Ukrainian family and survived. Unfortunately, the authors were unable to get his testimony.[136]
Shifra Reydman was hidden by a Ukrainian family near Zinkov. Unfortunately, the authors were unable to get her testimony.

Chapter Notes:

1. For instance, see Dobbs, M., 1996, "Decoded Cables Revise History of Holocaust": *Washington Post*, Sunday Nov. 10, 1996, p. A01. In this article Dobbs quotes Richard Breitman, a professor of history at American University, who claims the Holocaust victims estimates should be revised upwards from 6 million to 7 million because more Jews died in mass killings in the Soviet Union than have been previously revealed by Soviet authorities.

2. Spector, S., 1990, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews 1941-1944:* Yad Vashem, The Federation of Volhynian Jews, Jerusalem, p. 107.

3. c.f. Operation Situation Report USSR No. 38 (July 30, 1941), an internal German report which documents executions by EK4A in Proskurov of 146 people and in Vinnitsa of 146 people. Arad, Y., Krakowski, S., and Spector, S., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports:* Holocaust Library, New York, p. 58-60.

4. Boshkyk, Y., ed., 1986, *Ukraine during World War II, History and its aftermath:* Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, p. 21.

5. Modified from Spector, S., 1990, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews 1941-1944:* Yad Vashem, The Federation of Volhynian Jews, Jerusalem, p. 61.

6. Gutman, Israel, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, v..2, Macmillan Publishing Company, NY, 1990, p. 808.

7. Boshkyk, Y., ed., 1986, *Ukraine during World War II, History and its aftermath:* Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, p. 34-35.

8. In "*Vorlaeufig Uebersicht ueber die Generalbezirke und Kreisbebiete in der Ukraine*," Reichskommissar, Feb. 15, 1942, Rovno.

9. Vladimir Goykher, personal communications 1997.

10. Speer, Albert, 1981, *Inside the Third Reich:* Macmillan, p. 185 and 236.

11. "Handbook of the Organisation Todt", a recently declassified U.S. military intelligence report available at the U.S. Army Military History Institute.

12. Ofer, D., 1993, "The Holocaust in Transnistria, a special case of genocide" in Dobroszyski, L. and Gurock, J., eds. *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union:* M.E. Sharpe, Inc., p. 134.

13. Ibid, p. 135.

14. Ibid, p. 142.

15. Moyshe Rekhtman and Vladimir Goykher, personal communications.

16. Telegram from Bucharest on Oct. 28, 1941, No. 196, in The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, *Documents concerning the fate of the Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust III*, Yad Vashem #0-11/82.

17. Moyshe Rekhtman, personal communication.

18. Ofer, D., 1993, "The Holocaust in Transnistria, a special case of genocide" in Dobroszyski, L. and Gurock, J., eds. *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union:* M.E. Sharpe, Inc., p. 143.

19. Zamlinsky, 1991, *The Summer of 1941:* Kiev Publishing, has numerous military telegrams from this period.

20. Newspaper *Za Chest Rodiny*, Issue #27, March 30, 1944.

21. Vladimir Goykher, personal communications to David Chapin in 1993.

22. For example, see *Pinkas Zinkov*, 1965, p. 191. This is part of Yehudis Vaynblat-Laufer's testimony, provided later in this chapter.

23. Leonid Rapoport, personal communications with Ben Weinstock, 1997.

24. Vladimir Malkin, e-mail of July 7, 1997.

25. Letter of January 22, 1999; translated by Igor Malkiman.

26. Personal interviews with Yefrem Mankovetsky, 1994. It should also be noted that, according to V. Altskan, extensive files were kept by the Nazis concerning agricultural outputs within Ukraine. Copies of these files are now at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

27. From Holocaust Pages of Testimony No. 03/7064, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Recorded by D. Benofna 1978. Also from Letter by Pinkhas Michelson, Bnei-Brak, Israel, May 29, 1994. Translated from the original Russian by Vladimir Goykher.

28. From Holocaust Pages of Testimony No. 03/7064, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Recorded by D. Benofna 1978.

29. Ehrenburg, I., 1981, ed., *The Black Book:* Holocaust Library, New York, p. 26-27.

30. SovInformBiuro report #159, p. 216, Regional State Fonds and Party Archives, Khmelnitsky. Most likely, the reference to Hungarians is wrong. They probably meant Romanians, as the nearby territory of Transnistria was under their control.

31. Personal interview with Luba Tikhman by David Chapin in Zinkov, 1995.

32. Excepted from report by Chief of the SS and Police to commander of Communications Zone South on structure and Leaders of Nationalist Bands, June 30, 1943, German document captured by Soviet Intelligence, in Institute of Ukrainian History, 1986, *History Teaches a Lesson:* Kiev, Politvidav Ukraini Publishers, p. 227-228.

33. e.g., Shubinsky, V. and Lukin, V., 1994, "Holocaust through the pages of oral history of the Medzhibozh and Letichev camps": in Dimshits, V., *The History of Jews in the Ukraine and Byelorussia:* St. Petersburg Jewish University, p. 171-184.

34. From Holocaust Pages of Testimony No. 03/1266, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Translated from the original Polish by Lech S. Rakowski.

35. Popovka is near Novaya Ushitsa.

36. Letters to David Chapin dated July 27, 1992 and November 12, 1992. Translated from Russian by Boris Gemarnik and Dima Savanin.

37. Letters to David Chapin dated March 25, 1993. Translated from Russian by Boris Gemarnick and Dima Savanin.

38. From Holocaust Pages of Testimony No. 03/7064, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Translated from the original Russian by Vladimir Goykher.

39. Actually it was a Polish Roman Catholic Church.

40. Verbka is 9 kilometers from Letichev.

41. This is incorrect, according to Vladimir Goykher it led to Vinnitsa.

42. Vladimir Goykher reports that he also worked at this job of packing stones, along with some of the Jews from the Letichev ghetto.

43. According to Vladimir Goykher, the well was eventually closed because inside the well were the bodies of many dead Jews.

44. Ilya Ehrenburg, a Jew, was a famous Russian war correspondent and chronicler of many stories of the killing of Jews in the U.S.S.R. during WWII.

45. Actually, according to Vladimir Goykher, the column contained people only from Letichev ghetto #1.

46. An article published in Russia in the 1981 edition of the Yiddish periodical Sovietish Heimland. At the time of publication, Moishe Einhorn had already died. Translated from Yiddish by Moshe Furst.

47. Probably not the Gestapo, but instead units of the S.S. The author seems to use Gestapo and S.S. interchangeably in this article.

48. Hell.

49. Transnistria was a political unit created by the Nazis. It existed for two and a half years from August 1941 until March 1944 when it was liberated by the Red Army. Transnistria was created in order to compensate Romania for regions of Transylvania that were lost to Hungary and Bulgaria. It consisted a a region between the Dniester and the Bug Rivers, in the southern corner of the Ukraine. Reference: Ofer, Dalia, 1993, "The Holocaust in Transnistria, A Special Case of Genocide" in Dobroszycki, Lucjan and Gurock, Jeffrey S., eds. *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union:* M. E. Sharpe, New York, p. 133.

50. Dr. Meir Teich, from Suceava, Romania, was a well-known figure in the Jewish community of Transnistria. Prior to the deportation of his community in Romania, he learned as much information as he could about the deportation route and helped his people prepare. He managed to arrange for transportation and saved them from deadly forced marches. He found places for his people to stay enroute. Prior to his people's arrival into Shargorod, he preceded them in order to prepare accomodations for them. A truly heroic figure at a time of insanity, he survived the war and so did most of his community. Reference: Ofer, Dalia, 1993, "The Holocaust in Transnistria, A Special Case of Genocide" in Dobroszycki, Lucjan and Gurock, Jeffrey S., eds. *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union:* M. E. Sharpe, New York, p. 144.

51. At Stalingrad.

52. Polianker, Hershel, 1982, "In Medzhibozh" in *Sovietish Heimland*, 1982, No. 1, p. 148-158. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn. Most of what is quoted here is from p. 150 and

p. 156. Translator's note: Jews are not specifically mentioned as such in the article as this was written under Soviet rule.

53. Goland, I., Dymshits, V., "Report of a trip to Staraya Sinyava and Pilyava: An Interview with Bronya Khalfina July 31, 1989" in Dimshits, V., 1994, *The History of Jews in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, Expeditions, Monuments, Finds:* Petersburg Jewish University, History and Ethnography Series Issue 2, St. Petersburg. Translated by Leonid Rapoport, edited by Ben Weinstock. Note: Bronya was very sick at the time of this interview; her thoughts were very disjointed, and very confusing.

54. Letter from Khayka Burshteyn Malkiman, January 12, 1999, translated by Igor Malkiman

55. Letter dated 1993, translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.

56. There were two other mass killings at this site in 1942.

57. 1995 testimony on file in the U.S. Holocaust Museum.

58. In the original testimony on file at the U.S. Holocaust Museum, Rekhtman writes that these were electrified fences. In personal communications in 1996, he admits that this detail was incorrect and the fences were not electrified.

59. Written in 1992, translated by from the original Russian version in 1993 by Vladimir Goykher with the assistance of Ben Weinstock and David Chapin. Reproduced with the permission of the author.

60. He survived the war and died in New York in 1996.

61. Or grandfather,V.G. did not remember which.

62. V.G. also relates the story of how his father got the news that he was being released. As many people in the prison camp died of cold and exhaustion, the rule was that the fellow prisoners would pick up a collapsed prisoner if he fell once or twice. But the third time the prisoner fell, his prison mates would leave him for dead. Vladimir's father collapsed three times one day and his fellow inmates left him as they returned that day to the barracks. That very evening, a letter arrived that announced his release. The inmates quickly went back out that evening and found the nearly dead man in the snow. They brought him back to the barracks, warmed him up, and attempted to rehabilitate him. Vladimir's father lived. Yosef Goykher died in Odessa in 1967.

63. A year later, V.G. learned from Mrs. Shapiro that the mass killing in this village lasted only that one day.

64. Monday, September 22, 1941.

65. Star of David.

66. Kommissar Köch (who was the brother of Reichskommissar Erich Koch, according to Mendel Tsidulka) was in charge of agriculture for the Letichev District. His office was in charge of all the collective farms and organized shipments of food products to Germany. V.G. remembered him as a fat man with a big belly. He always wore a military uniform.

67. Thursday, April 2, 1942.

68. This was a paramilitary unit - formed in 1933 - whose purpose was to design and build important engineering and construction projects, including military fortifications and superhighways (autobahns). They wore khaki uniforms with a red armbands with the letters "TODT". The head of Organisation Todt was Dr. Fritz Todt, Hitler's Reich Minister for Armament and Munitions. In February 1942, Dr. Todt was killed in an airplane accident. His successor was Albert Speer. In the Letichev area, the division of Organisation Todt was Durchgangstrasse #4 (Trunk Highway); the Baudirektor (Construction director) was Pfaue according to the "Handbook of the Organisation Todt", a recently declassified U.S. military intelligence report available at the U.S. Army Military History Institute.

69. The payment in Ukraine was anywhere from 225-564 rubles per month, depending on whether the worker was married and what type of work he did. Typical wages were about 30 rubles per day for day-labor. Source: "Handbook of the Organisation Todt", classified document published by the U.S. Army in March 1945, recently declassified and available through the U.S. Military History Institute.

70. V.G. did not recall his first name. He belonged to Organisation Todt and spoke clear Polish.

71. V.G. believed this happened during Yom Kippur 1942, or around September 20, 1942.

72. Immy Ertle was a soldier belonging to Organisation Todt. V.G. believed he was from Austria - the Saltzburg area. One day, Immy Ertl was in charge of V.G. and a Ukrainian boy by the name of Sergey Chuchevera when they were putting the border on a section of road. Immy would call the Ukrainian boy "Tilo". In 1961, V.G. met Sergey in Letichev and he told V.G. this story after he later joined the Red Army. In 1945, Sergey was directing traffic at an intersection in Vienna when a man called out "Tilo"! It was Immy Ertle who recognized Sergey from his Letichev days. Immy Ertle had lost a leg in the war and went from a hospital to Saltzburg.

73. V.G. did not know Karl's last name. He thought he was a mechanical engineer attached to Organisation Todt. On the Letichev road project, he directed the finished section of the road. I remember him as a gentleman and a very handsome man.

74. He was a Lieutenant Colonel or Colonel, V.G. was not sure. Elsa called him "Otto".

75. The date of the first snowfall was probably November 25, 1942, because this was the date that Moyshe Rekhtman also ran away.

76. Herman Mayer was an officer in Organisation Todt. He might have been an engineer some of the other Germans often called him "Rudy".

77. He was a German soldier who worked for Organisation Todt. V.G. once remembered seeing a letter to him with an Austrian address.

78. General Wilhelm (Sigmund) List (1880-1971) was the Wehrmacht general who in July 1942 was placed in charge of Army Group A - the German army responsible for the capture of the Caucasus. List was a brilliant career officer, a protege of Generals Keitel and Halder, and was a general whom Hitler never fully trusted. On August 31, 1942, List met with Hitler at the German Army Headquarters in Vinnitsa. Annoyed with Army Group A's lack of progress due to stiff Soviet resistance and extended German supply lines, Hitler relieved List of his command and in an unprecedented act took over control himself as commander of Army Group A. List survived the war and was condemned to life imprisonment at Nuremberg in February 1946. In 1952, he was pardoned and released.

Goykher's timing seems to be inconsistent. If the timing of this event in Krasnaya Zvezda was the middle of winter 1942 (perhaps as late as Jan. or Feb. 1943), List was not supposed to be in this area at the time. In a blind test by the editors, Goykher recognized List's photograph from a lineup. According to documentation from the Nuremburg trials, List himself claims to have retired after Sept. 9, 1942 to his home in Partenkirchen, Bavaria, Germany, where he was eventually captured by the Allies (in Apr. 1945). According to Mitcham, S.W., 1990, *Hitler 's Field Marshals and their Battles*, after List's sack by Hitler on Sept. 9, 1942, Hitler himself took command of Army Group A. Operationally, List was replaced by his own chief of staff, Lt. General Hans von Greiffenberg. Later, General Kleist was given the vacant command. No other detail which Goykher describes in his accounts has been disputed by later documentation. Perhaps List continued serving in Army Group A after his sack by Hitler and this fact remains undocumented in the history books.

79. Her husband was arrested in 1937, allegedly for espionage.

80. From Yaffa Eliach, *Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1982. Yaffa Eliach heard this at the house in New York of the Grand Rabbi of Bluzhov, Rabbi Israel Spira, April 26, 1979.

81. Ukrainian Nazi sympathizers who acted as guards.

82. For eyewitness accounts of the Shpitalna bath-house experience of Janowska inmates, see Thorne, *Out of the Ashes*, p. 57-63, and Kahana, *Yoman Ghetto* Lvov, p. 111-113.

83. *Vinnitskaya Oblast Katastrofa (Shoa) i Soprotivlenie*, edited by Pinkas Agmon and Anatolia Stepachenko, published by *Beit Lokhamei ha-Gettaot*, Tel Aviv, 1994, p.74-83. Transcribed by Anna Kopeav, translated by Vladimir Goykher.

84. From *Ne Zabit* (Don't Forget) by Ilya Abramovich, New York: Effect Publishing, 1991, p. 108. Translated by Ben Weinstock.

85. Interview, July 20, 1998. Recorded and translated by Vadim Altskan.

86. Modified from insert in *Pinkas Zinkov*, Tel Aviv, 1966.

87. Excerpts from letters written in 1965, compiled by Yisrael Roytbard (Y.R.), published in *Pinkas Zinkov*, Tel Aviv, 1966, p. 175-193. Translated by J. Michoel Ronn.

88. A derogatory Russian word which means Jews.

89. V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, *100 Evreiskikh Mestechek Ukraini* (100 Jewish Shtetls in Ukraine), v. 1, Jerusalem, St. Petersburg, 1997, p. 108-109. Translated by Evelyn Mintzer.

90. Tsukerman, B. Kh., "Genocid Evreev na Zemle Khmelnitchini" in Lyakhovitsky, Dr. Yuri, *Kholokost, "Evriskii Vopros" il Sovremenoe Ukrainsko Obshestvo:* Kharkov-Jerusalem, Bensiah Library, p. 120. Translated by Vladimir Goykher.

91. For more information, see "New Sources at the U.S. Holocaust Museum Archives" by Vadim Altskan and Karl Modig in *Avotaynu: The International Review of Jewish Genealogy*, vol. 9, no. 3, Fall 1993, p. 7.

92. On record in the U.S. Holocaust Museum Archives. At the time of this study, these records were uncatologued microfilms.

93. A euphemism for Jews killed.

94. A euphemism for non-Jews killed. In other words, to get a total of Jews killed subtract Column C from Column B.

95. A euphemism for those Ukrainians who were sent by the Nazis to other parts of Europe as forced laborers.

96. City only.

97. City only.

98. City only.

99. Antonovka??

100. Probably not the city of Proskurov (because many more were killed) but maybe the small town of Proskurovka.

101. Items 31-39 come from an article by Boris Levin in *Krai Kamenetsky*, 1992. The rest of the list (1-30) is also mentioned and is the same as earlier sources.

102. This is probably a mistake. Zaletichevka, the mass killing site, is south of Letichev. The Jewish cemetery is located north-east of Letichev.

103. Documentation from the Khmelnitsky Oblast State Archives, provided by the Director of the Archives.

104. Form 363, case 39, p. 74.

105. Form 363, case 58, p. 55-58; case 30, p. 1.

106. At this time, they were probably all Jewish slave laborers, not prisoners of war, according to Vladimir Goykher.

107. Form 363, case 50, p. 7; case 38, p. 115-118; case 39, p. 76.

108. Form 363, case 39, p. 78; case 39, p. 107-108.

109. Additional list from Khmelnitsky Oblast State Archives, provided by Director of the Archives.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.

113. Documentation from the Khmelnitsky Oblast State Archives, provided by the Director of the Archives, Fond 863, Op. 3, #391. This is only an incomplete list of names of some of the Jewish families killed in Medzhibozh. Translated by Vladimir Goykher.

114. From Khmelnitsky Archive, fond 863 opis 1, delo. 34. Translated by Leonid Rapoport.

115. Ibid.

116. Newpaper *Za Chest Rodiny,* Issue #27, March 30, 1944.

117. SovInformBiuro Report 207, p. 300-301, Regional State Fonds and Party Archives, Khmelnitsky.

118. Luba Tikhman, personal communication, 1995; also see additional list from Khmelnitsky Oblast State Archives, provided by Director of the Archive; V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, 100 Jewish Shtetls in Ukraine, v. 1, Jerusalem, St. Petersburg, 1997, p. 108-109.

119. M.F. Marianovskii, N.A. Pivovarova, I.S. Sobol, eds, *Kniga Pamiati Voinov-Evreev Pavsiakh S Natsizmom 1941-1945*, Moscow, Soiuz Invalidov i Veteranov Voiny, vol.1, 1994, p. 445.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. *Pinkas Zinkov*, Tel Aviv, 1966, p. 197.

123. Personal communication, Aleksander Grubshteyn, 1996.

124. Vladimir Malkin, July 7, 1998 e-mail.

125. Ibid.

126. Personal communication from Leonid Rapoport and family, see Necrology section.

127. Igor Malkiman, Jan.12, 1999 e-mail.

128. .F. Marianovskii, N.A. Pivovarova, I.S. Sobol, eds, *Kniga Pamiati Voinov-Evreev Pavsiakh S Natsizmom 1941-1945*, Moscow, Soiuz Invalidov i Veteranov Voiny, vol.3, 1996, p. 44.

129. From the Tevya Goldberg interview, see Chapter 17.

130. From Yehudis Vaynblat-Laufer's testimony.

131. Gershon Shapiro, *Under Fire*: Tel-Aviv, 1982, p.37-38.

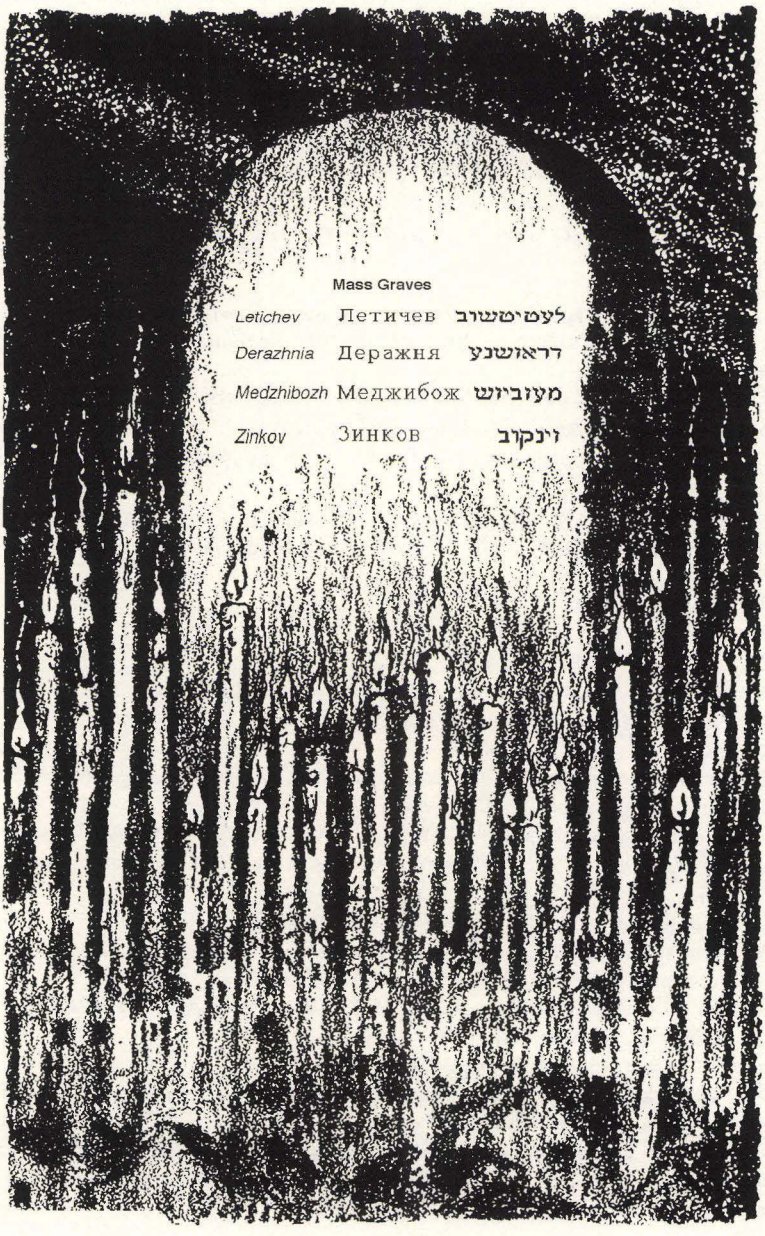
132. Moisey Aleksandrovich Rechester, *Mi Srazhalis Protiv Natsizma 1941-1945*, (We Fought Nazis), vol. 2., New York, 1987 p. 224-225.

133. Photo from *Sovietish Heimland*, #1 1982, p. 157.

134. Moisey Aleksandrovich Rechester, *Mi Srazhalis Protiv Natsizma 1941-1945*, (We Fought Nazis), vol. 2., New York, 1987 p. 125.

135. Interview with Lev Moiseevich Goldenberg, April 15, 1995 by Elena Tsvetkova, St. Petersburg.

136. Personal communications with Vadim Altskan.


Mass Graves
Letichev Летичев לעטיטשוב
Derazhnia Деражня דראשנע
Medzhibozh Меджибож מעזביזש
Zinkov Зинков זינקוב

17

Post World War II

by David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

Introduction

In 1944 and 1945 several hundred Jews returned along The Road from Letichev to their previous homes before the war. They, along with the few survivors of the ghettos, were all that remained of the vibrant Jewish communities that had existed in the region for hundreds of years. Close to 99% of the population was murdered by Nazis and Ukrainians in the war. However, even after surviving the worst destruction of the Jewish people in history, the suffering of these remnants of the Jews of the Letichev District did not end. For the next twenty years they would have to contend with bandits, poverty, famine, false accusations, and arrests.

Bandits

A gang of Stepan Bandera, leader of the anti- Soviet Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), attacked Medzhibozh in 1944 and 1945. Once again, Jews hid in cellars as they had done in 1919. People were robbed and threatened with death. In 1945 three armed bandits of the OUN (two men and one woman) hid in the Medzhibozh fortress. The authorities succeeded in capturing them only after a tank came from Proskurov. The bandits were executed without a trial.[1]



Letichev School 1947, 4th grade class.
Jews identified: 1) Leonid Rapoport (the only Jewish student); 2) Pyotr Yevseevich Tsirulnik (teacher). Courtesy of Leonid Rapoport.



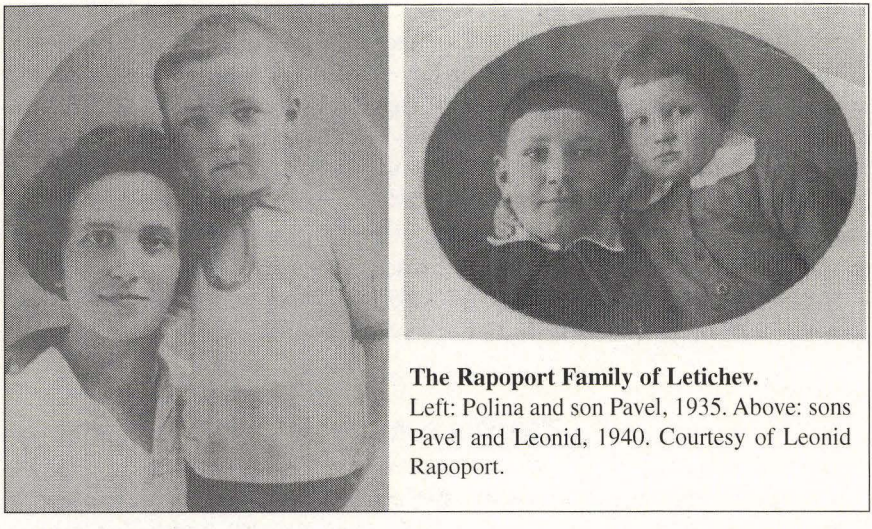
Letichev School 1949, 6th grade class.
Jews identified: 1) Leonid Rapoport; 2) Fima Langerman; 3) Pyotr Yevseevich Tsirulnik; 4) Pergament (history teacher); 5) Sveta Shor; 6) Velgitch (head of the young Communists league). Courtesy of Leonid Rapoport.

FAMINE AND POVERTY

The famine of 1947 was not as severe as the famine in the early 1930s, but still hundreds died. In Medzhibozh people ate grass, poisonous mushrooms, and rotten potatoes left in the soil from the crops of the previous year. As a result, deaths were not only from starvation but also from poisoning.[2] Alexander Kuzenogiy, traveling by train in the Ukraine, was killed by an mob of starving passengers when they threw him out of the moving train. They suspected that he was carrying food and did not want to share with them.[3]

Leonid Rapoport took the 20 kilometer walk from Letichev to Medzhibozh around 1947. When he arrived in the town he saw that the homes were dilapidated. He met a Jewish boy, who took him to his family's home. This impoverished family consisted of a mother and eight children. Although they had few provisions for themselves, they gave Leonid an onion and a piece of bread to eat.[4] Galina Chaban described Medzhibozh in the 1950s: "there were two schools: one Russian, one Ukrainian. There was a library, cinema theatre, kindergarten, a mill and power plant on the river. But there was no gas or water supply. People brought water from the well and used wood as fuel."[5]

In Letichev there were few Jewish children in the school system. There was one Jewish teacher, Pyotr (Hebrew name Pesakh) Yevseevich Tsrulnik.[6]



The Rapoport Family of Letichev.
Left: Polina and son Pavel, 1935. Above: sons Pavel and Leonid, 1940. Courtesy of Leonid Rapoport.

ARRESTS

In 1950 a new wave of anti-Semitism, arrests, and purges flowed throughout the USSR. One man in Letichev was arrested: Leib Rapoport. There appears to have been several factors that led to his arrest. First, he was a Jew. Second, he was outspoken at times, and once openly disagreed with a Letichev judge during his service as a juror. Third, he had a brother in America. Fourth, his American brother wrote him a letter, inviting the Rapoports to come to America. This letter was intercepted at the post office and was read by local Soviet officials. Fifth, it was rumored that a neighbor denounced him to Soviet officials because of Leib's anti-Soviet remarks.



Leib Rapoport, 1938.
Courtesy of Leonid Rapoport.

Following a trial in Proskurov, Leib was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment including 5 years to be served in Siberia. When his wife Polina went to visit him in the Proskurov jail she had to wait in a long line of people who wanted to visit their imprisoned relatives. Polina asked a Ukrainian peasant woman whom she was visiting, and what he did wrong. The woman replied that her husband had been arrested, tried, and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment because he said, "American tractors are better than Soviet ones."

The Rapoport home and all of the family possessions were confiscated by the authorities when Leib was jailed. Polina and her three small children were forced to leave Letichev. They eventually made their way to Leningrad. Leib Rapoport was never seen again by his family; he soon died in prison.[7]

There were five men arrested in Medzhibozh in 1953. One of them was Yankel Mednik, who was arrested for praying (practicing religion was prohibited); another was Tevye Goldberg, who was arrested for singing a song or telling a joke that a neighbor thought was inappropriate. Although they were held in jail for a while, after the death of Joseph Stalin they were soon released.[8]

"THE DOCTORS' PLOT"

A Kremlin power struggle in the late 1940s to 1952 developed into a nationwide hysteria known as "the Doctors' Plot." A 1948 charge that that Jewish doctors were trying to poison Soviet officials, that Stalin himself noted as being "absurd, " was used by Stalin himself as a means of causing an anti-Semitic campaign--a centuries' old method of political misdirection--to distract the public from the machinations

of his Politburo. His actual goal was to purge the Soviet government of his political enemies.[9] The long-range plan of this incredible falsehood, Stalin's own "Final Solution," was the deportation of the remaining Jews of the Soviet Union to the Far East and to gulags, where most, if not all, would soon starve or freeze to death.[10]

Rumors spread across the entire USSR that Jewish "terrorists"--doctors and pharmacists-- were trying to poison the entire Soviet population. Patients were afraid to be treated by Jewish doctors, who were referred to in the press as "Murderers in White Gowns." Jewish doctors were gripped by unspeakable fear, afraid for their lives. Jane (Zamshteyn) Tsygan, a descendent of the Zinshteyn family of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan, was born in the town of Khashevata, Vinnitsa Oblast, in 1936. She recalled her experiences during this time:[12]



Yankel Mednik, 1968.
Mednik and other Holocaust survivors at the Nazi mass killing site in Medzhibozh. Mednik was jailed in 1953 on trumped up charges because he was Jewish. He was released from prison upon Stalin's death.[11]

> In 1952-1953 I was 17 and a student of the Moscow Medical School. This period was the most dreadful one of Russian history, particularly for doctors. But not for all doctors; just for Jewish ones.
>
> Because I was studying at the Medical School I was closer to these events than any of my friends. Almost every day a meeting was held and new names--famous, respected people--were pronounced as enemies of the Soviet people. They had been accused of poisoning and killing Communist Part leaders and of setting up a conspiracy against the leader of the people--Joseph Stalin.
>
> It is a shame to confess but we believed it to be true. We were young and naive and we couldn't even imagine that such an enormous lie could have been created. We knew the names of these brilliant doctors and scientists, and we were in shock.

Among our teachers was Yuriy Ginsburg. In spite of his Jewish name, he was actually a Russian.

He was extremely handsome, tall, broad-shouldered, with fair hair, gray eyes, and wonderful smile. He looked like a real Russian hero and all the girls, including me, were in love with him. Moreover, he was a great professor. He taught Anatomy and made us almost like the unpleasant task of studying cadavers.

At a meeting, the teacher of Communist Party History took the floor and said, "Don't think that doctor-killers are just at the Kremlin Hospital. They are everywhere. They may be among us. Everybody knows Yuriy Ginsburg. He has a Jewish last name but he is 'Russian' on his passport. Why does he hide his real nationality? If he were not an enemy he would not have to hide anything. We will start the investigation now. Whatever we will find out we will let you know. We can count on your help." I cannot find the proper words to describe our feelings. If I said fear, horror, and feeling of danger, it would not be an exaggeration.

Within a few days I was ordered to attend a meeting of the local Communist Party Committee. When I showed up I saw about 15 people sitting around a very long desk. I recognized only one face--Vera Pavlova, an ill-



The Bik Family of Derazhnia, 1946.
1) Sara Ushitskaya; 2) Pola Zats; 3) Manya Tsimmerman; 4) Udel Zats Bik; 5) Shmil Hirsh Bik; 6) Eta Bik; 7) Simyon Bik; 8) Fridel Ushitsky; 9) Zhenya Ushitskaya; 10) Ema Besfamilia; 11) Chaike Ushitskaya. Courtesy of Eta and Simyon Bik.

natured person and an active Communist Party member. She said that because I was the best student, I was selected. I was supposed to declare in the name of my fellow students that we refuse to attend the lectures of Yuriy Ginsburg, and that we hate and despise him for his mean behavior. I responded that I would not do it because it was not true. I stated that he was a very good teacher, all the students liked him, and if he was permitted to explain, everything would be cleared up. Pavlova did not insist, and I was dismissed from the meeting.

The truth is that I was not chosen not because I was the brightest student. I was chosen because I was Jewish. At the time I did not realize how dangerous it was. Much later I found out that they put my name on a list of unreliable persons of the Moscow Medical School. Exile, imprisonment--everything could have happened to me. But I was lucky. In a few days Stalin died and this nightmare was over.

The story has a magical ending. I attended the funeral of Stalin in which thousands of people were injured, and some killed, due to being crushed in the tremendous crowd. I could have shared their fate but a real miracle saved me. In this huge crowd, where I was trapped for hours, I lost track of the friends that I had arrived with. But I found myself next to--Yuriy Ginsburg. He pulled me to safety out of this hell. Was it a coincidence or did God reward me? I don't know.

Forty-five years have passed since that time. Sometimes I ask myself : "You were brave because you did not realize the danger. Would you be so brave if you did?" To be sincere, I am not sure. I just hope that the answer would be YES.

Moisei Abramovich Grubshteyn was born on September 25, 1897 in Letichev, and graduated from the Kiev Medical Institute in 1921. He served as the head of the Romny local health center in Sumi Oblast. In 1941 he became a military doctor, rising to the rank of Major of Medical Service and was head of the otolaryngology department of military hospital 355 in Kirov, also serving in the pediatric department. After his fine service in the war he was transferred to Riga. However, in 1953, he lost his post due to "sclerosis of the brain." Undoubtedly this was due to the fact that he was a Jewish doctor. He later found a job in a clinic, where he worked until he was well into his 90s. When he died in the 1980s, he was one of the most well-known physicians in Riga, adored by three generations of patients.[13]



Dr. Moisei Grubshteyn, ca.1930.
Courtesy of Sonya Breidbart.

After the death of Joseph Stalin in March 1953, Jewish doctors who had been arrested were

released from prisons. The planned deportations of Jews to the Far East never took place. Stalin had destroyed tens of millions of Soviet families; his timely death allowed the remaining 1.8 million Jews of the country to stay alive.

LIFE AFTER STALIN

Many Jews moved to larger cities (such as Khmelnitsky, Odessa, Chernovtsy) in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Ironically, Proskurov was renamed Khmelnitsky in 1955 after the famous anti-Semite from the 17th century. If the Jews of Proskurov had not been nearly wiped out by the Nazis, almost certainly they would have protested the name change.

Few Jews remained in the Letichev District. Only a few of the Jewish children who survived the war and had grown up and remained in Letichev District. Mekhel Grubshtein, Vladimir Krasnoshteyn and his wife Klara Falkovich became teachers in Volkovintsy. Vladimir and Klara later married.

After the death of Stalin, Jews endured continued state-sponsored anti-Semitism under Nikita Khrushchev despite the fact that some gains were made by the late 1950s. Jews found it easier to be accepted into universities and to be hired into technological and scientific positions. A few synagogues were opened throughout the USSR. Unfortunately, the age-old solution of blaming Jews for the ills of society erupted yet again. A propaganda campaign equated Zionism with "bourgeois nationalism." Amazingly, Jews were depicted in the Soviet media as being Hitler's servants and fascist sympathizers. In a repeat of what



Jewish School Teachers in Volkovintsy.
From left to right: Vladimir Krasnoshteyn (who taught 8th grade in 1964); Klara Falkovich Krasnoshteyn (who taught 8th grade in 1970); and Mikhel Grubshteyn (who taught 10th grade in 1966). Courtesy of Vladimir and Klara Krasnoshteyn.

occurred in the mid 1930s, synagogues were closed and there was a crackdown on religious observances. The baking of matzah was banned throughout the USSR in 1960. In order to circumvent the ban, Rabbi Isaac Heschel of New York sent matzah to the Jews of Medzhibozh and Proskurov.[14]

In the early 1960s over 500 trials took place throughout the USSR -- the so-called "economic trials" -- in which people were accused of the crimes of speculation, bribery, money-hoarding and other marginally criminal financial activities. Almost 80% of those accused were Jews, and over 100 people were sentenced to death for minor offenses.[15]

In many towns in Ukraine, such as Staro Konstantinov, Vinnitsa, and Khmelnitsky (Proskurov), Jews were arrested and tried in open courts. A much publicized case in Khmelnitsky centered around a small handful of Jews who were found to be hiding gold. Yankel Poysner, Kuris, and several others were arrested for hoarding gold and foreign currency. Journalist Samuil Daykhman (a Jew himself) published a one page article in the main regional newspaper *Radyanske Podillya* describing the greediness of Poysner and friends.[16] All were found guilty. Poysner and Kuris were executed.[17] Others received long jail sentences. For example, Poysner's sister was jailed for almost seven years because some of the gold was supposedly hidden in her basement. Poysner's wife and son were exiled from Khmelnitsky.[18]

The Cold War essentially destroyed connections between Jews who still lived in the Soviet Union and their relatives in the West. The Zimmerman family attempted to maintain links with the Morris Zimmerman's remaining brother, Mitya Zimmerman, a doctor who was born in Letichev and after the war resided in Moscow. It became dangerous to exchange letters for both sides of the family. A Yiddish code developed in the letters to get past censors. In 1960, Morris's daughter, Shirley Zimmerman Goldstein made a tourist trip to Moscow and slipped away for a short time for a secret rendevous with her uncle and cousins. Gifts were exchanged and family ties reestablished. Upon Shirley's return to the U.S., at the airport she was detained and questioned at length by U.S. officials for her unusual activities. That was the last time anyone made contact with this branch of the Zimmerman family.[19]

By the late 1960s, under the rule of Leonid Brezhnev, Jews were given the opportunity to apply for visas to go to Israel. Thus began the wave of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. Although fewer than 200 persons left per year from 1954 to the early 1960s (with only 12 in 1958 and only 3 in 1959), between 1,000 and 2,000 left from the late 1960s to 1970.[20] The Israeli victory in the 1967 Six-Day War opened the eyes of Soviet Jews to the fact that a Jewish life was possible outside of the Soviet Union. A resurgence of interest in Judaism sprung up all over the USSR. Not unlike the days when Zionists were forced to secretly gather in the 1920s, Soviet Jews began to hold clandestine meetings in which they learned Hebrew and discussed Jewish culture. It was in the late 1960s and early 1970s that Jews began to erect memorials to those killed by the Nazis.

NAZI TRIALS

After the war, very few Nazis and Nazi collaborators were caught and prosecuted for crimes committed in the Letichev area. Numerous survivors report that captured German POWs, even many years after the war, were assigned to work details by Soviet authorities to rebuild the infrastructure throughout Ukraine. Most captured Nazis died in the Soviet Union without ever returning to Germany. Tevye Goldberg reported that the chief of the Fascist Ukrainian police in Medzhibozh was named Pavlovsky. He escaped with the Germans and was rumored to be hiding in Canada. Another Ukrainian police named Blonsky was captured by the Soviets and was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment.[21] Vladimir Goykher reported that the chief of the Ukrainian police in Letichev was Kupriyan. He also fled with the Germans and was rumored to have gone into hiding in Australia.[22] Lev Goldenberg recalled that a Ukrainian by the name of Sobchik commanded the killings at Letichev but was never caught.[23] Simyon Bik recalled that there were a few small trials in Derazhnia involving Ukrainian policemen who participated in atrocities.[24]

In the early-1960s, West German authorities collected information concerning the war crimes related to the slavery imposed by Organisation Todt-related projects in the Ukraine, including those along the 2,000 kilometers of roads which fell under the control of Durchgangstrasse IV -- including THE ROAD FROM LETICHEV. Unfortunately, investigators found little evidence about the events that occurred in Letichev District -- the few people who survived the horrors and could provide adequate testimony were trapped behind the Iron Curtain.

The first trial relating to Letichev and environs was in Lubeck in 1965.[25] This trial was for crimes of murder which occurred from May 1942 to Dec 1943 in the Jewish forced labor camps in South Ukraine. The trial was directed against past members of the SS, the security police and the SD (Sicherheitsdienst), the police security division of Durchgangstrasse IV. Those charged with being most responsible were SS-Hauptsturmfuhrer Franz Christoffel and SS-Untersturmfuhrer Oskar Friese. The second trial took place in Bremen in 1970.[26] This trial was separated from the trial in Lubeck, and concerned one Otto Fach who was supervisor of the work detail in Letichev. The third trial was in Dortmund in 1971.[27] This trial centered around the execution of Jews in the fall of 1942 in Letichev and Staro-Konstantinov. It was against unavailable or unknown past members of the military police and security police. In all three trials, the defendents were found not guilty due to "lack of evidence."[28]

Erection of Holocaust Memorials

Letichev

by Celia Michelson[29]
Ramalah, Israel

When the Germans occupied the Ukraine and the town of Letichev, they immediately rounded up all the Jewish young men. Among them was my brother Velvel Michelson. They were rounded up on the pretext that they were taken to go to work. They were told to dig a big pit. When they completed the task, they were forced to undress naked and they were shot and killed. There were approximately 25 people. When I came back after the war from serving army duty, the Ukrainian neighbors told me and took me to the mass grave.

...After the war in Letichev they dredged the River Volk and there they found the mass grave of 25 men. There among them was my brother Velvel Michelson. The grave was flooded and the bones of these people surfaced in the streets of Letichev.



Froim Burshtein, ca. 1955.
Courtesy of Pinkhas Michelson.

My father-in-law, Froim Burshteyn (who died in Israel in 1976) saw this and he and other people collected all the remnants of bones and buried them near the graves of all the heroes and other martyrs of the town of Letichev and Zaletichevka and he errected an iron plaque with an inscription.

* * * * *

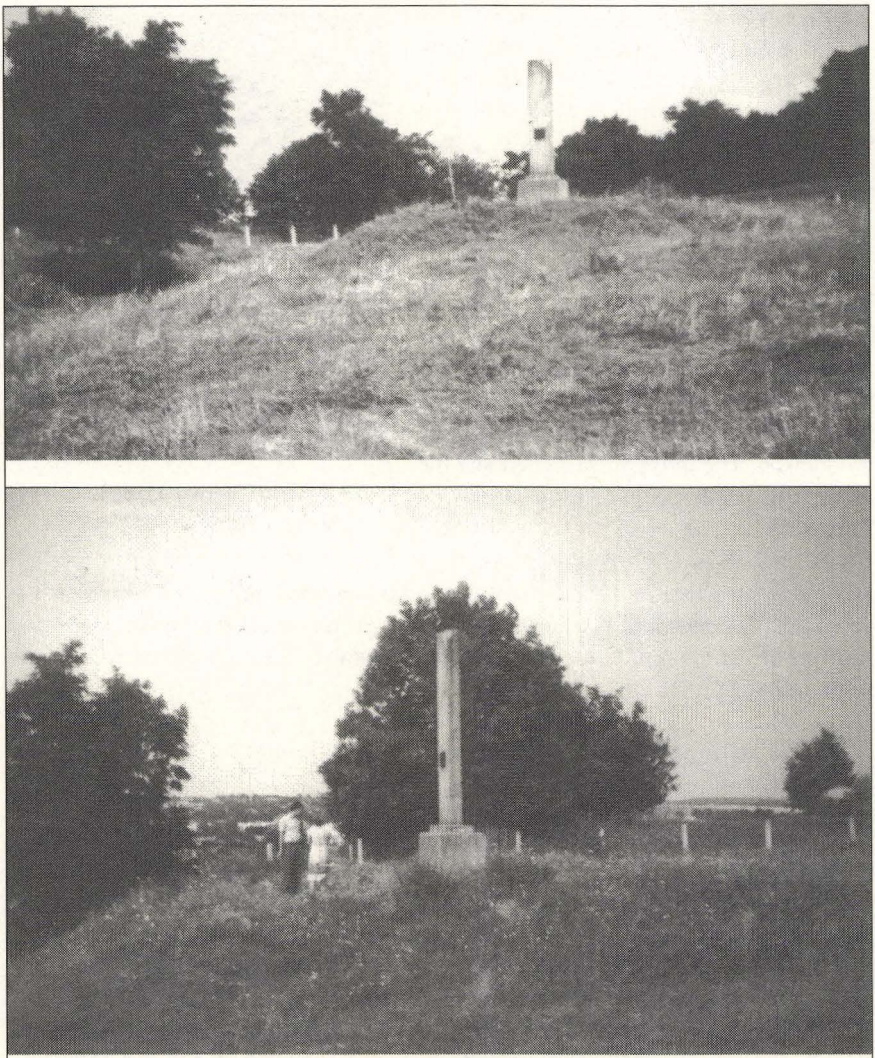
by Pinkhas Michelson[30]
Bney Brak, Israel

I'm from Letichev and my wife is from Letichev, too. My wife is the daughter of Froim Burshtein.

When the Germans entered Letichev, they shot my brother on the first day of their occupation. Later, my brother's wife with her three children were in the ghetto. When my brother's wife was being taken away for execution, the three children ran after their mother and were shot down together with their mother.

...After the war, my wife's father, Froim Burshteyn, returned to Letichev to resettle. He was born in Letichev and had been well-known and well-repected by

all of the Jews of the town. In Zaletevichka (outskirts of Letichev), there are deep ravines. In these ravines the Jews were shot. When Froim came to this place, he was horrified. There were three big graves. In one grave were children, in another women, and another the men. The graves were poorly covered with earth. Bones stuck out from the graves. After a strong rain, the Ukrainians said to Froim Burshteyn, "The bones of the Jews swim in the puddles." Froyka met with an engineer who said that because the graves were near the river, the graves must be moved. Froim hired people to cover the grave better with dirt. Then he petitioned the Letichev authorities to erect a monument to the Jews of Letichev, but the



Monument at Zaletichevka (Letichev) mass killing site.
Photographs by David Chapin, 1995.

monument was not erected. He wrote a letter to the ministry in Moscow asking them to erect a monument in Letichev, but without success. He then began writing the relatives of the murdered Jews of Letichev, who now lived in different cities throughout the U.S.S.R., asking them for money to build a monument. The money went into Froim Brushteyn's account. He then hired people to build the monument. They built only the foundation. There was little money and he couldn't manage to lead the construction to its completion. He then went again to the local authorities asking for help. In 1973 we saw the same unfinished monument. This is the story of the grave at Zavolk where my brother (and the Rabbi and young men) were killed by the Germans. Men were hired to remove the bones to another place.

In 1971 Froim emigrated to Israel. In 1976 he died at age 83. He was a religious Jew. There is a marble plaque on his tomb. This marble is from Letichev. He is buried in the new cemetery in Bat Yam. The inscription on the marble is in Russian and in Hebrew.

I have been in Israel since 1973 with my wife and daughter. I am 83, my wife 75. My daughter married a religious Israeli. We share a house with them.

Medzhibozh



Medzhibozh Holocaust Survivors at the Mass Killing Site, 1968.[31]



One of the Mass Graves in Medzhibozh.
This long trench, now covered in concrete, was where the majority of the Jews from the Medzhibozh ghetto were shot by the Nazis. Photo by David Chapin, 1995.



Monument at the Nazi Mass Killing Site in Medzhibozh.
The inscription reads:
"Here in these ravines on the 22nd of September, 1942, the German-Fascist barbarians committed an act of atrocity and killed more than 3,000 old men, women, and children -- the inhabitants of the Medzhibozh ghetto. Eternal memory for our dear kinsmen. 22 October 1967."
Photograph by David Chapin, 1995.



Medzhbozh Mass Graves.
Overlooking the picturesque Yuzhny Bug River are three mass graves from WWII. Photo by David Chapin, 1995.

Derazhnia

Shika Charnis wrote:[32]

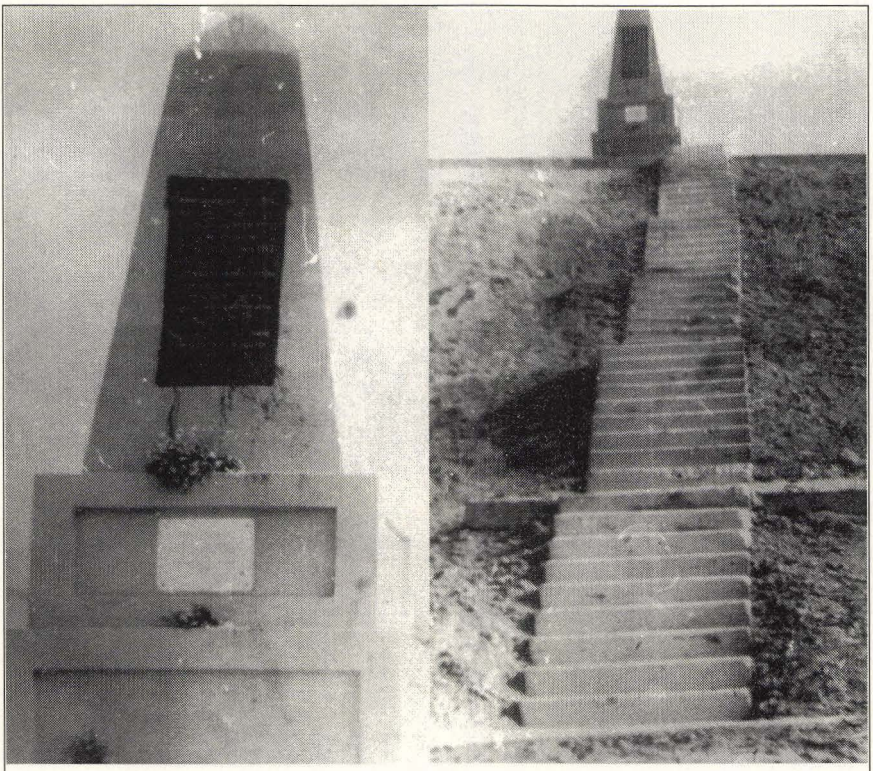
"I was born in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan in 1919. My mother (who died in 1992 in Odessa) was Beila, the daughter of Shimon Shatsman. My wife was Sheindel Grubshteyn who died in 1980 in Volkovintsy.

"The Jews of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan were killed along with the Jews of the Derazhnia ghetto, 2 kilometers from Derazhnia near the town of Nizhne. There is now a monument with a memorial plaque for the 3,200 Jews who died there. On the first Sunday of every September, the Jewish families who have roots in Derazhnia gather in Derazhnia to remember those who were killed."

Derazhnia Reunion Attendees[33]

1979:
Goldshteyn, Duvid
Goldshteyn, Manya
Gonta, Klara
Grach, Srul
Kigel, Tenya
Koren, Eva
Krupko, Yasha
Krupko, Zenya
Mazover, Sara
Mandel, Tsila
Nudel, Sonya
Parnes, Polya
Polyak, Shika
Sekuler, Roza
Shepsyuk, Grisha
Shepsyuk, Srul
Shlyak, Zeyna
Shokhetman, Liza
Shvitko, Tsilya
Tish, Yasha

1980:
Abramovich, Fanya
Abramovich, Pesakh
Bik, Simyon
Brener, Abrum
Brener, Itsik
Burshteyn, Simyon
Friedman



Derazhnia Nazi Mass Killing Site Monument, 1969.
Courtesy of Simyon and Eta Bik.

Gelman, Lova
Goldshteyn, Duvid
Goldshteyn, Eva
Gonta, Bella
Gonta, Sara
Gonta, Srul
Kaliner, Boris
Kaliner, Milya
Kats, Fira
Khait, Misha
Khren, Khatsya
Khren, Sarra
Klig, Fima
Klig, Khaim
Koren, Eva
Lerner, Moyshe
Mandel, Tsila
Nudel, Oyzer
Nudel, Sara
Nudel, Sonya
Peysatya, Taibel
Polyak, Sima
Potashnik, Zenya
Reyter, Zoya
Senderovich, Boris
Shatsman, Shmil
Shlyak, Genya
Shtern, Maks
Shvartser, Shika
Shvitko, Tsilya
Tabak, Sasha
Tsimmerman, Polya
Ushitskaya, Etya
Zhurova, Khana

1981:
Abramovich, Fanya
Bik, Simyon
Bikov, Lenya
Bikova, Polya
Brener, Abrum
Burshteyn, Grisha
Eydelman, Anyota
Freydzon, Simyon
Fridman, Moyshe
Gelman, Fira
Goldshteyn, Eva
Gonta, Klara
Gnatovekaya, Manya
Kirshner, Bella
Klig, Fima
Koyfman, Ira
Krivoshel, Klara
Lerner, Moyshe
Livshits, Nyunya
Mashkit, Izya
Mashkit, Polya
Nudel, Sonya
Potashnik, Genya
Potashnik, Mira
Rivl, Genya
Sekuler, Roza
Senderovich, Boris



Arrival at the Derazhnia Train Station for Holocaust Reunion, 1982.
1) Simyon Bik, 2) Yasha Shteynberg,, 3) Minya Burshteyn, 4) Shulim Sheynker, 5) Shmil Apokorin, 6) Shika Shvartser, 7) Sasha Reyter, 8) Abrum Shoykhet, 9) Sima Geller. Courtesy of Simyon and Eta Bik.

Shatsman, Shmil
Sheynker, Shulim
Shlyak, Genya
Shoykhetman, Borya
Tabakh, Sasha
Ushitskaya, Etya
Yosevur, Shmil
Zats, Blyuma

1982:
Apokorin, Shmil
Bik, Simyon
Brener, Abrum
Brener, Itsik
Burshteyn, Minya
Epelfeld, Tsipa
Frenkel, Yasha
Freydzon, Fima
Freydzon, Roza
Geller, Roza
Geller, Sima
Gluzman, Lena
Gluzman, Yasha
Goldshteyn, Genya
Kigel, Genya
Klig, Fima
Koren, Eva
Krayzman, Manya
Lerner, Lenya
Lerner, Sara
Malkiman, Zhenya
Mashkit, Polya
Nakhlas, Lena
Nakhlas, Sema
Nudel, Fanya
Nudel, Oyzer
Nudel, Sonya
Potashnik, Genya
Radbil, Yasha
Reyter, Sasha
Rivl, Genya
Sekuler, Roza
Sheynker, Shulim
Shlyak, Genya
Shlyak, Sima
Shoykhet, Abrum
Shoykhetman, Borya
Shteynberg, Yasha
Shvartser, Shika
Shvitko, Tsilya
Simes, Liza
Slepaya, Fira
Slepoy, Srul
Slezinger, Fima
Soybelman, Misha
Tsimmerman, Polya
Ushitskaya, Anyota
Vaynshteyn, Izya

1987:
Apokorin, Manya
Apokorin, Shmil
Bik, Boris
Bik, Lenya
Bik, Polya
Bik, Simyon
Birman, Shloyme
Brener, Abrum
Faynshteyn, Sema
Geller, Sima
Gelman, Fira
Goldshteyn, Eva
Goldshteyn, Zhenya
Gonta, Klara
Gonta, Zina
Kerstnetskaya, Donya
Klig, Fima
Krayzman, Manya
Livshits, Moyshe
Livshits, Polya
Mazover, Sara
Parnes, Polya
Potashnik, Genya
Potashnik, Mira
Rubinshteyn, Yasha
Sekuler, Roza
Shoykhetman, Borya
Shteyn, Dodik
Shvartser, Shika
Sigal, Brukha
Slezinger, Fima
Tkach, Khaim

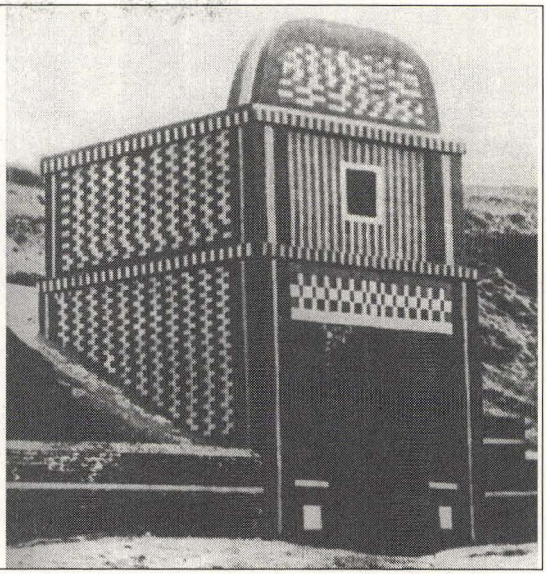


Derazhnia Reunion at Mass Killing Site, 1980.
1) Bella Gonta, 2) Srul Grach, 3) Moshe Khait, 4) Fanya Abramovich, 5) Abrum Brener, 6) Khaim Klig, 7) Pesakh Abramovich, 8) Tsila Mandel, 9) Lova Gelman, 10) Itsik Brener, 11) Eta Ushitsky Bik, 12) Shika Shvartser, 13) Eva Koren, 14) Tsilya Shvitko, 15) Sara Gonta, 16) Boris Senderovich, 17) Sonya Nudel, 18) Oyzer Nudel, 19) Sima Polyak, 20) Genya Shlyak, 21) Milya Kaliner, 22) Friedman, 23) Boris Kaliner, 24) Duvid Goldshteyn, 25) Taibel Peysatya, 26) Simyon Bik, 27) Sasha Tabakh. Courtesy of Simyon and Eta Bik.



Derazhnia Monument in disrepair.
Photo by David Chapin, 1995.

Zinkov



Monument in Dunaevtsy. Behind this monument is the mine entrance where many Jews of Zinkov were killed by Ukrainian police. The police drove 12,000 Podolian Jews naked into the cold, dark phosphate mine and blew up the entrance. The screams of the Jews could be heard for several days as they starved to death within. Courtesy of YIVO.

Monuments in Other Countries



Medzhibozh Monument, Moshav K'far Vitkin, Israel. Courtesy of Asher Fischman.



Monument to victims in Zinkov. This monument was erected by the Zinkover Society in 1963 at the Montefiore Cemetery, Queens, New York. This monument and the book *Pinkas Zinkov*, the Zinkov yiskor book, were major international efforts by Zinkovers worldwide to memorialize the Zinkov victims of the Holocaust. Photo by Ben Weinstock.



Monument to victims in Staro Zakrevsky Meidan. This monument was erected by Yiddish Mayden Verein in 1955 at the Beth David Cemetery, Elmont, New York. The date on the monument is almost certainly wrong, it should have been one year earlier. The monument reads: "In memorium for the martyrs of Yiddish Mayden who were slaughtered on the day of Yom Kippur 1943 at the hands of the Nazis. Their memories will live forever in our hearts." Photo by Ben Weinstock.

CONTINUED EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR

Despite the numerous requirements and obstacles in successsfully obtaining a visa, tens of thousands of Jews applied. Those denied were known as "refusniks."[34] International pressure on the Kremlin and the persistence of refusniks and other applicants led to a resurgence of approved visas from the 1970s until 1980. At least 10,000 persons left per year, with over 50,000 leaving in 1979. Under Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* of the 1980s many tens of thousands of Jews left the USSR. Over 200,000 emigrated in 1990. Hundreds of thousands left before and after the final breakup of the USSR in 1991. In total, by 1997, over 1.2 million Soviet Jews had immigrated to either Israel or America.[35] . Among those Jews who left were the families of Vladimir Goykher

and Leonid Rapoport, formerly of Letichev; Simyon and Eta Bik of Derazhnia; Ilya Abramovich and Semyon Gluzman of Zinkov; and a few dozen other families who originated in Letichev District. Many of those who came to America settled in Brighton Beach, Brooklyn, known as "Little Odessa." Thus the relatives of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth century immigrants were now themselves immigrants. Leonid Rapoport was fortunate to find his New York relatives, separated by thousands of miles and seventy years, by means of an advetisement in a Jewish newspaper. Other families were reunited, each with their own unique means of identification. Alex Grubshteyn and his family left Khmelnitsky and settled in Israel. He was subsequently tracked down by Ben Weinstock, the son of his American first cousin. Amazingly, Grubshteyn had a copy of a photograph of his American relatives taken in New York in the early 1900s. This photograph had been sent from New York to Staro Zakrevsky Meidan, and was kept in the family throughout the fall of Tsarism, the pogroms of 1917-1921, the hardships of the 1930s, evacuation to the Far East during World War II, and the fifty years since the end of the war. A copy of this ninety year-old photograph was mailed to Weinstock from Israel, verifying the family relationship.

VISITS TO LETICHEV DISTRICT

It is known that in the 1960s a few people born in the area took trips to the USSR. Several members of the Kaliner family of Meiden, Menashe Belinsky of Medzhbozh, and Serge Jarvis (formerly Yavitz) of Letichev managed to visit their birthplaces. Interestingly, somebody from America brought a copy of the Zinkov *yiskor* book to Yaltushkov, where it was subsequently hand-delivered, from one Jew to another in several towns, until it reached the hands of Semyon Gluzman of Zinkov.[36] Unfortunately, these visits by Americans were relatively brief and they were closely scrutinized by Soviet officials.

Leonid and Pavel Rapoport visited Letichev in 1972. It was their first visit there since the family was forced out in 1950. Leonid found that the few remaining Jews there "generally acted like scared shtetl Jews, ignorant...unlike the educated Jews that we knew in Leningrad. The whole town felt like a grave, not just because of the mass killing site. Because the town was never a railroad station and never had a college, tourism and commerce remained somewhat limited. Basically, it was like a poor peasant village."[37]

During the Cold War, the Letichev District was off-limits to foreigners. And it was restricted for good reason -- Derazhnia had become a base for intercontinental ballistic nuclear missles. In the 1980s more detailed visits began by American-born descendents of emigres from the Letichev District. Harry Pregerson and his wife Berne visited Medzhibozh in the summer of 1989. Stephen Silverman visited Letichev in the summer of 1991.[38]

Rescuing the Old Medzhibozh Cemetery

by Michael Greenberg[39]

In February 1988 I received a letter in Moscow from Gershom Shmunis, a young man from the town of Khmelnitsky.... He wrote to me that the tombstones in the old Jewish cemetery of Medzhibozh were being destroyed. Medzhibozh is the town where the Baal Shem Tov, the founder of Chasidism, is buried. The local authorities had allowed the new town museum to unearth 50 Jewish tombstones for relocation inside the museum. The museum is being built...in the old Polish citadel....The museum director had planned the imitation Jewish cemetery in the museum as part of an exhibit recreating the three cultures of the old city: Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish....

Today there are only four Jewish homes in Medzhibozh. There is only one Jewish married couple. Their sons have moved away and are absolutely assimilated. The old Jewish communal buildings have been either destroyed or converted. The site of the Baal Shem Tov's synagogue is now an empty lot. Another synagogue has become the garage of the fire department. The Jewish cemetery was neglected and vandalized. Its gate was torn down and its steps destroyed. Parts of the stone wall were taken down by the townsfolk. Trees, bushes and high grass overgrew the marvelous tombstones....Many of the tombstones had been broken and turned into benches, armchairs and barbecue pits to be used on summer evenings by local drunkards and drug users...

Fifteen years ago, an 80 year-old Jew from Kiev named Eliahu Lapitzky brought a worker and slabs of stone in a truck at night to the Medzhibozh cemetery. They worked all night and left in the morning at the first crow of the rooster. The regional authorities reportedly were very angry and wanted to remove the 'illegal' stones. But these stones stand to this day, marking not only the grave of the Baal Shem Tov but also the remaining sparks of faith and heroism that still exist in Russian Jewry. Eliahu Lapitzky died this year at the age of 96.

It was when the regional museum began its work that Gershom Shmunis's letter arrived in Moscow... The Moscow Lubavitch community decided to take on the responsibility of saving the Baal Shem Tov's cemetery... When we arrived, we went first to the cemetery, where we tucked *kvitals* under the tombstones and cleaned around the graves. Then we went to the construction site of the museum... There we saw beautiful Jewish gravestones piled up in the adjacent Catholic church. The tombstones were marked for transfer to the future museum.

We told the museum director, Miroslav Vasilevich Pinchak, that he was committing a sacrilege. He agreed and said that he was only trying to preserve the Jewish monuments from being destroyed by the local population. He had to do this, he explained to our shame, because no Jewish individual or organization was taking the initiative. Miroslav Vasilevich knows the history of Chasidism and is trying to decipher the tombstone inscriptions with the help of a Hebrew-Russian dictionary. We tried to assure him of our help on the condition that he

return the tombstones to their rightful places. If he did, then we promised to do the work and pay for it.

After the snow melted, we returned to Medzhibozh with a brigade of professional laborers. We went together with the museum director to the mayor, who greeted us cordially and gave us an official permit to proceed with the restoration work. The political situation in the Soviet Union was changing before our eyes... In this case, the Medzhibozh Soviet was lenient.

The work began. We built a high iron-mesh fence around the graves of the Baal Shem Tov, his grandson Rabbi Borukh, and Rabbi Abraham Joshua of Apt and locked it. Now no one could desecrate the Baal Shem Tov's grave anymore. Shortly before we arrived there, Skvira Chasidim had installed a beautiful box for memorial candles, and on the same day it was stolen. We knew from a letter sent to us from America written by Rabbi Moshe Bick, the son of the last rabbi of Medzhibozh, that the six closest followers of the Besht were buried to the right of the *tsadik's* grave. We placed six tombstones on the sites that Rabbi Bick had described to us.

We leveled the grounds. Then we bolstered the ruins of the old retaining walls around the cemetery and bult a new metal wire fence around it. The entrance steps and internal paths were rebuilt. Working alongside the professional workers, a group of young Jews from Leningrad helped place the tombstones and cut the bushes. All summer many more volunteers came from Khmelnitsky... Timidly and cautiously the Jews of Khmelnitsky started coming to Medzhibozh during the summer to see the desecrated cemetery that had been rebuilt by believing Jews.

A Trip to Medzhibozh

by Sonya & Yeshayahu (Charles) Bick[40]

The primary purpose of our trip to Russia in 1990 was to meet family members and visit Medzhibozh, Podolia, where I was born. My brother, Rabbi Moshe Bick, made two attempts to enter Medzhibozh, the last time some fifteen years earlier, without success. Reaching Vinnitsa, after receiving a message that permission will be granted, such permission was rescinded the last minute.

We reached Kiev on June 17, 1990, stayed overnight, and made arrangements to leave for Medzhibozh the following morning. Our travel agent in Jerusalem gave us the name and phone number of a Jewish taxi driver in Kiev, who had previously taken visitors to various cities in the Ukraine, and was acquainted with Medzhibozh. He had a working knowledge of Yiddish. He came to the hotel wearing a large *kipa*. His name was Zhenie Chernoff. I also arranged for my cousin, Vadim Gorowitz, who lives in Moscow, to accompany us on the trip. Vadim is a grandson of my mother's brother, Shimon.

After two short stops in Kiev, we were on the road for a five hour ride to Medzhibozh. The route took us through places like Zhitomir, Berdichev, Khmelnik, and Letichev. We arrived at our destination after 3 pm.

I was born in Medzhibozh in 1912 and left with my father, before my Bar Mitzvah, in 1925. I had a fairly good mental picture of streets and places.

Medzhibozh today is less than half in size from what it was before we left. Thereare some 3,000 inhabitants there today. On the map, Medzhibozh appears as a tiny speck in comparison to the neighboring cities.

We crossed the Bug River and I immediately recognized the building which served as a flour mill owned by my grandfather Meshulam Nosson Gervits. A sign on the building identifies it as a bathhouse. Continuing on a right turn up the hill, we reached the fortress. Unfortunately, the gate was locked and we could not locate the director. I knew that the buildings serve today as a museum.



Rabbi Moishe Bick.
(Moses Zvi Bick). Born in Medzhibozh, he is the son of Rabbi Khaim Bick and the brother of Charles Bick. R. Moishe Bick made two failed attempts to visit Medzhibozh in the 1970s.

Vadim was in Medzhibozh two years ago with a group of former townspeople and their children who came to Medzhibozh on September 22 to hold a memorial for the Jews who were killed by the Nazis in 1942. He was therefore acquainted with the layout of the town. We walked down a street and Vadim identified his grandfather's (Shimon) house. We entered the yard and Vadim spoke to a couple who obviously live there now. He told them about the history of the house and introduced me as a "native" uncle who lives in Israel. There was no reply, no comment whatsoever. Vadim knew of a Jewish woman who lives alone in the town, namely Rosa Davidovna. He stopped a young boy and asked for her house. The boy took us to her house. We entered the yard, and there she was standing at the doorstep. I approached and asked for her name. She replied Rosa Huberman, daughter of Dovid Hirsh Koppel. I asked her if she remembered the Rabbi and she promply answered "Chaim-muni." I asked if she remembered his children. Without hesitation she replied, "Moishe and Shaike." When I identified myself as Shaike, tears came flowing down her cheeks. She was seventy years old. She remembered how her father took her to accompany us to the edge of town when we left in 1925, how they lined up, my father mounting the buggy and taking leave, spoke to the assembled. I had no doubt that she was telling the truth, because I remember that scene very well.

She took us into her house and she told us much about the ghetto in the town, the work camp in Letichev and the pogroms that were a part of their daily life during the rule of the Nazis. The young people were taken to work in Letichev. They tried to hide the old people in a house. One day, when they returned from work, they found the clothes in the house. The Nazis discovered the hiding place,

took all the people there and killed them. She survived the entire period because she was able to act as an interpreter from German to Ukrainian and vice versa.

...I asked Rosa why she choose to stay in Mezhibozh. Her reply was that she recieves a pension and she has no place to go...She added that if she could sell her house, maybe she would go somewhere else, but that is not possible. Her father lived and is buried in Medzhibozh and that is where she will remain. She was the only Jewish person in town, but no one annoys her.

I asked her if there was anything Jewish in town, perhaps at the Museum. She told me that she visited there several times; there is nothing Jewish in there. She herself had a *sidur* and the she brought out a *Megilat Esther*, wrapped in celophane. It was left by her father. I requested to purchase the *Megila*, but she insisted on giving it to me as a present. After much urging and insistence, she accepted some dollars.

We found the gentile who had the keys to the cemeteries. The "old" cemetery was fairly well maintained, fenced around and the tombstones in the front rehabilitated. Many of the gravestones were toppled, broken or illegible. The graves of the Baal Shem Tov and his pupil Wolf Kitces were surrounded by iron poles. The enclosure has an entrance, inside there was a large metal container, with a slit for charitable contributions. Outside to the right of the Baal Shem Tov's grave, there were flat stones for our relatives:

1. Dov Berish, son of Arieh Leibush who was the son of Khaim haKohen Rapoport.

2. Zvi Arieh, son of Dov Berish Rapoport.

3. Meir Menakhem Bick, son of Saul Issachar Berish who was the son-in-law of Zvi Arieh Rapoport.

I am the fifth generation, son after son, of the above mentioned Saul Issachar Berish Bick.

We went to the field where there were two common graves, in a gully, covered with cement, for 3000 Jews killed by the Nazis on September 22, 1942. Nearby there was a plot with four graves, but no names appeared anywhere. There was a monument standing in this field commemorating the martyrs, but no mention is made that they were Jews...I was told in Moscow that Yosef, son of my uncle and aunt Yaakov and Sarah Gervits, was mainly instrumental, with others, to erect the monument. A memorial is held annually on Sept. 22nd, attended by former residents and their children.

We also went to the "new" cemetery. It was now also fenced around, the front part cleaned and accessible. Most of the stones were toppled and broken. I could not find any graves of my relatives, although some (that of grandmother Charna) were seen by other people and by cousins residing in Russia. Time was getting late, and we were much pressed for time.

Our driver was urging to leave, since our sleeping accomodations were in Zhitomir, two and a half hours away. We returned to Rosa, took her into the car, requesting she show us "old sites." She pointed out as follows:

1. The house where we lived, a two-story building, my grandfather occupying the lower and we the upper floors. It was unchanged outside,

except for the removal of the porch. There was no trace of the church which stood across the street. The building had a sign that it serves as an office for a freight and moving company.

2. The place where our *Ashkenazer kloiz* stood. The building was demolished several weeks after the Nazis entered, as were the nearby houses. The entire area is overgrown with trees and was now a park.

The stores and marketplace near the *kloiz* were still there, as was the large "Yampolski" house.

3. the plot where the large Bach synagogue stood, as well as the lot of the nearby Baal Shem Tov's *Bes Hamidrash*. There was no trace of either building.

4. The place of the house and *Bes Hamidrash* of the Medzhibozher Rebbe were also not there. In front of where they stood there is a barn, serving as a fire station.

5. Uncle Shimon's house and the school nearby.

It should be noted that Medzhibozh looks today just as we left it sixty-five years ago, except that it is much smaller. Two streets were paved with cobblestones, as they were in 1925. The rest were dirt paths, with mud holes all over. Time stood still here, as apparently it did in many other places in the Soviet Union.

I wish I had had more time to record every nook and corner of Medzhibozh. Here was once a vibrant Jewish community of some 1200 Jewish families. Medzhibozh, made famous by the Baal Shem Tov, had many synagogues, and two very distinct communities, the Chasidim of the Heshel family and the Ashkenazi of the Bick family. It was very touching to return and relive some of this past. It was very painful to witness the destruction of all that was so cherished. The spiritual destruction was initiated by the Communist regime and the physical human destruction was brutally completed by the Nazis...

The only reminder of Medzhibozh's past was its cemeteries. My father was in touch as long as there was someone there. Of late, my family was active in making possible cleaning the landscape and rehabilitation of some graves. Everything Jewish was so savagely destroyed. This being written during the week before Tisha B'Av,[41] what we have seen brings to mind the words of the prophet:

"The enemy spread out his hand upon all her treasures, for she had seen the heathen had entered into her sanctuary. Thou should render unto them a recompense, O Lord, according to the work of their hands. Thou wilt pursue them in anger and destroy them from under the heavens of the Lord."[42]

A Trip to Letichev District

by David Chapin

I was fortunate to have the opportunity to travel to Ukraine in 1995 to visit the towns where my ancestors were from. It was a unique trip with some unusual challenges. Overall, it was an extremely successful visit and I went to places that very few westerners have seen.

I prepared for this trip for over two years. I had established correspondence with people in Ukraine and I spoke with many people from the area. I learned Russian and could converse with people in simple situations. More importantly, I could read it.

I tried to learn everything I could about the area, the people, and travel conditions. I realized that this type of trip was not for everyone, so I mentally prepared myself. I assumed that this was more like a camping expedition, rather than a first-class vacation. I packed everything that I thought would sustain me in any situation. This included an odd mix of medical supplies, freeze-dried food (enough for a week), water purification kit, containers to cook in, toilet paper, rope, duct tape, towels, maps, and a compass. It turns out that I used nearly everything I brought. Perhaps the most surprisingly useful item was the compass (which I packed as an afterthought the last minute). Without the compass, my traveling companions and I would have been totally lost as the maps were not entirely reliable.

I also assumed that nearly everything I had with me would be lost or stolen, so I had backups for the important items. I was particularly nervous about the money situation. I knew that I would have to carry a large amount of U.S. cash, because traveler's checks and credit cards were worthless in most areas of Ukraine. I had heard of many stories about crime in Ukraine, and I felt very nervous about becoming another victim. It turns out that this fear had been overblown in the U.S. I guess that when a country goes from being nearly crime-free to some higher crime level, it makes big news. Fortunately, nothing I saw in Ukraine made me worry about being victimized. I felt safer in Ukraine than I did in the U.S. I was more nervous hanging around the hotel lobby than I was walking around the streets at night. Nothing I had ended up being stolen.

Through prior contacts, when I arrived in Kiev the Jewish community was awaiting me. My escort was Yulia Shvarts, the head of the Jewish Preservation Committee of Ukraine (JPCU). Knowing of my interest in Jewish historical research, Yulia (who spoke some English) was an excellent chaperone. She introduced me to many of the important officials in the Kiev Jewish community. Her job was to document Jewish sites of historical interest for the purpose of reclaiming them from the Ukrainian government. This effort went into high gear after President Clinton's visit to Kiev in the spring of 1995. His speech at Babi Yar acted as a catalyst to loosen the red tape, and now the Ukrainian government freely allows the Jewish community to reclaim confiscated property. Yulia was



David Chapin at the ruins of Medzhibozh Castle, 1995.

particularly interested in documenting Jewish cemeteries, and her agency was in the process of designing a computer database containing information about the many Jewish cemeteries they had visited. Yulia, a computer programmer by training, had not visited many cemeteries herself. The area I planned to visit was not previously inventoried. Our missions overlapped.

The area I was to visit was the former Podolia Gubernia of Tsarist times. Today, this same area is divided into two districts: Khmelnitsky Oblast and Vinnitsa Oblast. It was a six hour drive southwest of Kiev. Our first task was to get a driver and a car. Yulia arranged for a friend to drive, Slava Zagraevsky, a Jew who also had an interest in history. Slava's car was a Moskva, which was a bad knock-off of a Honda Accord hatchback from about 10 years before. He brought with him a week's worth of gasoline in homemade gas cans which we carried in the back. We were a rolling bomb! He also had many spare parts with him and a full toolkit, which came in quite handy nearly every day on the road.

Slava was very careful with the gasoline. Whenever we were going downhill, he would switch off the engine. Then on the uphill segment, he would quickly turn it back on and pop it into gear to roll-start the engine. We drove like this all day. Gasoline was only used to get us uphill; we used gravity to get us downhill. When he would park, Slava would point the car downhill, so he could roll start his car not have to use his starter. Every few hours, Slava would pull to the side of the road and tweak his carburetor to get more out of his gas. I bet he got 40 miles per gallon out of his 4 cylinder car, but it was a strange way of doing it.

One of the things that amazed me about driving through Ukraine was the incredible beauty of the countryside. We were accompanied by rolling hills, and farmland with rich soil. It reminded me of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia or

the Great Valley of Pennsylvania, though the farms were much bigger in Ukraine than in America. The towns were quite picturesque. But it occurred to me that very little I saw was old. Most of the buildings were relatively modern. Since this was a battlefield during WWII, I assume that most of the older buildings were destroyed. We past through Zhitomir and Berdichev, both of which struck me as modern, grimy cities. Then we went to Letichev -- the town where my grandparents Morris Zimmerman and Dena Singer Zimmerman were born.

Nothing is left of the old Letichev of my grandparents. The old castle has only one tower remaining, and the Polish Catholic church was recently restored, but that was about it. All of the houses I saw were built very recently, many in the last 20 years. I visited my friend Evgenia Tretyak, who had exchanged letters with me for several years. She and six others were the last remaining Jews of a town that once had more than 7,000 Jews making up more than 50% of the population. We met with all the Jews of the town and went together to the Nazi mass killing site.

The site was poorly maintained and was eroding. It had a monument, but it was in bad shape. Visiting this haunting site was quite a moving experience. None of the Jews I was with knew any Hebrew. I said the *kaddish* prayer for all the living who were present, and for the dead beneath our feet. We were all in tears. One by one, we placed stones on the monument in traditional Jewish fashion.

Next our group headed to the Letichev Jewish cemetery. This was the "new" cemetery, with burials from after 1900. The old cemetery was destroyed when a house was built on that site about 15 years ago. The new cemetery had two rows of recent graves, mostly of relatives of the people I was with. Then behind these graves, in the dense undergrowth, were the desecrated graves of those who died before WWII. I crawled through the brush and attempted to photograph every stone I saw. It was dirty work.

That evening, we planned to stay in Khmelnitsky, a large city with a population of over 100,000. Our chaperone was the head of the Jewish community, Michael Zelony. He introduced us to a young man named Leonid Popokh. Leonid and his family planned to emigrate to Dallas, Texas where I lived so he was quite interested in hearing all about it. Leonid spoke English beautifully and was anxious to practice it with me. We had a fantastic time.[43]

Khmelnitsky is the home of a large archive, which was once the headquarters of the KGB records for the Oblast. This archive is modern and well indexed with available photocopy equipment. It primarily contains records after the Russian Revolution of 1917. I found some interesting enrollment records from the Jewish elementary schools in Khmelnitsky Oblast. I also found lists from the Soviet Extraordinary Commission which attempted to document those killed in the various Nazi mass killing sites.

Khmelnitsky became our base of operations for most of our travels through Podolia. The hotel was the best this area had to offer, though it was a far-cry from typical American standards. It was filthy, old, and roach-infested -- more like a flop house than a real working hotel. It had no toilet paper, hot water, nor towels. It was hot throughout my trip, and the room was stifling with no fresh air. There

were no decent restaurants in Khmelnitsky, so we shopped for food in the marketplace and cooked food in our room. Khmelnitsky is famous for its bread, and everyday we would buy a loaf and feast off of it for the rest of the day. Water was very precious. I assumed it was always contaminated, so we always boiled our water. We stored as much as we could make in plastic Coke bottles.

Khmelnitsky (then called Proskurov), was the site of the worst atrocity committed against Jews this century before the Nazis. In 1919, during the Ukrainian civil war, Petliura and his band of Ukrainian nationalists massacred a large percentage of the Jews who lived in the town. More than 1,000 Jews were killed. We tend to forget that these pogroms were so horrible, since they fall in the shadow of even worse atrocities committed by the Nazis. Solemnly, we visited the mass grave of these Proskurov Jews. After 76 years, we had not forgotten them.

One day, we visited Medzhibozh. Medzhibozh was the most important Jewish town in Podolia during the Polish period. It was here that the Baal Shem Tov, the founder of Chasidism, made his home. He died there in 1760 and is buried in the old cemetery within the town. We went to his grave. It was recently restored by Chasidim from Israel. Near his grave were several other *Tsadikim* (Righteous Men) including the Apter Rebbe, Rabbi Borukh of Medzhibozh, Wolf Kitces, Hershel Ostropoler, and several members of the Bick and Rapoport family (who I'm distantly related to). Even more interesting were the graves of the common people in this cemetery. The oldest grave dates from 1555. During the period from the mid 1700's through about 1820, the gravestone carvings reached its climax in artistry and design. This period also coincides with the flowering of Jewish culture in this area. These gravestones had magnificent carvings of mythical figures: birds, unicorns, lions, snakes. They were optimistic designs meant to show to the world the richness of the Jewish culture of the day.

After this, we visited the Nazi mass killing site. In Medzhibozh, the mass killing site was well marked and carefully maintained. There were three separate mass graves and there was an attractive monument. Over 3,000 Jews were killed there.

Next we went to the town of Derazhnia. The turn-of-the-century Derazhnia train station figured prominently in the Sholom Aleichem short story "The German". We visited the mass killing site. Here over 2,000 Jews were killed in two mass graves. Unfortunately, the site was seldom visited and in a state of decay. Then we visited the Jewish cemetery. This beautifully preserved cemetery had perhaps 5,000 intact gravestones ranging from the 1700's through the 1960's. The vast majority were from the late 1800's through the early 1900's.

On another day we visited Kamenets-Podolsky. This large city of over 100,000 was the capital of Podolia during Tsarist times. It contains a large archives with many Tsarist-era documents. Unfortunately, the documents are not well indexed. Even though the record groups were easy to find, finding individual records within each record group was an impossible task. It was equivalent to finding a name in the telephone book when all the names are in random (rather than alphabetical) order. The Kamenets-Podolsky archive is very poorly equipped. There are no photocopy facilities, and the staff consists of three people. The storage conditions of the

documents are not ideal. There are certainly many gems to be discovered here, but it is desperate need for some type of organized international effort to index and microfilm these files. The records of perhaps 2 million Podolian Jews are here within census, tax records, and metrical documents.

Kamenets-Podolsky is a fascinating and beautifully-preserved medieval city just waiting to be discovered by tourists. This city is on a meander "island" within the River Smotrich. It is perched high on limestone cliffs with a wall around it. Thus it is a city with a natural moat around it. The main entrance to the city for centuries passed over a tall bridge with defensive castles at either end. For a time, the city was occupied by the Turks. Today, you can see minarets and Turkish-style fortifications. If this town weren't so difficult to travel to, it would be a major tourist attraction. Before the revolution, my relatives, the Gillers, owned the power and light company in Kamenets-Podolsky.

Only recently was the Kamenets-Podolsky Jewish community able to reclaim one of the two former synagogues still left in the city. The other synagogue was recently turned into a restaurant. The reclaimed synagogue is less glorious than the restaurant/synagogue, but it is more centrally located to the community. Just two years ago, the reclaimed synagogue was a police station. When the police were forced to move out by the Ukrainian government, they totally trashed the interior of the building. The building is nothing but an exterior shell now, and in need of large amounts of money to restore it. The Kamenets-Podolsky Jewish community is currently negotiating with the government to share the costs in the restoration of the synagogue.

I briefly visited Zinkov. Here we met Luba Tikhman, the only Jewish resident. She told us the story of the Zinkov Jews during WWII while we visited the Jewish cemetery. Zinkov is a picturesque little town perched on the east side of the steep valley formed by the Ushitsa River.

Another town we visited was Shargorod. This was one of the best preserved towns in all of Podolia that still had 19th century shtetl houses. The entire old Jewish quarter is still intact (though Jews no longer live in this part of town), as well as a synagogue (now a warehouse) built in the 1600's. Walking through this town took me back to the era of my grandparents. Even though they didn't really live in Shargorod, I got the sense of "home". This was truly how the Jews of that generation lived. Shargorod also had a perfectly-preserved Jewish cemetery with graves from the 1500's through 1994. To me, this town was a microcosm of the Jewish essence in Podolia: it was and always will be a significant influence in the cultural life of the community.

After a week traveling in Podolia, we returned to Kiev. During our travels, our car had two flat tires and remarkably the car didn't blown up. Yulia and I had a better understanding of the Jewish heritage of Podolia during the course of our travels. I also learned that the Ukrainians were extremely friendly and helpful people once you got to know them. They were warm and hospitable, and were always willing to assist us or give us a meal. While I was there, I think I only paid for three meals (though I used up all my freeze-dried food). It was a wonderful experience to come back home to the land of my ancestors. I will never forget it.

A Visit to Zinkov

by Rolf Saxon[44]

In May 1998, I had a very eventful trip FULL of exciting and disappointments events. I flew to Kiev on Saturday night from Estonia and stayed the night there. I then left the next morning for the JPCU archives (Dmitry's flat) and we talked for about an hour with him and discussed what he and his colleague had discovered. I intend to send this with an explanation of the codes and intricacies under separate cover, but this will definitely take me some days. It is only three pages longbut has some interesting information on our family. We (my interpreter, Yan and driver, Sasha) then headed southwest for Khmelnitsky which would be my base of operations for the next couple of days. It was a 5 - 6 hour journey.

There is fuel for all vehicles, though the gas stations are very spread out but with a little planning can easily be dealt with. The roads themselves, though rough at times, were surprisingly well maintained. In fact the whole trip was a pleasant surprise in that respect.

Having said that, we arrived at the hotel at about 6 (described as 3 star hotel, though I doubt the second star would be a forgone conclusion anywhere else) but it was clean and warm and almost friendly - except for one night - but again, that's another story. I will mention the radio; a small, round, wall mounted piece of plastic in a sort of flower design with a large white center and thin orange 'petals'. It had only one knob at the bottom. This was the volume control. I asked Yan why there was no dial for channels and he said "Why? There IS only one channel. At least these days there is some decent music on it." We had a quick bite to eat for the first time in what would become our restaurant of choice in the days to come. We then headed due south for the 50 - 60 kilometers to Zinkov. As we approached Zinkov, our maps were of little use and after asking a few of the locals were told of a short cut which almost stranded us in a river of mud in the middle of nowhere. It was a very long and arduous short cut, but we finally reached Zinkov at about 7.

It's difficult to put down exactly how I felt in any kind of order. Probably because there was none really: I was tired and it had been a scary journey and when we got there, it was a larger village than the surrounding ones we had just passed through. It seemed to be a village with pretensions of grandeur in a dour, Soviet way. I was disappointed (a feeling that was within moments going to pass forever) and yet still excited and also still very nervous. The feelings of "Our family has returned for the first time in 90 years" took well into the next day to settle in I think. But as soon as I started to recognize the buildings on the map my feelings of disappointment in the village disappeared and I became obsessed with finding everything possible on the map.

We started by walking south and east. This is where I thought I might find something like Grandpa's description of where he lived. We were asked what we wanted and we explained. We were then pointed in the direction to where

a Jewish woman lived. We walked towards the center of town and opposite the fire hall was her house. At first she didn't want to talk and said she wasn't Jewish and she was an old woman and knew nothing and leave her alone. Yan and I walked away and he told me what she had said. Then he said that when he spoke Ukrainian to her, it was without accent, but when she spoke Russian there was a definite Jewish accent, but she was obviously nervous and afraid. We looked around the fire hall which has since been the local administration office and is now the Museum of Zinkov. As we were trying to figure what was what by the map and the structures we were seeing for the first time, we asked another person who said he had just moved to Zinkov only 8 years ago and if we wanted information we should ask his neighbor, the old Jewish woman. He pointed to where we had come from only 5 minutes ago and when we hesitated, he told us to follow him. With him there, she was a little more easy with us and then we mentioned we knew of a man - her brother? Lazar? Yes she said, he is her brother.

It was now too late to get into an interview situation unless it was absolutely necessary and we asked if we could come and see her tomorrow. She said yes and she would also contact her brother and we could have a long talk at around 2pm. We thanked her and left. We did some more exploring around the town and returned to the hotel in Khmelnitsky.

The next morning we went early to Kamenets-Podolsky, which is where the archives for the Zinkov area are kept. Fortunately my translator is also an archivist, an historian and a genealogist. He cut through about three months of red tape in about thirty minutes. It would cost me $80 to have two people work for two days to search for archives on our family. We would return Tuesday night and see what they had uncovered.

We returned to Zinkov that afternoon and the following day (Tuesday) and went to Kamenets-Podolsky later that Tuesday as well. I spent many hours interviewing Basha Schwartz and her brother Lazar on a tape recorder. Lazar's wife seems to be suffering from some kind of Alzheimer's because whenever she spoke she was hushed up by Lazar and to a lesser extent, Basha. They are the last three Jews living in Zinkov, a town which held approximately 5000 souls, virtually all Jewish. In the last Zinkov pogrom in 1942, the remaining 1000 Jews were taken out of the town by Nazis and the local Ukranian 'shutzsmen' (Yiddish for thugs who shoot or thugs with guns) under the pretext of going to work (on a road?) in a neighbouring village - Stanislavovka. After a 6 kilometer march they were stood in a ravine and shot - men, women and children. A handful escaped.

Lazar spent hours taking us around Zinkov and described what he remembered of 'before the war' and took us close to the massacre site. We could not get all the way there because the car could not get through the muddy roads and Lazar was too lame to walk the 2 kilometers or so down the hill and towards the ravine.

Basha survived the massacre of the Zinkover Jews and described what happened. Her brother who was away in the Soviet army at the time also described what

happened and how his sister survived. I think his memory is better than his sister and he was certainly much better educated. Their stories do differ slightly, but as it was very obviously painful for her to recount, I was not comfortable with attempting to extract exactly what the truth was - it was enough that she survived.

I have photographed all of the major points of interest on the map. Whilst able to locate the buildings/ lots indicated on the map of Zinkov, I can not find any exact placement for either Grandpa's home or his mother's store. There are certainly a couple of possibilities (3 by my reckoning) which I'll go into later. There is no one there who remembers Isaacson (ITSekzun seems to be the general pronunciation) or the store or hotel for sure. However, Lazar DOES remember Neysis. They were rich and lived in another part of town but wasn't sure as to exactly where. He was one of the poor Jews and there was a very strict division between rich and poor. He describes how the synagogues were for the rich Jews only. The Rabbis only cared about them and ignored the poor.

Lazar later remembered Eedle Nesis and where he lived and also that a large store was across the street This could be what we are looking for, but I'm not yet convinced. (it might look as though he made this up to please me but I don't believe that; he is a 77-78 year old man and is talking about a time of at least 50 years ago - 50 hard years).

According to Lazar, the Neysis house was located in the large square (the well - which is now sealed up) with the general store across the street - south - the first of the three little squares above the large circle. There is a picture in the museum of a gathering of some kind in the 1930's and to the left of the picture and behind the people is the roof of a large house which Lazar believes was the Nesis house. Outside would have been the general store. I just don't know. There is nothing remaining of either structure at this time.

There are a number of buildings that were burned and or destroyed in either 1938 or 39, such as the craftsmen's synagogue. This, according to Lazar, was more like a prayer house that was split down the middle and on one side sat shoemakers and on the other dressmakers. This probably puts it at the latest 1937/38. Lazar was born in 1921 and his sister Basha in 1919.

The Jewish cemetery is a complete write off for our purposes. It is acres of ground of which most of the stones are either buried, covered in overgrowth, worn down, toppled or simply too old to be read. I think it would take years to uncover what's there.

There is much more information about Zinkov itself; it was a 'large city' compared to the surrounding villages one of which was called Zinkov also. These smaller villages were occupied by gentiles and these villagers were some of the people responsible for the 1942 massacre. Their decendents still live there today. But the real reason I went on this trip was to try and locate definite information regarding our family.

I was frustrated in many ways and came up against obstacles that I could not circumvent in the short time I had. The most frustrating of all was the decision I took regarding Yarmolintsy. I drove through it at night once and that's all the

physical contact I had with it. It is huge compared to Zinkov and as there seemed to be so much information available for Zinkov and with so little time, I decided to investigate one town as well as I could as opposed to two towns badly. I think there is probably a gold mine of information in Yarmolinitz once we have some specifics about the family's whereabouts there. There are more likely to be survivors there as well as people who may remember us.

There is a huge amount of documentation of the time but it's finding it that's the problem.

The Last Jew of Medzhibozh

Anotoliy (Tevye) F. Goldberg.

Interviewed by Yuliy Lifshits of the Jewish Preservation Committee of Ukraine, 1998

Note: Tevye Goldberg was born in 1921 and at the time of this interview was 77 years old. He lives in Khmelnitsky most of the time, but comes every few months to Medzhibozh to tend the graves there.

(Goldberg) I am the last Jew left in Medzhibozh. Actually, there is one more Jewish family living here, they are also very old people. In Medzhibozh there are mass graves too, and I take care of them. There are more them 3,000 people buried there. They were shot by the Nazis. And I am responsible for them.

(Lifshits) You go there and take care of all of them?

(Goldberg) Yes, I just brought some materials over there and I will start fixing them. For the job I collect money; I take as much as people can give. The local residents don't even give me coins! They don't have any money.

(Lifshits) Does the government give you any money?

(Goldberg) Before the government used to do everything; all I had to do was go over there and agree on the task which had to be done with them and the rest was up to them. Now they don't have any money, they don't even get paid for working.

(Lifshits) What about the people, who come to the grave of Baal Shem Tov, do they give you anything?

(Goldberg) They hardly gave anything. Once I came up to them and they gathered up some money to give me; I got up to 12 dollars all together. I didn't go to them any more. One time a man visited this village; his ancestors were from here, and he left a hundred dollars to this community. This was four or five years ago. I got that money and fixed the graves at the cemetery. But now it needs to be repaired because there is always something broken.

(Lifshits) When the Holocaust took place were you in Medzhibozh?

(Goldberg) I was drafted into the army in 1940. The war began when I was already in the service. I was in Estonia while my family remained in Medzhibozh. I fought from the first day, and then the Nazis captured me.

(Lifshits) How did you survive?

(Goldberg) It's a long story. I was captive under another (Christian) last name and was a POW for 2 years.

(Lifshits) So they didn't know you were a Jew?

(Goldberg) Of course not.

(Lifshits) And nobody gave you away?

(Goldberg) Almost nobody knew that I was a Jew. There were two people, who knew, but thank God they didn't tell. I survived, came home and only found one of my sisters alive. She evacuated with her husband; her husband was drafted and died in battle.

(Lifshits) Where did you live in Medzhibozh? Was there a separate Jewish area or did the Jews live all around?

(Goldberg) The Jews lived where they pleased. Most of Medzhibozh was occupied by Jews.

(Lifshits) Did the windmill that stands next to the river belong to Jews?

(Goldberg) Yes, it belonged to the Stavnizer family. There were two brothers and not long ago one of their granddaughters visited Medzhibozh; but she didn't come over.

(Lifshits) Was the central street which goes up from the castle predominantly Jewish?

(Goldberg) Yes it was a Jewish street. There where synagogues and on the left from the castle there was a big synagogue. Nobody fixed it for a long time and the Nazis destroyed it.

(Lifshits) We have been there and we found the remains of that building but we didn't know it was a synagogue.

(Goldberg) It was a big brick synagogue; next to it in the corner was probably a Bes Midrash where Baal Shem Tov prayed. And if you go farther there is a brick house, Khaim Bick's synagogue and a bank. It was Rabbi Bick's who moved later on to America in the 1920s; I was seven or eight at the time. He lived in this house, then he moved. That building was rebuilt for a shoe factory.

(Lifshits) Was there a place where only shoe makers lived?

(Goldberg) Everybody lived through out the whole village; for example metal crafters lived next to the river near the windmill. Then beyond the bridge lived the shoemakers and the tailors. Rich Jews also lived there.

(Lifshits) Were there any Jewish schools in the town?

(Goldberg) Yes, there was a Jewish school, which I attended.

(Lifshits) Where was it located?

(Goldberg) It stood in the center of town, and was built after the Revolution of 1917.

(Lifshits) What was the relationship like between Jews and non-Jews?

(Goldberg) The relationship was good and normal. Before the war there were two *kolkhozes* (farms) Jewish and non-Jewish in Medzhibozh. And two village government's, each *kolkhoz* had its own government.

(Lifshits) What was produced in the *kolkhoz*?

(Goldberg) They grew crops and worked in the fields. In the 1930s when workers in the village started to pay taxes, factories and the *kolkhozes* was created. You could either work in the manufacturing business or in the *kolkhozes*. Because the taxes were very high it was impossible for a person to obtain a license. For example, my father was a tailor and owned his own business. All of his brothers worked with him but it was still hard to pay taxes. That's why they all went to work in a *kolkhoz*. It wasn't that bad in the *kolkhoz*. You could substitute for someone. For example, I could work instead of my father and meanwhile my father could have done some house work. He could have sewed a pair of pants for customers; that's how we lived.

(Lifshits) Was working in the *kolkhoz* not enough?

(Goldberg) That would be very hard. We had our own property, a vegetable garden, and a cow. We didn't have any pigs; my father was very religious.

(Lifshits) And you?

(Goldberg) What about me, I'm like everybody these days.

(Lifshits) Do you know how to speak Yiddish?

(Goldberg) Yes, in Yiddish I speak fluently, I read and write too, I learned in a Jewish school. I learned Hebrew a little too but I almost forgot it.

(Lifshits) I wonder is there a synagogue in Medzhibozh.

(Goldberg) A new synagogue was built as well as a motel, and a *mikva* in Medzhibozh. It was paid by Berdichev's rabbi. The construction of the building was completed this year. Not long ago a Berdichev's rabbi came for a grand opening. The whole complex building was next to the Baal Shem Tov's grave. A lot of people came to visit his grave. They left notes but it doesn't help them. During the war when all the Jews where going to be killed they ran to the graves and started crying and praying, but it didn't help at all.

(Lifshits) Where was the ghetto located?

(Goldberg) Outside where the market is.

(Lifshits) What are your thoughts about the ghetto?

(Goldberg) That how the Rakovaya street was called. And the whole street was covered of barbed wire. All the Jews where forced to live on that street. Ten families lived in a building.

(Lifshits) Could the Jews leave beyond the ghetto?

(Goldberg) It was forbidden.

(Lifshits) Was there Jewish police in the ghetto?

(Goldberg) Yes there was, Khaim Sus was the chief of the Jewish police. He demanded gold from everyone and beat everybody up. Khaim Sus survived the war. He left his wife and child in ghetto and they died there. She was his second wife. He escaped with two children - a daughter and a son from first marriage. He was hidden by peasants, then they transferred him to Bar and then to Mogilev-Podolsky, This was under Romanian control and they did not persecute Jews. After the war, he returned and took his house back.

(Lifshits) How many Jews escaped from ghetto.

(Goldberg) Very few. One of them was glazier. After war he lived in Staro Konstantinov. His first name was Misha. Then there was woman - Bronya Zats (Khalfin). She was hidden by a woman from Stavnitsa. Then she was little girl. The woman reared her and after the war she became grown up. In our days she went to America.

(Lifshits) Was the cemetery, where Baal Shem Tov was buried within the territory of ghetto?

(Goldberg) No, it was out of that territory. Further, behind the police building, next to the river there was prison. At the right lived blacksmith Tzibel. The two Gervits brothers ran the watermill. Also there was melamed Stavnitser. He was accused of being a Zionist and was arrested and released many times. Before the war he was mobilized to the army and was killed in action. His wife - her family name was Goldenberg - was in the evacuation. She came back with their son after the war. Then her son died and she left to Israel. Also, she had brother - Gersh Goldenberg - he cared for the graves until his death.

(Lifshits) Was *Khevrah Kadisha* in Medzhibozh?

(Goldberg) Of course.

(Lifshits) Were there any others Jewish societies in Medzhibozh?

(Goldberg) Every synagogue had Rabbi.

(Lifshits) Was spiritual Rabbi in Medzhibozh?

(Goldberg) Sure. His name was Khaim Bick. Before the war he left for America, probably in Brooklyn. He had stayed in touch with us after the war, sent parcels to poor people. But they were afraid to get them because of KGB. Also there was one person - Milis, whose father lived in America and was very rich. When his father died he left all his money to the son, but the son refused to get the money, because he was very scared of the KGB.

There was also a large synagogue with separate rooms for men and women - the big Beis haMidrash. On the main street was the Tailors' (*portnyazhnaya*) Synagogue, then it was one for shoemakers (*sapozhnaya*). On the main street, where the movie theatre is now, there was another big synagogue, it was called - special one, because it was attended only by most respectable town-dwellers. Of course, every synagogue had a private governing body.

(Lifshits) What synagogue was the oldest one?

(Goldberg) Beis haMidrash was the oldest one. It was two-storey wood building, it was never repaired, and never white washed.

(Lifshits) Did it burn during the war?

(Goldberg) It was totally demolished.

(Lifshits) Which synagogues remained after the war?

(Goldberg) Only the walls were left from the biggest synagogue. Parts of the smaller ones where taken away for different uses. In one of the buildings the sausage factory was opened. Another became a sewing workshop. Another (Rabbi Bick's) became the bank. After the bank moved, the fire brigade moved in.

The richest in Medzhibizh was Gervits family. Shmul' Gervits had a wine cellar, his brother had the mill. Also there were rich people who had a wholesale

fruit trade. Buying and selling supported other types of jobs, such as cabmen. One of them was Motya Kogan. There were many others. They stayed near the market, and whoever needed them could hire them.

(Lifshits) Was the market large?

(Goldberg) Market was opposite to the movie theatre. Especially before the holidays many persons came, even from abroad.

(Lifshits) What occupations where more common for the Jews?

(Goldberg) Jews were working as tailors, hairdresser, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and shoemakers. We had one very well known violinist. He played at all the celebrations. I was told that the Nazis made him play in front of the movie theatre. While he played, they threw cold water on him, and he froze to death.

(Lifshits) What was in Medzhibozh's fortress?

(Goldberg) Part of the fortress was restored. The military base of Raipotrebsouz was there.

(Lifshits) Were there any Jewish artels and factories?

(Goldberg) Yes, there were - shoemaker workshop, tailoring artel, the Jewish bakery, and the sausage factory.

(Lifshits) Did your father graduate any educational institution?

(Goldberg) No, he was tailor. He was a very religious person. In our family there were seven children: 3 sisters and 4 brothers. I was the youngest brother and only the youngest sister and I survived the war. She was born in 1912 and I was born in 1921. All the others were shot. I had 3 brothers, one was born in 1908, the second in 1910 and the third one in 1914.

(Lifshits) Did your parents die with them too?

(Goldberg) Yes, all of them - mother, father and two of my brothers with their families were murdered. A brother who lived in Staro Konstantinov also was murdered, but I do not know where and when. Two of my sisters lived in Minkovtsy. One of them had 5 children. They were taken away and shot soon after the Nazis came. The husband of my oldest sister was taken away and shot very far in the mountains. My oldest sister had 2 sons - Yosele and Monya. They were very nice boys. German and Ukrainian police made them gather valuables from other people. Everybody thought that they would live, but they were shot along with others. Only my brother-in-law escaped. When they were driven to the mountains to be shot, he jumped from the rock and ran away. When he reached Mogilev-Podolsky he round sanctuary under the Romanians. He lived there until the end of the war. He died in 1962.

(Lifshits) Am I to understand you that in spite of good relations between Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants, police actions occurred as soon as the Nazis came?

(Goldberg) Correct. The police actions began immediately. A lot of the police subsequently ran away to Germany. But some of them stayed and were tried after the war. The chief of police was someone named Pavlovsky. He, of course, ran away together with Nazis. They say that he is still hiding in Canada. But there

was another one named Blonsky who was arrested in Medzhibozh. He was convicted of war crimes and was sentenced to 25 years in prison.

(Lifshits) Do you remember the big synagogue in Medzhibozh? How it looked like?

(Goldberg) Yes. I remember it well, it was a beautiful, large, stone building, divided for some floors.

(Lifshits) How many synagogues remained in Medzhibozh in the 1940s?

(Goldberg) There were about 10 synagogues. The authorities demanded taxes and very complicated registration from them, but all of them complied and remained open. Only the ones that had too few congregants were closed.

(Lifshits) I know that in 1930s anti-religious organizations were active all over the country. Were such organizations in Medzhibozh?

(Goldberg) I do not know exactly if such organizations were in Medzhibozh, but I remember that at school they made us go around to the houses and say that there is no God and all religion was fiction. So we spread anti-religious propaganda among our religious relatives. But it was no were no attacks on religious people. Whoever desired went to pray. It only necessary to register and it was no problem. Of course, in every synagogue were designated informers who reported to authorities about everything that occurred there.

(Lifshits) Were there political arrests in Medzhibozh in the 1930s?

(Goldberg) Yes. In particular there was one man who was arrested and released 10 times. He family name Grinberg. He was professional bookkeeper in Khozstroy, but he was member of BUND. Last year, after the death of his wife he went to America along with his daughter. He is very old now, over 90 years old. He was born at 1905.

(Lifshits) How many Jews are now in Medzhibozh?

(Goldberg) Only one family remained. She is native from Medzhibozh , but he is not. He was an agronomist on the collective farm. His family name - Dimma, and hers - Frenkel. Now, there is no more Jews in Medzhibozh who are caring for these graves. I am only one. I think that everything will deteriorate when I leave, as has occurred in many others Jewish cemeteries. Formerly, a lot of Jews from Medzhibozh lived in Kiev and others cities such as Moscow, Leningrad, etc., but now they all lived Israel or America. Some years ago at the anniversary of shooting (Sept.22) about 200 -300 persons came here. But now, nobody is left.

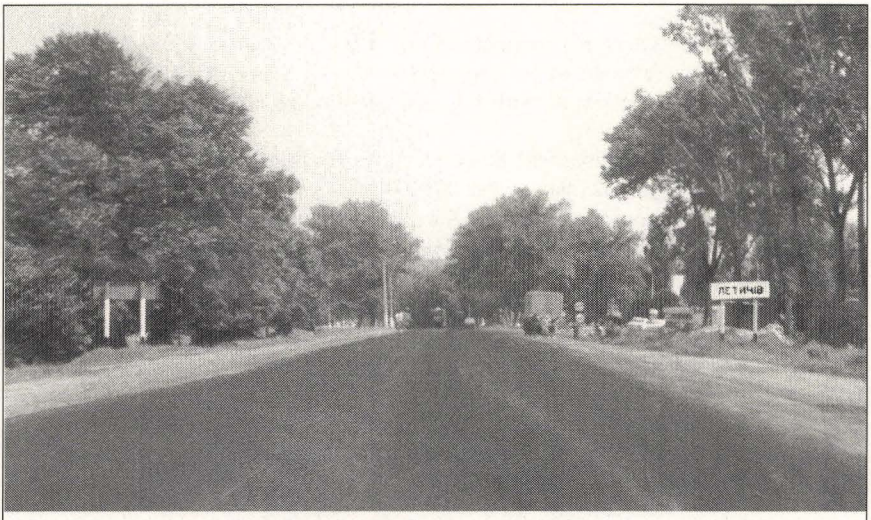
Postscript

At the present time, there are fewer than a dozen elderly Jews who live in the area once known as Letichev District. They are the last survivors of generations of Jews who endured slaughters, poverty, and countless other hardships. And yet, every Jew that lived here struggled to work, pray, learn, and raise families. Countless descendents of the Jews who walked down The Road from Letichev are now living in America, Israel, and in many parts of the former Soviet Union. The world is a better place because of the valuable contributions, and equally large sacrifices, made by the Jews of Letichev District.

It has been a painstaking task for those who participated in the writing of this book. It is incredible to think that this little corner of the world was nearly forgotten by the present generation until we began this project. It can no longer be ignored, because much of who we are, and how modern Jewish history unfolded, is linked to the culture which flowed along The Road from Letichev. It was our goal to document as much as possible about the lives of the multitude of Jews who lived in Letichev District for five hundred years. Thousands have been identified, but the majority will remain nameless. However, they will all live forever--within the pages of this book.

לדר ודר *L'Dor V'Dor*

From Generation to Generation



The Road from Letichev today.
Courtesy of Jakob Bialoblocki.

Chapter Notes:

1. Personal communication, Galina Chaban, March 25, 1998.
2. Ibid.
3. Personal communication, Jane Tsygan, 1997.
4. Interview, Leonid Rapoport, January 24, 1997.
5. Personal communication, Galina Chaban, March 25, 1998.
6. He had originally been the head of the Jewish orphanage. He died in 1997. Interview, Leonid Rapoport, August 1998.
7. Interview, Leonid Rapoport, January 24, 1997.
8. Galina Chaban, 3/25/98.
9. Pavel Sudoplatov and Anatoli Sudoplatov, 1994, *Special Tasks: The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness--A Soviet Spy Master*, Back Bay Books, p. 298-309.
10. Rapoport, Louis, 1990, *Stalin's War Against the Jews*,The Free Press, New York, p. 176-191.
11. Photo from *Sovietish Heimland*, #4 (April) 1981, p. 93.
12. Interview, July 1998.
13. Family stories from the Grubshteyn family, as well as miscellaneous documents from Soviet Military Archive.
14. Papers of the Proskurov Zion Congregation, New York: Handwritten note in Hebrew/Yiddish comingled with English, noting that check # 1084 dated 5/21/63 includes $10. for Rabbi Isaac Heschel (from Medzhibozh?) for "pesover". Courtesy of Ron Goldman.
15. Zvi Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence*, YIVO, 1988, p. 259-260.
16. Personal communication with Vadim Altskan, 1999. Vadim states he read the Daykhman article in the 1980s with a clear understanding that the whole affair was staged.
17. For more information about economic trials, see: Evgenia Evelson, *Sudebnie Protsessi Po Ekonomicheskim Delam v SSSR*, Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd., London, 1986. Chaban and Altskan also report that Poysner and Kuris were both executed in the Soviet Union.
18. Galina Chaban, personal communications. She states that her mother knew these people and they were relatives of Sofa Melamud, her mother's school friend. Her mother claimed that she visited with Poysner often in the late 1950s and he always dressed as a pauper.
19. Personal communications with Shirley Zimmerman Goldstein, Pauline Zimmerman Chapin, and Annette Zimmerman Singer, 1990.
20. The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews (UCSJ) compiled these figures based on information from the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) and the Israeli Liaison Bureau in Tel Aviv.
21. See the Tevya Goldberg interview, later this chapter.
22. See Vladimir Goykher's testimony in Chapter 16, The Holocaust.
23. Interview, Lev Moiseevich Goldenberg, April 15, 1995. Interviewed by Elena Tsvetkova.
24. Interview, Simyon Bik, 1996.
25. Staatsanwaltschaft Lubeck, Travemunder Allee 9, 23568 Lubeck - 2 AR 711/65 - Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg - 213 AR-Z 20/63.

26. Staatsanwaltschaft Bremen, Domsheide 16, 28195 Bremen -29 Js 120/70 - Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg - 213 AR 886/70.

27. Zentralstelle Dortmund, Hans-Litten-Str. 5, 44135 Dortmund - 45 Js 10/71; Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg - 204 AR-Z 440/67.

28. Karl Sauer, "Am Jom Kippur wuteten Erschiessungskommandos," *Dis Tat*, December 7, 1974. See also, Herman Kaienburg, "Judische Arbeitslager an der 'Strasse der SS' ", in *Zeitschrift fur Sozialgeschichte des 20.und 21.Jahrhunderts 11.Jahrgang*, Januar 1996, Heft 1, Verlag, Hamburg, 1999, pages 13-39.

29. From Holocaust Pages of Testimony No. 011/1531, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Translated from the original Hebrew by Michael Meiberg. This was written by D. Benofna and told by Celia Michelson on April 7, 1978.

30. Written by Pinkhas Michelson, Bney-Brak, Israel, May 29, 1994. Private Letter, translated from Russian by Vladimir Goykher.

31. Photo from *Sovietish Heimland*, #4 (April) 1981, p. 94.

32. Letter from Shika Charnis, 27 April, 1995, Odessa.

33. Provided by Simyon Bik and Eta Ushitskaya Bik.

34. For an overview of the visa requirements and reasons for refusals, see Edward R. Drachman, *Challenging the Kremlin: The Soviet Jewish Movement for Freedom*, 1967-1990, Paragon House, New York, 1991, p. 54-56.

35. The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews (UCSJ).

36. Semyon Gluzman interview, July 20, 1998.

37. Interview, Leonid Rapoport, January 24, 1997.

38. Personal communications with Stephen Silverman and Harry Pregeson, 1993.

39. Excerpts from Michael Greenberg, *Graves of the Tzaddikim in Russia*, Shamir Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1989, p. 4-6.

40. Bick, Sonya and Yeshayahu (Charles), "A Visit to Medgibosh", personal correspondence (a report), July 26, 1990.

41. Tisha B'Av, literally the ninth day of the month of Av, is the date of the destruction of both the first and second Temple in Jerusalem. It is a day of mourning in the Jewish calendar.

42. Lamentations 1:10 and 3:64-3:66. The book of Lamentations is the traditional reading for remembering the destruction of the Temple.

43. Leonid Popokh and his family since emigrated to Dallas in 1996. Chapin met them at the airport, helped them get jobs and arranged for matriculation into the local university so that Leonid could get an advanced degree. The Popokh family has since become as close as relatives to Chapin and his family. Leonid has helped considerably in the translation of many items in this book.

44. Email from Rolf Saxon, May 21, 1998.



Gazetteer of Towns in Letichev District

A complete listing follows of all the towns and settlements in the Letichev District (Uyezd) in the year 1905 from Krylov, A.P., 1905, *Naselennye mesta Podolskoy gubernii:* Kamenets-Podolsky, p. 97-132. Translated from Russian by Ben Weinstock. Military colonies after 1837 are noted, based upon *Voenno-Statisticheskoe Obozrinie Rossiskoi Imperii*, Tom

10, Podolskaya Gubernia, St. Petersburg, 1849. Most of the towns listed still exist today. A modern Ukrainian map is shown for reference.

Key:

Bold town name signifies that this town was known to have Jews living there prior to 1917. These were taken from other lists.

Type designation:

s. = *selo* = a large village, usually with a church.
d. = *derevnya* = a rural village.
khut. = *khutor* = a farmstead or a hamlet.
kol. = *koloniya* = an agricultural colony (usually Jewish).
pos. = *poseleniye* = settlement.
m. = *mestechko* = small town, larger than a *selo* (usually Jewish).
¤ denotes a military colony.

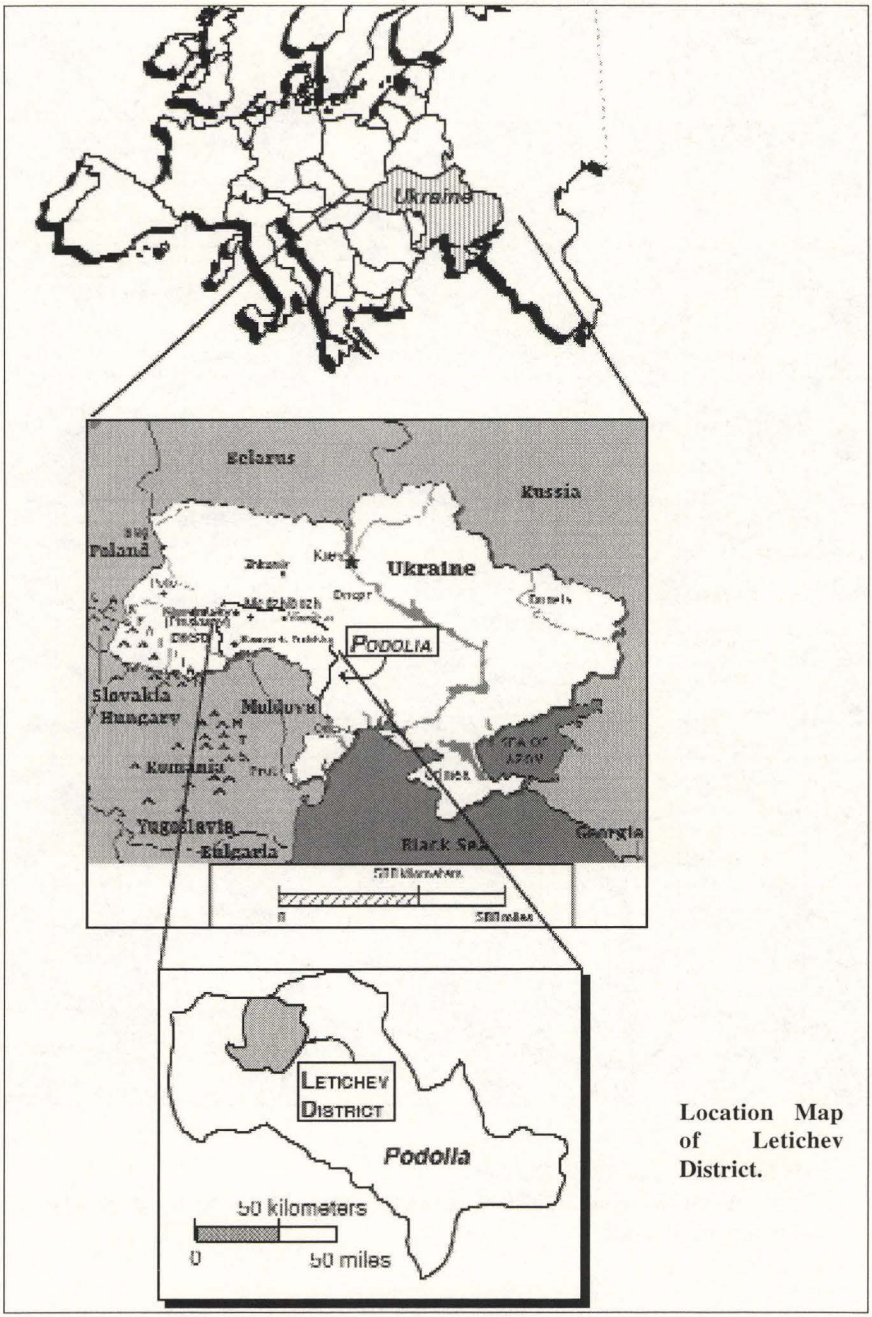
† indicates town outside area shown on map

Town Name	Type	Sub-district (Volost)	Ownership	Houses	Popul.	Grid
Adamovka	s.	Zinkovskaya	government	419	2,653	A10
Bakhmatovtsy	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	208	1,298	
Baranovka	s.	Zinkovskaya	M.M. Baranetskiy	95	570	A9
Bebekhi	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	heirs of E.K. Sobanskiy	147	1,700	
Berezova	kol.	Bakhmatovetskaya	farmers	23	68	
Bezdochka	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	13	162	
Biletskoye	d.	Voytovetskaya	N.A. Morkov	58	324	
Bogdanovtsy	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	T.A. Zgorski	222	1,459	E4
Bokhni	d.	Voytovetskaya	N.A. Morkov	66	524	M3
Bozhikovtsy	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	Z.V. Kolonna-Chesnovskiy	235	1,340	F10
Buglai	s.	Suslovetskaya	K.G. Rushits, F.P. Bulyubash	141	710	
Butskeva	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	V.L. Kozminskiy	120	695	H7
Butsnevtsy	m.	Voytovetskaya	A. Shepbachev	153	1,600	N5
Chaplya	s.	Suslovetskaya	M.V. Khanatskiy	131	760	
Chereshenka	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	I.A. Charkovskiy	90	626	I5
Chervonoye	khut.	Voytovetskaya	lower middle class	12	116	
Davidkovtsy	s. ¤	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	360	2,053	B2
Derazhnya	m.	Derazhnyanskaya	V.O. Ratsiborovskiy	623	4,499	H6
Derazhnyanskaya-Yuridika	pos.	Derazhnyanskaya	government	13	98	
Fashchievka	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	B.E. Starzhinskiy	147	907	C9
Galuzintsy	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	a variety of different owners	222	1,792	J9
Garmaki	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	M.K. Sheliga-Merzheyevskiy, Y.K. Vitoslavskiy	346	2,082	
Gatna Derazhnya	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	V.I. Konovalov	173	1,146	F5
Gogoli	d.	Zhenishkovetskaya	Z.E. Demyanovskiy	129	728	
Golenishev	s.	Voytovetskaya	M. Mankovskiy	142	1,031	†
Golenishevski Maydan	d.	Voytovetskaya	M. Mankovskiy			
Goloskov	d. ¤	Medzhibozhskaya	government	286	1,752	F3
near Goloskov, a settlement without a name		Medzhibozhskaya	Kozlovskiy	25	140	F3
Golovchintsy	d.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	95	357	H2
Gorbasov	s.	Suslovetskaya	F.A. Morkov	255	1,360	J2
Gredchintsy	s.	Suslovetskaya	Z.B. Merzhbinskiy	228	1,365	†
Grimyachka	s.	Zinkovskaya	government	330	2,135	B10
Gudna	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	11	109	
Guta Novaya	d.	Voytovetskaya	government	27	204	
Guta Novaya	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	Y.A. Shpirkan	37	228	
Guta Staraya	d.	Voytovetskaya	government	54	357	
Guta Staraya	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	G.S. Markevich	37	151	
Ignatovtsy	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	S.L. Skibnevskiy	255	1,500	
Ioltukhi	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	a variety of different owners	367	1,830	
Ivashkovtsy	d.	Bakhmatovetskaya	N.V. Martson	65	383	
Ivonintsy	s.	Suslovetskaya	F.A. Liders-Veymarn	112	650	I1
Kalna-Derazhnya	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	N.E. Danilov	199	1,257	H6
Kalnyanskaya-Slobodka	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	peasants	63	265	
Karichintsy Domskiye	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	S.Y. Orzhekhovskiy	110	689	
Karichintsy Pilipovskiye	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	A.A. Pototski	176	912	
Karichintsy Voloskiye (also called Shlyakhoviye)	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	L.K. Sozanskiy	224	1,465	
Karichintsy-Rimoviye	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	I.A. Charkovskiy	100	677	
Kayetanovka	d.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	15	125	M7
Khodaki (with Slobodkoyu)	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	F. and S.K. Staroripinskiy	276	1,485	

Town Name	Type	Sub-district (Volost)	Ownership	Houses	Popul.	Grid
Khutor Mislovicha	?	Voytovetskaya	peasants and lower middle class	26	301	
Knizhkovtsy	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	B.B. Klechinskiy	190	1,016	A3
Koliban	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	V.N. Rennenkampf	206	1,057	B3
Kopachevka	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	245	1,500	F4
Kopistin	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	217	1,017	B3
Kopitintsy	s.	Suslovetskaya	heirs of P.F. Kolachebskiy	137	745	K1
Korolevka	d.	Mikhalpolskaya	M.K. Koselskiy	64	416	
Korzhovtsy	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	heirs of Veliobetskiy, A. Pashkovskiy, and heirs of I.f. Shchurovskiy	209	1,727	E6
Kozachki	s.	Voytovetskaya	A.E. Selunskiy	158	1,043	K5
Kozhushkovo	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	27	373	
Kozyarovka	d.	Zhenishkovetskaya	I. Levitskiy	95	539	
Krasnoselka	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	I.F. Novoselskiy, M. Skavronskiy, A.I. Garvolinskiy	109	820	E6
Krinichnoye	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	M.F. Sobanev	55	303	
Krutoborod	s.	Zinkovskaya	N.N. Bordakov	89	577	
Kudinka	s.	Suslovetskaya	government	181	1,020	
Letichev	district seat	None	government	908	9,248	K3
Lisanovtsy	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	239	1,393	
Lisogorka	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	265	1,418	H3
Lisovka	s.	Zinkovskaya	M.E. Zalski	144	895	
Litki	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	A.g. Zmunchil	96	633	F6
Luka	d.	Mikhalpolskaya	N.Z. Tumkovskiy	88	564	B6
Makogonovka (see Mordinskiy Maydan)	d.	Voytovetskaya				
Manikovtsy	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	M.K. Koselskiy	176	1,111	D7
Markovka	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	G.P. Podgorodetskiy	27	196	
Markovtsy	s.	Suslovetskaya	F.A. Liders-Veymarn	86	480	I2
Masiovtsy	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	224	1,389	D3
Maydan Noviy	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	M.G. Rimvid-Mitskevich	34	198	J7
Mazniki	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	S.L. Skibnevskiy	285	1,895	E9
Medzhibozh	m. ¤	Medzhibozhskaya	government	713	8,125	G1
Mikhalkovetskaya Slobodka	d.	Mikhalpolskaya	Z.E. Demyanovskiy	163	933	B5
Mikhalpol (now Mikhaylovka)	m.	Mikhalpolskaya	E. Baranetskiy, M. Stokalskiy	275	2,430	C7
Mikhunki-Lisoviye (near Zapadintsy)	khut.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	39	164	
Mitkovtsy	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	266	1,520	†
Molomolintsy	s. ¤	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	242	1,416	
Monastirek	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	E.M. Kayus	131	746	C5
Mordin	s.	Voytovetskaya	government	86	711	
Mordinskiy Maydan	d.	Voytovetskaya	government	35	174	
Nakhudenko	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	26	177	
Netechintsy-Noviye	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	Elen Sagatovskiy	175	1,070	
Netechintsy-Stariye	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	Sigizmund Taravskiy	175	1,070	
Nikitintsy (also Vidochna)	d.	Mikhalpolskaya	B.E. Starzhinskiy	39	249	
Nizhneye	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	O.V. Kosarovskiy	56	390	I6
Novoselka	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	O.V. Bukar, B.O. Bernatovich	92	645	F7
Okhrimovetskaya Slobodka	d.	Zinkovskaya	government and peasants	292	1,653	E10
Okhrimovtsy	s.	Zinkovskaya	S.L. Skibnevskiy	303	1,689	E10
Pankovtsy	s. ¤	Medzhibozhskaya	government	232	1,289	
Parkhomovtsy	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	323	1,827	E1
Petrashi	s.	Zinkovskaya	government	444	2,325	C10
Pirogovka	s.	Zinkovskaya	government and peasants	292	1,653	B11
Pirogovtsy	s. ¤	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	301	1,877	E3
Plyushki	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	42	171	
Popovtsy	s.	Suslovetskaya	N.A. Morkov	180	1,025	L1
Redvintsy	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	192	1,192	
Revukha	d.	Voytovetskaya	I.D. Morkov	23	353	J4

Town Name	Type	Sub-district (Volost)	Ownership	Houses	Popul.	Grid
Rozhek	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	12	80	
Rozhni	s.	Suslovetskaya	E.N. Terlitskiy	132	750	
Rudnya	d.	Voytovetskaya	I.D. Morkov	81	691	J3
Rusanovtsy	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	186	968	G2
Saturin	khut.	Derazhnyanskaya	peasants	23	119	
Semenovo	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants and lower middle class (Meshchane)	23	179	
Shafatchina	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	10	120	
Sharki	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	Brzhozovskiy	86	604	
Shchedrova	s.	Suslovetskaya	F.A. Morkov	142	850	
Sheintsy	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	K.V. Shidelskiy, M.A. Dombrovskiy	163	903	I9
Shelikhovka	d.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	14	116	G9
Shelikova Slobodka	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	M.I. Brodovskiy, M. Shimanskiy	195	1,178	H9
Shirokoye	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	11	114	
Shpichintsy Bolshiye	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	226	1,271	H4
Shpichintsy Maliye	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	government	139	831	
Shrubkov	s. ¤	Medzhibozhskaya	government	329	1,922	†
Shumovtsy	s.	Bakhmatovetskaya	V.L. Kuzminskiy	200	1,158	A4
Shvedi	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	26	310	
Snitkov	m.	Voytovetskaya	E.L. Ignatev	187	1,564	J4
Stanislavovka	d.	Zinkovskaya	government	271	1,602	†
Staro Zakrevsky Meidan	kol.	Voytovetskaya	Jewish colonists	56	1,007	K6
Stavnitsa	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	361	2,116	H1
Stufchintsy	d.	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	333	1,929	†
Suslovtsy	s.	Suslovetskaya	N.A. Morkov	250	1,370	L1
Sutkovtsy	s.	Zinkovskaya	M.E. Zalskiy	383	2,400	†
Svichna	s.	Suslovetskaya	M.G. Gdovskiy	64	360	
Svinna	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	V. and S.A. Kovnatskiy, V.A. Poray-Koshits	144	975	
Tarlovka	d.	Voytovetskaya	I.D. Morkov	67	526	J4
Teperovka	d.	Derazhnyanskaya	Pavel Chekhovich	59	364	
Tereshovtsy	s. ¤	Bakhmatovetskaya	government	420	2,131	†
Trebukhovtsy	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government and peasants	254	1,465	H2
Varinka	d.	Voytovetskaya	I.P. Strunke	51	434	
Verbetskiy Meydan	d.	Voytovetskaya	government	93	779	
Verbka	s.	Suslovetskaya	government	234	1,246	M3
Verbka-Murovannaya	s.	Zinkovskaya	Demidov San-Donato	249	1,745	A9
Vidochna	d.	Mikhalpolskaya	B.E. Starzhinskiy	39	249	
Volkovintsy	m.	Voytovetskaya	M. Dobrovolskiy	502	4,065	L8
Volkovinetskiy Maydan	d.	Voytovetskaya	I. Stashevskiy	14	131	
Volosovtsy	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	208	1,460	†
Voytovtsy	s.	Voytovetskaya	N.A. Morkov	196	1,229	
Yablonovka	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	V.L. Koziminskiy	144	1,005	G7
Yanchintsy	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	N.G. Tsikhotskiy, D.F. Klimenko	122	768	
Yankovtsy	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	M.S. Rashevskiy	152	590	
Yanovka	d.	Mikhalpolskaya	peasants	91	643	
Yaroslavka	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	280	1,621	†
Yaskovetskiye Khutora	d.	Mikhalpolskaya	government and peasants	127	782	
Yaskovtsy	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	V.L. Bernatofich	115	877	
Yurchenki	s.	Suslovetskaya	government	136	680	
Zagintsy	s.	Mikhalpolskaya	B.E. Starzhinskiy	287	1,718	C8
Zaletichevka	s.	Voytovetskaya	I.D. Morkov	108	784	
Zapadintsy	s.	Medzhibozhskaya	government	178	885	
Zavolk	d.	Suslovetskaya	F.A. Morkov	91	457	
Zazgor	khut.	Voytovetskaya	peasants	15	133	

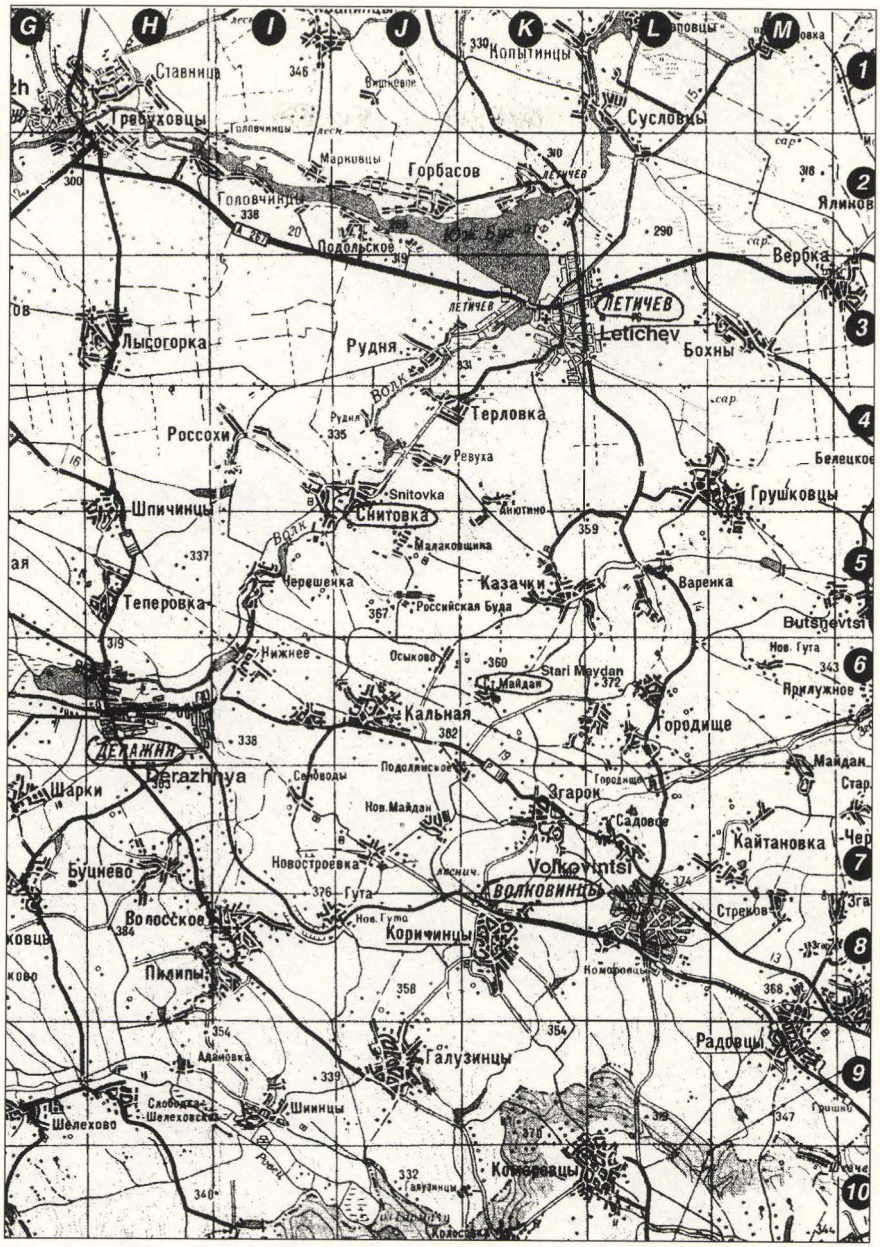
Town Name	Type	Sub-district (Volost)	Ownership	Houses	Popul.	Grid
Zgorok	s.	Voytovetskaya	S.K. Kozminskiy	98	695	
Zhenishkovtsy	s.	Zhenishkovetskaya	F.I. Isakov / peasants	461	2,623	G11
Zinkov	m.	Zinkovskaya	government	832	7,054	A11
Zyankovtsy	s.	Derazhnyanskaya	M.L. Kostkevich	161	1,081	F8



Location Map of Letichev District.



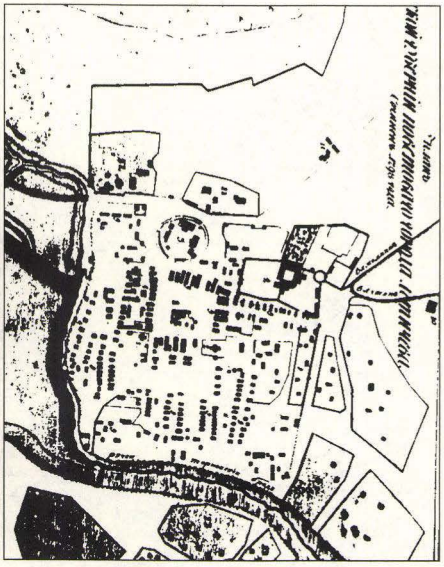
Modern Map of Letichev District.
From a recent Ukrainian 1:200,000 topographic map series. Each square grid is 4 kilometers on a side.



Modern Map of Letichev District.
Continued from previous page.



Letichev Map, 1790.
Courtesy of RSHA, St. Petersburg.



Letichev Map, 1793.
Courtesy of RSHA, St. Petersburg.



Letichev Map, 1838.
Courtesy of RSHA, St. Petersburg.



Letichev Aerial Photo, 1943.
Courtesy of U.S. National Archives.

Glossary

admor: [Hebrew] Abbreviation for *adonenu morenu ve-rabbenu* "our master, teacher, and rabbi." A title to a respected Chasidic authority.

agunah: [Hebrew] A woman who cannot be remarried because she was abandoned by her husband without a divorce (a *get*) and there is no evidence of his death. Plural: *agunot*.

aliyah: [Hebrew] Literally "to go up" it has two meanings: 1) the synagogue honor of reading from the Torah on the Sabbath or the holidays; 2) to emigrate to Israel.

Aron HaKodesh: [Hebrew] The "holy ark," a cabinet on the synagogue pulpit which contains the Torahs.

arrendator: [Polish] Leaseholder of a concession (*arrenda*) granted by the noble family, usually for a fee and a percentage of the profits. These typically took the form of land leases, but could also be for such things as orchards, vineyards and winesales (taverns), mills, or special traveling and trading permits.

arshin: [Russian] A Russian unit of measure equals to about 28 inches or about 31 centimeters.

badkhen: [Yiddish] Traveling Jewish one-man shows who entertained primarily at weddings in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Bar Mitzvah: [Aramaic] The coming of age Jewish ceremony where a 13 year old boy recites the Torah with great pomp and festivity.

behalfer: [Yiddish] A person who rounds up children to take them to *kheder*.

Besht: Abbreviation for Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov, the founder of Chasidism.

Bet Hamidrash: [Hebrew] Literally a study house, this was a small synagogue. Also pronounced *Bes Hamidrash*.

brith: [Hebrew] A circumcision ceremony. Also pronounced *bris*.

Chanuka: [Hebrew] The Jewish holiday which celebrates the rededication of the Temple in the time of the Maccabees. A relatively minor holiday.

Chasid: [Hebrew] An extremely pious person. A member of the Chasidic movement. Plural: *Chasidim*.

Chasidism: [Hebrew] A religious movement that embraced Jewish mysticism and the teachings of the Besht.

Cossack: [Tatar-Turkish] Means "free soldier". Refers to horse soldiers who traveled light in the style of the Tatars.

desyatina: [Russian] A Russian measure of land area equal to 2.7 acres or 1.09 hectares.

dukhovenstvo: [Russian] Church worker class.

dvoryanye: [Russian] Nobility class.

Eyl Moley Rakhamim: [Hebrew] The prayer for dead souls.

Eretz Israel: [Hebrew, Yiddish] The Land of Israel.

eruv: [Hebrew] A fenced enclosure which allows people to carry on the Sabbath.

esrog: [Hebrew] A citron fruit, used particularly during the Succos holiday.

farfl: [Yiddish] Dough crumbs, a food dish.

funt: [Russian] A Russian unit of weight equal to 400 grams.

gabbay: [Hebrew] a synagogue official, administrator or lay-leader.

gaon: [Hebrew] An outstanding rabbinical scholar, usually the most senior or most learned rabbinic leader of the day.

gefilte fish: [Yiddish] A festive dish made of fish dumplings.

get: [Hebrew] A Jewish divorce.

goy: [Hebrew] A gentile.

grosz: [Polish] A small unit of money equal to 1/30 of a zloty.

guberniya: [Russian] A province or state-sized division of the Russian Empire. Plural in Russian is *guberniyi*.

gymnazium: [Russian] The equivalent of a high school, considered high education of the day.

Haidamak: [Turkish] Means "robber" or "vagrant". Refers to Cossacks and other petty thieves who formed bandit gangs and sometimes terrorized the Ukrainian countryside during the 18th and 19th centuries.

haggadah: [Hebrew] The book used during the Passover seder.

hakofos: [Hebrew] The parade of the Torahs around the synagogue during Simkhas Torah.

halakhah [Hebrew] The body of Jewish law which includes the Torah, Talmud and other oral traditions.

halatl: [Yiddish] A ceremonial coat or robe.

HaShem: [Hebrew] Literally "The Name", meaning God.

Haskalah: [Hebrew] The name of the "Enlightenment" movement, a philosophy that embraced the advancement of Jews into the secular world.

Havdalah [Hebrew] The concluding service of the Sabbath, held on Saturday evening.

Hetman: [Slavic] Military head.

hevrot: [Hebrew] Society, usually a trade association.

historish lid: [Yiddish] Epic songs which served as a means of conveying news to Jews throughout the Europe during the Middle Ages.

Kabbalah: [Hebrew] Jewish mysticism.

kabbalist: [Hebrew] Practitioners of Jewish mysticism.

kaddish: [Hebrew] A Jewish prayer, often associated with mourning.

kahal: [Hebrew] Jewish community leadership, usually elected from among the most influential members of the community.

kashrut: [Hebrew] Kosher practices.

katuba: [Hebrew] A Jewish marriage contract.

kehilla: [Hebrew] A Jewish community.

kepah: [Hebrew] A skull cap, yarmukule. Plural: *kepot*.

khalutzim: [Hebrew] Pioneer settlers who emigrated from Russia to Palestine.

khazan: [Yiddish] The cantor of the synagogue.

kheder: [Yiddish] Jewish elementary day school.

khevrah: [Hebrew] Society, organization or congregation.

Khevrah Kadisha: [Hebrew] Jewish burial society.

khallah: [Hebrew] A ceremonial egg-bread served on the Sabbath and other Jewish holidays.

khupah: [Yiddish] Wedding canopy under which the ceremony takes place.

khutzpah: [Yiddish] Nerve or guts (adjective).

kiddish: [Hebrew] A prayer said over the wine.

kipa: [Hebrew] A skull cap. Also known as a *yarmulkle*.

klezmer: [Yiddish] Jewish gypsy bands which played throughout eastern Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Plural: *klezmorim*

kloiz: [Yiddish] A small synagogue or meeting house.

Kohen: [Hebrew] Descendents of the priestly class from Temple days.

kopek: [Russian] A unit of currency smaller than a ruble.

krestyane: [Russian] Peasant class (agriculture).

kupets: [Russian] Merchant class.

Kol Nidre: [Hebrew] Perhaps the most holy Jewish synagogue service, takes place the evening of the Yom Kippur holiday. It is also the name of the opening prayer "All the vows" which is sung three times with great solemnity. The prayer originated during the Spanish Inquisition.

kolkhoz: [Russian] A Soviet-era collective farm.

kopek: [Russian] A Russian unit of currency, smaller than a ruble. Plural in Russian - *kopeki.*

korobka: [Russian] Literally, a box tax. A type of sales tax imposed to raise money for the local Jewish communities on such things as meat and poultry.

kosher: [Hebrew] Food that conforms to Jewish dietary laws.

Koshrut: [Hebrew] The body of Jewish dietary laws.

kulak: [Russian] Literally "fist", is slang for those who hoarded supplies during the Stalinist Five Year Plans.

kvital: [Yiddish] A small note or request.

landsleit: [Yiddish] Those people who have roots in the same town or area, whether they still live there now or they immigrated.

landsman: [Yiddish] Those immigrants who came from the same town or area.

landsmanshaftn: [Yiddish] Organized society of landsman.

maggid: [Hebrew] A Jewish preacher.

malkhut: [Hebrew] Royalty. Usually refers to key Chasidic rabbis who were supported "as kings" by donations and aides.

Marive: [Hebrew] Service on the eve of the holiday.

maskil: [Hebrew] An enlightened one; one who participates in the Haskalah movement. Plural: *maskilim.*

mazel tov: [Hebrew] Literally, "Good Luck", but means more like "Congratulations".

mechshanye: [Russian] Commoner class.

Megila: [Hebrew] The story of the holiday of Purim. Also known as a *Megilat Esther*, after Queen Esther the Jewish queen of Persia in the Purim story.

melamed: [Hebrew] A teacher of children in Jewish day school (kheder).

mensch: [Yiddish] A decent person.

mezuzah: [Hebrew] A small parchment with biblical verses that is attached to doorposts.

midrash: [Hebrew] A collection of stories and tall tales.

mikvah: [Hebrew] A ritual bath.

Minhah: [Hebrew] The afternoon service.

minyan: [Hebrew] A quorum of 10 men necessary to initiate a religious service.

Mishnah: [Hebrew] A portion of the Talmud which describes a code of Jewish law. Plural - *Mishnayot.*

mitnagdim: [Hebrew] Jewish opponents to the Chasidic movement.

mitzvah: [Hebrew] A commandment, honor or good deed that is performed.

Musaf: [Hebrew] The service after the Torah service.

nigun: [Hebrew] A wordless song typical of the Chasidim. Characterized by nonsense sounds such as "bim-bam" or "dai de dai".

N'ila: [Hebrew] The last service at sundown on Yom Kippur.

oblast: [Russian] A modern province of the former Soviet Union.

olim: [Hebrew] Immigrant to Israel.

Passover [English] *Pesakh* [Hebrew] The Jewish festival celebrating the Exodus from Egypt. The holiday revolves around the ceremonial *seder* meal, the largest meal of the Jewish year.

peyas [Hebrew] long sideburns, symbol of an observant Jew.

pinkas: [Hebrew] Minutes of meetings, usually in the form of an official book.

pogrom: [Russian] A riot against Jews, usually instigated by the government.

pospólstwo: [Polish] A group of Jewish elders appointed as leaders of the Jewish community by the Polish nobility.

pud: [Russian] A Russian unit of weight equal to 36 pounds or 16.38 kilograms.

Purim: [Hebrew] A Jewish holiday which celebrates the defeat of an anti-Semite (Haman) in ancient Persia. A relatively minor holiday.

raon: [Russian] A subdistrict of an oblast.

rabbi [Hebrew], *rebbe* [Yiddish]: A religious leader of the Jewish community.

rebbitsin: [Yiddish] The wife of the rabbi, in her own right usually a leader or respected person in her community.

Responsa: [Ladino] A body of legal questions and answers which provides current Jewish religious legal rulings.

Rosh Hashana: [Hebrew] The Jewish new year holiday. One of the two Jewish high holidays.

Rosh Yeshiva: [Hebrew] The headmaster of the *yeshiva*.

ruble: [Russian] A Russian unit of currency. Plural in Russian - *rubli*.

sazhen: [Russian] A Russian unit of length equal to 2.131 meters or 7 feet.

seder [Hebrew]: The festive meal during Passover.

Shabbat [Hebrew], *Shabbos* [Yiddish]: The Sabbath.

shakharis: [Hebrew] A morning prayer service.

shamus: [Hebrew] An assistant to the Rabbi or a synagogue attendant.

Shavuos: [Hebrew] The Jewish holiday of Weeks which celebrates the giving of the law to the children of Israel at Mt. Sinai. It occurs seven weeks after Passover.

shtetl: [Yiddish] A small Jewish town in Eastern Europe. Plural: *shtetlach*.

Shivhei HaBesht: [Hebrew] "In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov", the earliest book documenting the stories about the Baal Shem Tov and the beginning of the Chasidic movement.

shofar: [Hebrew] A ram's horn used as a trumpet. The blowing of the shofar is part of the ceremonies on the high holidays of Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur.

shokhet: [Hebrew] A butcher who follows kosher methods of slaughter.

shtreimel: [Yiddish] A large fur or felt hat.

shul: [Yiddish] Synagogue.

Simkhas Torah: [Hebrew] The Jewish holiday celebrating the end of the reading of the Torah. This holiday is one of great joy and celebration to Chasidim where at one point the Torahs are paraded around in the synagogue.

sotka: [Russian] A Russian measure of area equal to 100 square meters.

starosta: [Russian] Village elder, community leader.

Succos: [Hebrew] The Jewish festival of tabernacles. A harvest holiday where a replica tabernacle, a *succah*, is built.

talis: [Yiddish] A prayer shawl with fringes at the bottom.

Talmud: [Hebrew] A compendium of Jewish law, includes the *Mishnah.*

Talmud Torah: [Hebrew] A Jewish school, the next step beyond *kheder*. A combination middle school and high school.

Tatar: [Russian] Mongols.

tefillin: [Hebrew] Phylactories, containers of special inscriptions used during prayer.

Tisha B'av: [Hebrew] Literally the ninth of the month of Av, this is the Jewish holiday which mourns the losses of both the Temples in Jerusalem.

Torah: [Hebrew] The five books of Moses, usually written in Hebrew on parchment scrolls.

trafe: [Yiddish] Food that violates Jewish dietary laws.

tsadik: [Hebrew] A righteous person, refers to the leaders of the Chasidic movement. Plural - *tsadikim*.

Tsar: [Russian] The Russian emperor. Derived from *Caesar*.

tsimbl: [Yiddish] A musical instrument that is described as a type of hammered dulcimer.

ukase: [Russian] An edict or law.

uyezd: [Russian] Russian Empire district, a subdivision of a Guberniya.

verst: [Russian] A Russian unit of distance equal to about 2/3 of a mile or 1.06 kilometer.

vidui: [Hebrew] The prayer for the dead.

volost: [Russian] Russian Empire sub-district, a subdivision of an *uyezd*.

Yeshiva: [Hebrew] A Jewish seminary which trains rabbis.

Yom Kippur: [Hebrew] The Jewish holiday of atonement. One of the two Jewish high holidays and the most important of all the Jewish holidays. It comes a week after Rosh Hashana.

yikhes: [Yiddish] Heritage, nobility of descent.

yiskor: [Hebrew] Memorial.

yohrzeit: [Hebrew] Anniversary of a death.

zemstvo: [Russian] Local judicial assemblies.

zhid: [Russian, Ukrainian] Derogatory term for Jew (otherwise called *Evrei*).

zloty: [Polish] A gold coin, a Polish unit of currency.

Russian Empire Units of Measure

Name	*Type of Measure*	*Conversion*
Desyatina	Land Area	2.7 acres, or 1.09 hectares
Sotka	Area	100 square meters
Verst	Distance	.6629 mile, or 1.06 kilometer
Sazhene	Length	7 feet, or 2.134 meters
Arshin	Length	28 inches, or 31 centimeters
Pud	Weight	36 pounds, or 16.38 kilograms
Funt	Weight	.9 pounds, or 400 grams

Administrative Divisions

	Poland	*Turkey*	*Russian Empire*	*USSR*
Province	Wojewodztwa	Ejalet	Guberniya	Oblast
District	Klucz		Uyezd	Raon
Sub-District			Volost	Soviet

Names of Podolia Province:
Podolskie Wojewodzwa (Poland)
Ejalet Kamieniecki (Turkey)
Podolia Guberniya (Russian Empire)
Khmelnitsky Oblast and Vinnitsa Oblast (USSR)

Names of Letichev District:
Miedzyboz Klucz (Poland)
Letichev Uyezd (Russian Empire)
Letichev Raon (USSR)

Money

	Poland	*Russian Empire*
Base Unit	Zloty	Ruble
Sub-Unit	Grosz	Kopek

General Order of Jewish Religious Services Throughout the Day

1. *Shakharis*; 2. *Torah*; 3. *Musaf*; 4. *Minhah*; 5. *Marive* or *Kol Nidre* (Yom Kippur eve), *N'ila* (Yom Kippur Day) or *Havdalah* (Saturday)

Jewish Holidays

Shabbos	Sabbath every Friday night through Saturday
Rosh Hashana	Jewish New Year (September / October)
Yom Kippur	Day of Atonement (September / October)
Succos	Festival of Tabe rnacles (October)
Simkhas Torah	Celebration of the end of the Torah readings (October)
Chanuka	Festival of Lights (December)
Purim	Festival of freedom in Persia (March)
Passover (Pesakh)	Celebration of freedom from slavery in Egypt (April)
Shavuos	Festival of Weeks (May)
Tisha B'av	Mourning the destruction of the Temple (August)

Russian Empire Class System

1. *dukhovenstvo*	church clergy class
2. *kupets*	merchant class
3. *mechshanye*	commoner (petty bourgeois) class
4. *krestyane*	peasant (agricultural) class

Subject Index

A
Abazovka 412
Abovskaya, Fira 761
Abramovich, Ilya xxiii, 732, 770, 791
  photograph 733
accordians 239, 535
Adel. See *Udel*
agunot 44, 453, 823
Akko 614
Aksenfeld, Israel 440
Alter Rebbe. See *Zalman, Rabbi Shneur of Liadi*
Altskan, Vadim xxii, xxiii, 480, 483, 748, 766, 770, 771, 812
America 3, 4, 526, 528, 529, 533, 537, 546, 550, 631, 634, 635, 639, 642, 645, 646, 649, 653, 687, 705, 757, 810
American Jewish Archives 539, 544, 612
American Jewish Congress 541
Amiel, Alicia Feingold xxiii, 594, 611
amulets 186, 187, 189, 190, 191
An-sky expeditions 6, 76, 77, 99, 121, 131, 157, 161, 187, 188, 191, 204, 223, 227, 231, 238, 244, 245, 255, 262, 270, 271, 332, 457
An-sky, Shlomo 188, 238, 457
  photograph 238
Antonov 487
Antwerp 532
Apt 74, 88, 93, 793
Apter Rebbe. See *Heshel, Rabbi Abraham Joshua of Apt*
Archives of the Jewish People xxii
Argentina 197, 526, 611
Armenians 28
arrenda 19, 318, 319, 330, 448, 823
arrendator 54, 65, 117, 823
artisans 321-322
Ashkabad 630
Ashkenazi, Rabbi Tsvi Hirsh 48, 110
Ashkenazim 103, 116, 796
Ataman (Petliura Pogrom Leaders) 509
  Bashka 517, 518
  Okhoroze 514
  Shtcherbluk 512
  Volynetz 509
Augenbraun, Hedy xxiii, 360, 361
Auschwitz-Birkenau 4, 661
Australia 780
Austria-Hungary 3, 48, 334, 335, 394, 427, 428, 443, 461, 472

Austrians 7, 442
Avdievka 720
Averbakh, Rabbi Mikhel of Dunaevtsy 471, 472
Avis peuple sur la sante 173
B
baal shem 52, 186, 322
Baal Shem Tov 3, 40, 51-56, 65, 69, 71, 75, 85, 103, 133, 172, 181, 186, 187, 192, 195, 197, 204, 230, 243, 250, 291, 292, 293, 347, 452, 453, 479, 508, 614, 698, 792, 823
as behalfer 284
as folk healer 186, 188
blood libel 457
brother-in-law. See *Gershon, Rabbi Abraham*
Chasidic leadership in Medzhibozh 81
concerning Haidamak attacks 33
daughter. See *Udel*
disciples 56-57, 69, 72, 73, 74, 81
family tree 73
Frankist debates 49, 116
grandson. See *Borukh of Medzhibozh or Moshe Khaim Ephraim of Sudilkov*
grave 51, 88, 106, 110, 111, 157, 161, 162, 167, 168, 169, 624, 698, 792, 793, 795, 800, 805, 807
great-grandson. See *Nakhman of Bratslav*
journey to Israel 613
letter from 68
Medzhibozh as home 32, 60, 800
name on tax lists 67, 347
petition to R. Meir of Konstantynow 105
prayer book 57
protective spirit 508, 624
signature 59
song 242
status in community 66, 68, 70, 123
synagogue 127, 130, 131, 178, 796, 806
theft case 451
Babi Yar 663, 797
badkhen 238, 240, 823
bagels 218, 219, 230, 681
Bakhmatovtsy 380
Baku, Azerbaijan 631
Balaban, Mayer 116, 119
balalaika 535
Balfour Declaration 294, 625
Balta 79, 196, 323, 413, 484, 675
agricultural colonies 412-414
Baltimore, Maryland 488, 526, 552
Great Baltimore Fire 527
Bandera, Stepan 771
Bar 8, 14, 18, 49, 60, 175, 229, 276, 289, 293, 334, 400, 410, 427, 456, 538, 607, 611, 626, 634, 674, 676, 678, 697, 731, 807
castle 20, 28
Confederation 33, 419, 424
destruction of government documents 427
fairs 19
gymnazium for girls 298
Khmelnitsky massacres 22, 274, 276
map 20
peasant uprisings 22
pogroms 634
train station 334
Baranovka 380
Baratz family 616
Baratz, Joseph 616
photograph 617
Barbash, Samuel 619
barber-surgeon. See *feldshers*
Baron, Salo 38, 205, 209, 318, 388, 446
Barondess, Joseph 538-546, 577, 580, 587, 611, 612
portraits 539
Bartal, Israel 70
baseball 537
Basle, Switzerland 615
Bat Yam 631
Batory, Stephan 17
behalfers 33, 52, 283, 284, 823
Bekker 490
Belaya Glina 671
Belgium 301
Belke, Colonel Ivan Teofilovich 394, 395, 401, 415, 445
Belogorodka 397
Belorussia 16, 29, 224, 290, 614, 724
Berdichev 85, 323, 616, 618, 793, 799, 807

Berdichevski, Leonid Afanasyevich 756
photograph 756
Berdichevski, Micha Joseph 283, 293-294, 614, 756
portrait 294
Beregovski, Moshe 238, 239, 244, 278, 280
Berg, Avraham 141
Berlin 102, 532, 616, 690, 716
Berlyand, Moshe Sh. 202, 252, 253, 262, 289
Bershad 422
Bershand 229
Besht. See *Baal Shem Tov*
Bessarabia 51, 88, 325, 349, 412, 427, 436, 465, 496, 626, 668, 669, 670, 692
Beth David Cemetery, Elmont, Long Island, New York 558-559, 560, 577, 760, 790
Beth El Cemetery, Paramus, New Jersey 555
Beth Moses Cemetery, Pinelawn, New York 597
Bialik 629
Bialoblocki, Jakob xxiii, 52, 148, 811
Bibikov, Count 438, 470
Bick rabbinical family. See *Rapoport - Bick rabbinical family*
Bick, Charles 112, 793, 813
photograph 112
Bick, Rabbi Isaac 110, 111-112
photograph 111
Bick, Rabbi Khaim 113, 124, 278, 545, 587, 610, 630, 631, 794, 806, 808
photograph 112
Bick, Rabbi Moshe 112, 793
photograph 112, 794
Bik family 776
Bik, Simyon and Eta xxiii, 209, 303, 386, 761, 763, 776, 786, 787, 788, 791, 812, 813
Birobidzhan 650
Bistrovsky, General 438
Black Hundreds 497, 498
Black Plague 16
Black Sea 331, 334, 614
black weddings 178, 194-195
blacksmiths 321, 322, 324, 346, 347, 350, 809
Bletter, Gloria 612
Bleyvas family 411, 642
photograph 411
Blinder, Dovid 615, 621
photograph 615
blood libel 456-457
Blumenfield, Rabbi Samuel M. 549-550
photograph 549
Bogachevka 412
Bogdanovich 33
Bogdanovtsy 731, 750
Bogen, Dr. Boris 541, 611
Bogopol 413
Bokovo-Antrazit 723, 724
Bolshevik Revolution 4, 197, 277, 303, 335, 430, 460, 499, 550, 622, 624, 627, 629, 633, 806
Bolsheviks 4, 7, 500, 508, 509, 520, 626, 641, 642
Bolshoi Bereg 412, 418
Boonin, Harry 612
Borukh, Rabbi of Medzhibozh 74, 75, 76-79, 81, 88, 121, 161, 168, 172, 243, 617, 727, 793
disputes with R. Shneur Zalman of Liadi 76-79, 617
grave in Medzhibozh 115, 793, 800
halatl 727, 728
with Hershel Ostropoler 79, 80-81, 82, 84
Boyko 495
Bozhikovtsy 380, 750
Brailov 175, 397
Bratslav 26, 74, 85, 508
Bratslav Province 26
Bratslaver movement 86, 655
Breidbart, Sonya Trachtenberg xxi, xxiii, 234, 258, 279, 296, 299, 301, 442, 608, 612, 777
photograph xxi
Breslau 55, 294, 451
Brezhnev, Leonid 630, 779
Brighton Beach, Brooklyn 791
Brigida 495
Britain 102
brith 452, 824

Brody 69, 117, 451, 527
Bronstein, Adam xxiii, 587
Brussels 533
Brussilov, General Aleksei Alekseevich 442, 446
Buber, Martin 102
bubonic plague 174-175
Bubosh 93
Bukovina 668, 669, 670, 679, 692
Bulgaria 668, 767
Bund 238, 621, 622, 623, 624, 655, 810
Burdishskiy, Nikolai 493, 494, 495
burial societies 202-205, 808
Burshteyn, Froim 673, 781, 783
  photograph 758, 781
butchers 52, 322, 347, 348, 388, 390
  . See also *shokhet*
Butneva 380
Butsnevtsy 323, 397, 816
  businesses 380
  merchants 351, 352
  voter registration 367, 377
Buzhenka River 9, 37
Buzniovzach 129
Buzovo 411, 412

C

Cahan, Abe 544
Cahan, Lewis 237, 278, 279
Canada 540, 546, 551, 780, 810
cantonists 421, 422
cantor. See *khazan*
Cantor, Itsik 141, 144
Cantor, Rabbi Bernard 640-641
  photograph 641
care of the needy 199-200
care of travelers 201
Carpathian Mountains 10, 52
Casimir, Jan 24, 47
Celniker, Leo xxiii, 287, 314, 315, 445
cemeteries 149-169, 792
  Derazhnia 149, 150, 155, 172, 800
  Letichev 149, 150, 151, 152, 799
  Medzhibozh 132, 149, 152, 153, 157-169, 792-793, 795, 796, 800
  Mikhalpol 149, 151, 154
  Staro Zakrevsky Meidan 149, 151, 156, 171
  Volkovintsy 153
  Zinkov 149, 151, 154, 801
Chabad 57, 74, 121, 242, 290, 617
Chaban, Galina 657, 773, 812
Chabanovo 412
Chanuka 220, 824, 830
Chapin, David xxi, xxii, xxiii, 7, 12, 41, 43, 107, 115, 127, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 167, 169, 172, 208, 210, 213, 228, 237, 330, 338, 390, 481, 483, 507, 525, 611, 612, 613, 661, 679, 748, 754, 766, 768, 771, 782, 784, 785, 788
  photograph xx
  trip to Letichev District 797-801
Chapin, Pauline Zimmerman xxiii, 206, 207, 210, 212, 224, 228, 279, 314, 415, 446, 521, 526, 611, 655, 812
Charnis, Shika 785, 813
Chasidism 2, 3, 40, 43, 46, 51, 53, 59, 69, 76, 174, 224, 237, 284, 294, 295, 613, 792, 796, 800, 823, 824
  education and storytelling 291
  spread 71-74
  stages 73, 74
Chayesh, Anatoliy Ilyich xxiii, 146, 170, 171, 206, 207, 208, 390
Chekesiya 518
Cheliabinsk, Siberia 639
Chemerovtsy 18
Cherepashintsa 651
Cheresherki 750
Cherkasovka 730, 731, 765
Cherno Ostrov 397
Chernobyl 454
Chernovtsy 428, 705, 778
Chichelnik 438
China 639
Chistyakovo 720
Chocim 29
cholera 175, 427, 530
Chornoostrov 706
Cimmerian Peoples 11
clarinets 239, 257
Clinton, President 797
Cloakmakers' Union 540
coachmen 322, 332, 331-334, 347, 349
Communists 4, 639, 649, 654
Confederation of Bar 33, 419, 424

Congress of Vienna 425
Constantine, Prince 425
Constantinople 24, 47, 613, 614
Copenhagen, Denmark 637
Copernicus, Nikolas 17
coppersmiths 321
Cossacks 2, 7, 10, 17, 21, 22, 24, 28, 29, 32, 38, 47, 61, 419, 420, 458, 484, 486, 824
Council of the Four Lands 447-448, 457
Cracow 17, 59, 119, 448, 470, 478
Crimea 21, 325, 650
Crimean War 442
crimes 450-475
Crown Rabbis 105, 106, 108, 109, 258, 461, 468, 469, 616
crown schools 293, 296-297
Cuba 526
Czartoryski Polish noble family 3, 26, 31, 41, 59, 64, 65, 105, 173, 179, 319, 345, 424, 426
Czartoryski, Prince Adam 31, 35, 37, 290, 292, 355, 393, 415, 419, 423-425, 426, 428, 470
  portrait 425
Czernowitz. See *Chernovtsy*
Czortkow 428
D
Dallas, Texas xxi, 813
Danzig 635
Darivoff, Irvin xxiii, 432
Dashev 426, 427, 710
Davidkovtsy 428
Davis, Randy xxiii, 370
Decembrists 420-421
Degel Mahanei Efraim 75
Delaware 7
Dembowski, Bishop 49
Denikin 500, 518, 519
dentists 186, 378, 381
Der Kanader Yid (The Canadian Israelite) 551
Der Tog (The Day) 547, 548, 551
Derazhnia xxiii, 1, 8, 9, 90, 105, 106, 130, 181, 188, 196, 197, 201, 202, 207, 238, 256, 286, 332, 333, 336, 337, 363, 364, 395, 397, 400, 410, 411, 412, 422, 437, 440, 451, 452, 465, 498, 531, 546, 551, 623, 630, 633, 645, 649, 662, 701, 717, 780, 816
base for intercontinental ballistic nuclear missles 791
businesses 381-383
capture by Bolsheviks 500
castle 14
cemetery 149, 150, 155, 172, 337, 749, 800
Einsatzgruppen aktion 663
extortion case 468, 471
fairs and bazaars 323, 324
first automobile 326
founding of the Jewish community 17
ghetto 673, 746, 754, 755, 785
gypsies killed by Nazis 754
Haidamak attacks 32
Holocaust survivors reunions 785-789
hospital 196
Khmelnitsky massacres 22, 29
landsmanshaftn 553-556
liquidation of Jewish community 673, 746, 754
local healers 184, 191
location of Karaite settlement 17
map 747
merchants 351, 352
murder case 474
Nazi bombed train 671
Nazi mass killing site 750, 754, 785, 786, 788, 800. See also *Nizhne*
Nazi trials 780
overcrowding of Jews 174
pogroms 508, 509, 515, 516, 523
population 37
private girls' school 289
pronunciation xxv
punishment due to Karmaluk 466-468
rail line 335
return of an immigrant from America 537
school 302, 303
size in 1661 26
songs from 244, 248, 254, 265
Tatar attacks 11
tradesmen artel 386

train station 196, 331, 332, 334, 335, 337-345, 380, 381, 383, 384, 386, 387, 508, 718, 719, 800
voter registration 362, 363, 366, 371-373
Zionist activities 746
Derazhno, Volhynia 17
Deych, Genrich 170, 416
Dinisman family 410
diptheria 526
distilleries 318
Dnepropetrovsk. See *Ekaterinslav*
Dnieper River 21, 27
Dniester River 10, 28, 51, 331, 643, 668, 703, 767
Dobrovolski, Erasmus 426
Dobrudja 668
doctors 18, 179-184, 383, 384, 386, 484, 634, 757, 775, 779
Doctors' Plot 774-778
Dolgoruky, Yuri 37
Donbass 330, 652, 720
Donezk 722
Dorosenko 28
Dorozhinsky 486
Dov Ber, Rabbi. See *Maggid of Mezerich*
Dreyfuss trial 615, 634
Dubno 323
Dubnow, Simon 39, 40, 116, 117, 118, 209, 415, 444, 479, 480, 521
Dukhobortsy 116
Dunaevtsy 456, 457, 471, 664, 729, 736, 745, 748, 753, 765, 789
Nazi mass killing in phosphorus mine 745, 750, 754, 755, 789
pogroms 745
Durchgangstrasse IV 668, 768
Dvorkin, I. 164
Dymshits, Valery xxiii, 117, 133, 134, 139, 143, 149, 171, 318, 319, 320, 329, 355, 462, 712, 768
dysentery 176, 653, 704
E
Edel. See *Udel*
education 281-313
Eggers, Gebietskommissar 666, 729, 750, 753
Egypt 47
Ehrenburg, Ilya 684, 767
Eichmann, Adolf 716
Einhorn, Moishe 674, 685, 689, 693, 754, 759, 765, 767
Einsatzgruppen 4, 5, 661, 662-664, 669, 754, 765
map of activities 665
organizational chart 663
photograph 664
Ejalet of Kamieniecki. See *Podolia Province*
Ekaterinslav 500, 671
Ekaterinslav Province 393
Elhchotovo 724
Eliach, Yaffa 727, 770
Elizavetgrad 323
Ellis Island 475, 536, 611
Emden, Rabbi Jacob 110
England 424, 526, 540, 611, 705
Erste Drazhnier-Podolier Progressive Ladies Auxilliary 556
Erste Drazhnier-Podolier Young Men's Progressive Society 553-555
Ertle, Immy 718, 719, 722, 769
Estonia 802, 806
Etkes, Immanuel 65, 70, 119
Ettinger, Shmuel 22, 38, 70, 119
Evreiski Meidan. See *Staro Zakrevsky Meidan*
Evsektsiia 303, 629, 630, 649, 654
eye disorders 177
F
fairs and bazaars 323-326
false messiahs 46-50
Family "Rapoport" 608, 609
Fastov 720
Feiga, grandaughter of Besht 161, 162, 243
Feldberg family xxiii
feldshers (barber-surgeons) 18, 181-184, 322, 346, 347, 743
Felshtin 16, 171, 397, 633, 749
Feltzman 718, 719, 720, 722
fiddles 239
Filmanovich, Filip 494, 495
Filmanovich, Ivan 492, 493, 494
Finland xxii
firefighters 202, 203

fires 178, 179
First Letichever Benevolent Association 559
Fishman, Dr. Moshe Mikhailovich 180, 181, 195
Fofinov, General 484, 486
Foglia, Dinah xxiii, 534, 559
folk healers 186-189
Folkes. See *Purkes*
Fortis, Dr. Mojzesz 179
Forvarts. See *Jewish Daily Forward*
France xxii, 526, 611
Frank, Jacob 48-50, 116
  portrait 49
Frankfurt 102
Frankist movement 48, 49-50, 457
  Frankist debates 49-50, 110, 457
Franz 716, 719
French Foreign Legion 634
Frieber, Gebietskommissar 667, 713, 714, 717, 718
Friedlander, Prof. Israel 640-641
  photograph 641
Friedman rabbinical family 87, 89, 104
Friedman, Rabbi Abraham Jacob of Sadgora 89, 90
Friedman, Rabbi Israel of Ruzhin 104, 471, 472, 473, 482
Fund for the Redemption of Captives 24
fungal diseases 177
Furkes. See *Purkes*
furriers 317, 321, 347, 348, 349
Furst, Beatrice xxii, 112, 124, 132, 329, 630, 632
  photograph 112
Furst, Moshe 157, 167, 631

G

Gabay, Dr. Solomon 180, 616
Galicia 51, 290, 346, 472, 506, 626
Garber, Morris (Moshe) 100, 182, 284, 300, 314, 316, 523, 606, 621, 646
Gaysin 413, 427
gefilte fish 224, 824
Gelbinova 412
Gelman, Esther 761
George Washington University 610
German invasion 670-673
  evacuation 670-672
German occupation 4, 5
Germans 7, 442
Germany xxii, 16, 48, 102, 335, 527, 532
Gershon, Rabbi Abraham 53, 54, 75, 451, 613
Gershunova 412
Gerver, Michael xxii, 170, 241, 249, 390, 446, 612, 613, 632, 760
Gerver, Yechiel. See *Goiva, Yechiel*
Gervitz family 329
Giller family xxiii, 115, 299, 547, 608, 610, 648, 649, 801
Giller, Edward 298, 299, 656
Ginsburg, Baron Horace 238, 416
glasnost 790
glaziers 321, 322, 348, 537, 701, 808
Gluzman, Semyon 170, 171, 674, 732, 755, 765, 791, 813
Goiva, Yechiel 241, 249
  photograph 241
  songs 241, 249
Gold, Rose 258, 373, 607
Goldberg, Tevye 657, 771, 774, 780, 805, 812
Golden Land (Goldene Medina) 525, 533
Goldenberg rabbinical family 108, 109, 110
Goldenberg, Lev Moiseevich 759, 771, 812
Goldman, Emma 546
Goldman, Louis J. xxii, 391
Goldshmit, Dr. 196
goldsmiths 321
Goldstein, Bernard I. 551
Goldstein, Shirley Zimmerman 224, 279, 611, 812
Golenischevo 706
Goloche 412
Goloptchinitz 616
Goloskov 29, 33, 428, 429, 486
  pogroms 516
Golovchintsy 381, 448, 465
Gorbachev, Mikhail 790
Gordon, Aaron David 615
Gorochov 108
Gorodka 701, 706
Goths 11
Governor of Podolia 487

Goykher family 707
photograph 726
Goykher, Vladimir xxi, 40, 170, 171, 210, 390, 480, 521, 523, 524, 531, 654, 666, 668, 673, 674, 680, 705, 725, 726, 748, 754, 755, 759, 765, 766, 767, 768, 770, 771, 780, 790, 812, 813
photograph 705, 725
Grach family 763
Granov 35, 426, 427
Grigoriev 500, 502
Grodetski, Pan Stanislav 456
Grodno 455
Grubshteyn family xxiii, 400, 410, 442, 812
Grubshteyn, Aleksander 771, 791
Grubshteyn, Dr. Elya 301
Grubshteyn, Dr. Moisei Abramovich 777
photograph 777
Grudka 397
Guberman, D. xxiii, 159, 160
guilds. See *kevrot*
guitar 535
Gunchak, Yakov 489, 490, 491, 494, 495
Gusak 495
Gvardeskoye. See *Felshtin*
gymnazium 297, 298, 299, 301, 302, 824
certificate 298
gypsies 189, 324, 754

H

haberdashers 322, 347, 348, 363, 378, 381, 383, 384
Hadera 623, 626
haggadah 620, 824
Haidamak 2, 29, 32, 33, 40, 419, 465, 515, 614, 824
Haifa 89
hakofos 100, 101, 122, 824
halatl 824
Hamburg 330, 645
HaMelits 91, 106, 108, 122, 123, 124, 141, 170, 171, 180, 196, 201, 202, 205, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 234, 289, 313, 314, 315, 389, 395, 408, 417, 431, 445, 446, 453, 464, 468, 473, 478, 480, 521, 522, 551, 618, 632
Hammer, Gebietskommissar 666
Hanover, Rabbi Nathan 25
Har Jehuda Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 595
harmonicas 728
Haskalah 289, 290, 293, 295, 297, 425, 825
Havdalah 230, 825, 829
headaches 177
healers 179-189
dentists 186
doctors 179-184
feldshers (barber-surgeons) 181
folk healers 186-189
midwives 184-186
oculists 186
yiddishe mamas 179
health and welfare 173-205
Hebrew Union College 102
Hebron 613
Hershel Ostropoler 79-84, 121, 168, 698, 706, 800
Hertzelia, Israel 738
Herzl, Theodore 615, 620, 621, 623
Heschel, Prof. Abraham Joshua 3, 89, 102-103, 123, 282, 313, 478
photograph 103
Heschel, Rabbi Isaac 779, 812
Heshel rabbinical family 3, 74, 87, 88-99, 104, 106, 172
family tree 87, 93
Heshel, Rabbi Abraham Joshua of Apt 74, 81, 88, 93, 115, 125, 168, 186, 282, 457, 624, 793
grave in Medzhibozh 115, 793, 800
Heshel, Rabbi Isaac Meir of Zinkov 89, 93
grave 92
Heshel, Rabbi Israel Shalom Joseph of Medzhibozh 89-91, 106, 199, 439, 440
photograph 90
signature 91
Heshel, Rabbi Khaim Menakhem 93, 94, 246, 618
Heshel, Rabbi Meshulam Zusia of Zinkov 88, 93
photograph 92
Heshel, Rabbi Moses Mordecai of Medzhibozh 102
photograph 102

Heshel, Rabbi Moses of Zinkov 93-99, 100, 618
house 96
photograph 95
synagogue 101
Heshel, Rabbi Pinkhas of Zinkov 93, 100, 246, 618, 739
synagogue 101, 629, 739
HIAS 528, 635
Himmler, Heinrich 662
historish lid 22, 274, 276, 825
Hitler 5, 662, 668, 769
Hollander, Harriet 489, 522
Holocaust xxi, 2, 6, 41, 108, 499, 525, 557, 630, 661-765, 780
erection of memorials 781-789
Jewish soldiers in Red Army 755-756
Letichev District Necrology 757-764
Nazi trials 780
reliability of testimonies 674
resistance and partisans 673-674
righteous gentiles 765
Holon, Israel 477
Honigberg, Sam 304, 316, 610
hospitals 173, 196, 383, 384, 427, 605
Hoveve Zion 615, 619
Hrushevsky, Michael 31, 37, 40
Huberman, Rose 674, 689, 690, 692, 696, 697, 765, 794, 795
Hull, England 528
Hungarians 7, 711
Hungary 4, 19, 30, 668, 767
. See also *Austria-Hungary*
Huns 11
Husaria 25
Husyatin 18, 49, 621, 624
I
Iasi 88, 93
Ignatiev, Count Nikolai Pavlovich 487
Ilintsy 710
immigration 3
inns and innkeepers 33, 318, 319, 320, 378, 383, 384, 387, 462, 465
International Ladies Garment Workers Union 546
Irbit 323
Israel the Dead 161-162, 205
Israel, Land of 4, 48, 76, 85, 109, 197, 325, 605, 613, 618, 626, 627, 629, 630, 675, 678, 783, 791, 810, 824
Istanbul. See *Constantinople*
Italy 627
Ivanov, Captain 491
Iwanie 50
J
Jacob Joseph, Rabbi of Polonoye 68, 74, 75
Japan 639
JDC. See *Joint Distribution Committee*
Jerusalem xxii, 88, 614, 621, 793
Jewish Colonization Association 201, 322, 410
Jewish Daily Forward 540, 637
Jewish Mafia 475, 476
Jewish Preservation Committee of Ukraine xxii, 416, 797, 802, 805
Jewish problem 290, 525
Jewish soldiers 434-436, 439-443
Jewish Theological Seminary 102, 549
Joint Distribution Committee 197, 548, 611, 626, 634, 640, 641, 642, 656
Joseph, Rabbi of Yampol 58, 105, 118, 123
Judenabgabe 668
K
K'far Vitkin xxiii, 327, 623, 626, 632, 789
kabbalah 44, 46, 48, 51, 52, 67, 69, 71, 94, 118, 173, 186, 291, 614, 825
Kahan, Arcadius 318, 388
Kaliner family 398, 401, 791
Kalinin 707
Kalno Derazhnia 395, 411, 412, 463
Kalus 703
Kalus River 703
Kamenets-Podolsky xxii, 8, 51, 185, 207, 289, 301, 323, 394, 396, 397, 410, 413, 427, 437, 480, 488, 611, 615, 630, 648, 677, 679, 701-702, 706, 707, 748, 800, 803
archive xxii, 123, 208, 415, 416, 417, 480, 656, 800, 803
castle 482
Catholic Cathedral 28
center for military recruitment 436, 438
charitable aid 640

Conference of Doctors from Podolia 175
crown school 293, 297
earliest Jews 16, 38
fifty verst rule 461
fortifications 10
geographical setting 10
gymnazium 298
hospital 196
Karmaluk's imprisonment 465, 482
Khmelnitsky massacres 26
mental health facility 177
orphanage 197
photograph 10, 50
power and light company 299, 648, 649, 801
role in Frankist movement 49, 50
Talmud Torah 283
Turkish occupation 28
Ushitsa murders 471, 472
Kamenka 54
Kamennoye 702, 703, 765
Karaites 17, 38
Karichintsi-Rimoviye 417
Karl 720
Karmaluk, Ustim 395, 465-468, 480, 482
portrait 466
statue in Letichev 465
Kartashevskiy, Petr 485
Kazakhstan 557, 672, 678
Kazatin 334, 531
Keller, Hainy 716, 718, 719, 722
Kepke, Willy 690
Keren haGeula 626
KGB 652, 808
Khaimel. See *Heshel, Rabbi Khaim Menakhem*
Khakham Tsvi 110
Khalfin, Bronya 699, 768, 808
khappers 421
Kharkov 185, 323, 500, 650, 679
Khashevata 775
khazan 348, 350, 825
khazan music 238-239, 241, 249, 250
kheder 270, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 295, 303, 485, 825
Kherson 207
Kherson Province 175, 393, 412, 501, 645
khevrah kadisha. See *burial societies*
khevrot 317
Khlysty 116
Khmelnik 33, 427, 510, 793
Khmelnitsky (town). See *Proskurov*
Khmelnitsky massacres 14, 17, 21-27, 29, 33, 46, 47, 61, 79, 160, 274, 276, 281, 317, 448
Khmelnitsky, Bogdan 2, 4, 22, 23, 26, 27
portrait 21
Khodrov family 327
Khorovei, Khaim 624
Khotin, Bessarabia 50
Khrushchev, Nikita 630, 778
Kiakhta 323
Kibbutz Ein Harod 626
Kiev 27, 60, 127, 196, 297, 317, 323, 324, 327, 334, 472, 500, 510, 512, 551, 610, 634, 663, 720, 725, 738, 793, 797, 801, 802, 810
Kiev Province 238, 394, 412, 465, 501
Kievan Rus 11, 13, 22, 27
Kilyanovka 412
King, Dr. Martin Luther 102
Kingdom of Poland 425
Kipiler, Vladimir 666, 674, 729, 732, 765
Kiselhof, Z. 244
Kishinev 295, 410, 496, 541, 616
gymnazium 302
pogrom of 1903 496-497, 525, 541, 616
yeshiva 283
Kitanovka 754
Kitces, Rabbi Tsvi Wolf 56, 67, 69, 70, 103, 168, 345, 452, 478, 795, 800
Kitses. See *Kitces*
Kitsis. See *Kitces*
Kitzes. See *Kitces*
Kitzes family 633
Kleiman, R. 271
Kleinmann, Moshe 616
klezmer music 238, 239-240, 255, 825
photograph 239, 240, 255
Köch, Kommissar 667, 713, 718, 768
Koch, Reichskommissariat Erich 666, 716, 768
photograph 666
Kohen 110, 825
Kol Nidre 97, 178, 825, 829

Kolbusov 88, 93
Kolibanya 33, 455
kolkhoz 415, 648, 649, 672, 698, 737, 754, 807, 826
  Krasnoe Pol (Medzhibozh) 649, 698, 807
  Loitera (Derazhnia) 649, 746
  Ravenstvo (Medzhibozh) 649, 652
  Yunger Leib (Zinkov) 649, 739
Kolyszko, General Bernard 426, 427
  portrait 426
Komarovtsy 334, 708
Koningsburg 330
Konstantynow 105
Kopachovka 486, 750
Kopaigorod 675, 732, 738
Korets 75, 76
Koreya 738
Korishtchov 93
Korolevka 48
Korzhovtsy 384, 750
Kosciuszko, Tadeusz 424
Kosover, Mordkhe 214
Kostetskiy, Pavel 489, 490, 491
Kozachki xxv, 214, 229, 277, 278, 607, 725, 817
  pronunciation xxv
Krasnaya Zvezda 720, 721, 723, 724, 726, 765, 769
Krasnodarsk 671
Krasnostav 457
Kremenchug 323
Krinichne 750
Krivero-Ozero 413
Krivonos, Colonel Maksim 22, 25, 274
Krutoborod 384, 817
Kulachevka 412
kulak 651, 652
Kupil 109, 210, 246
Kupriyan, Ivan 715, 725, 780
Kupshnitz 89
Kupstov family 489
Kupstov, Aaron 202, 488, 522
  photograph 489
Kurilovtsy 677
Kuris 779, 812
Kursk-Kharkov-Azov line. See *Southern Railway*
Kurtzman, David H. 550, 642
  photograph 550
Kutover, Rabbi Gershon 451
Kuzminki 412
L
Ladyzhin 413, 427
Landa rabbinical family 106, 168
Landa, Rabbi Benjamin of Letichev 106
Landa, Rabbi Issachar Dov-Ber haLevi 81, 106
Landau, Rabbi Ezekiel 451
landsmanshaftn 553-605, 826
  Derazhnia 553-556
  Letichev 559-577
  Medzhibozh 577-595
  Mikhalpol 595-597
  Staro Zakrevsky Meidan 556-559
  Volkovintsy 597-600
  Zinkov 601-605
Lansky, Meyer 475, 476
Lanzkorun 49
Lashkarev, Governor 471
Laskin, Borukh *141*
Laster, Maria 674, 675
Latichever Young Friends / Eternal Young Friends 559-560
latifundia 318, 319
Latyczów. See *Letichev*
Lefin, Mendel 292-293, 421, 425
Lehrhaus 102
Leiferman, Gersh Pinkosovich 757
Lenin 645, 697
Leningrad. See *St. Petersburg*
Letichev xxi, xxii, xxiii, 1, 8, 57, 105, 106, 124, 172, 174, 185, 201, 205, 220, 222, 228, 238, *258*, 259, 277, 278, 290, 295, 298, 302, 326, 327, 351, 400, 401, 403, 404, 410, 412, 421, 433, 442, 450, 453, 455, 457, 475, 476, 498, 507, 516, 547, 549, 550, 552, 608, 610, 613, 630, 633, 642, 648, 650, 662, 706, 748, 772, 793, 817
  arrests by NKVD 654
  arrival of the NKVD 652
  bathhouse 198, 477
  businesses 363, 378-380
  castle 16, 361, 676, 679, 680

cemetery 107, 150, 151, 152, 680, 715, 770, 799
charitable collections by Chasids 90, 104, 106
coat of arms 17, 18
coming under Russian control 35
community debt 448
crown school 297
during Polish rule 3
Einsatzgruppen aktion 663
fairs and bazaars 323
falling to the Nazis 670, 754
financial support of Zionists 619
fire watchtower 202
fires 178
folk healers 188
fraudulent rabbi case 454
Gambrok factory 693
geography 9
ghetto xxi, 5, 663, 668, 675, 681, 703-705, 712-719, 755
Haidamak attacks 29, 32, 33
homeowners 351
hospitals 196
journey to America 526
Karmaluk 465
Khmelnitsky massacres 22
Komosol (young Communists) 706
Komsomol (young Communists) 654
kosher chicken dispute 230
koshrut laws 231
landmanshaftn 559-577
liquidation of Jewish community 663, 685, 717, 755
map 15
map of town during World War II 680, 681
market square 360, 680
martial law 486
merchants 351-352
Messer Company 693
mill lake 331
murder case 473
murders in first days of Nazi occupation 673, 711, 754, 781
Nazi mass killing site 725, 727, 754, 781, 782, 799. See also *Zaletichevka*
orphanage 197
partisan group 673
pogrom of 1882 485-495
pogrom trials 488
pogroms 509, 510
Polish Catholic Church 14, 36, 361, 680, 703, 715, 750, 767, 799
Polish Uprising 427
population 31, 37, 711
pronunciation xxv
school 772
size in 1578 26
slave labor camp 663, 670, 675, 678-684, 692-694, 698, 703, 715, 750, 754, 755, 794. See also *Polish Catholic Church, castle*
songs from 253, 263, 264
synagogue 129, 148
tailors-furriers guild 317
Tatar attacks 11, 12
voter registration 362, 364-365, 367-369
Yiddish school 306
Young Intellectual's Club 296
Zionist activities 616, 625
Letichev District xxii, xxiii, 1, 2, 7, 9, 33, 40, 74, 110, 155, 181, 201, 274, 281, 282, 321, 326, 327, 331, 335, 336, 337, 394, 396, 397, 403, 412, 423, 455, 495, 508, 553, 608, 613, 641, 655, 662, 771, 778, 815, 829
arranged marriages *258*
as a frontier 1
birthplace of the Chasidic movement 43
businesses 358
categories of Holocaust survivors 671
cemeteries 149, 155
charitable collections by Chasids 199
cholera epidemics 175
closing of Jewish institutions 655
coming under Russian control 3
confiscated land from Poles 393
conflict between Mitnagdim and Chasidim 103
court 26
death toll during pogroms of 1917-1921 633
descendents 610
Einsatzgruppen aktions 664

emigration from 525, 531, 611, 630
factories 328
fairs 323
financial support of Zionists 619
fires 178
folk healers 186
folk remedies 189
gazetteer 815-819
geography 7-11
Haskalah 295
Holocaust Necrology 757-764
Jewish community today 5
Jews who live there today 811
Karmaluk 465
map 820
medical disorders 174
merchants 351-354
military colonies 428
military recruitment 436
number of Jews killed in Holocaust 755, 771
pinkas books 123, 306
pogroms 4, 484, 486, 495, 498
police 404
population 36-37, 41
population movement to larger cities 634
Proskurov pogrom victims 506, 519
proximity of sanctuary during Holocaust 662
resistance during Nazi occupation 673
tailors in 1904 322
Tatar attacks 11, 12
tribute to Dr. Gabay 180
voter registration 362-363, 364-377, 390
World War II battles 670, 754
Letichev Uyezd. See *Letichev District*
Letichever Beneficial Association 566-577
Letichever Progressive Society 560-563
Letitchever Mutual Aid Association 565
Letitchever Progressive Literary Club 565
Letnevits 480
Levi Yitshak, Rabbi of Berdichev 85
Levin, Boris 673, 674, 678, 700, 765
family 701
photograph 700
Levinson, Barry 610
Levinson, Betty xxiii
Lewis, John L. 546
Liadi 74, 76, 242
liberum veto 27
lice infestations 175-176
Lifshits, Yuliy 805
Likutei Moharon 85, 86
Lipovtsy 710
Lisorgorka 486
List, Field Marshal Wilhelm 674, 721, 722, 769
Lisuk 729
Lithuania 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 103, 224, 426
Lithuanians 7, 682, 703
Litin 397, 441, 457, 465
Litin District 445, 446, 465
Litinsky, N.W. 274
Little Odessa 791
Liverpool, England 528
Lizhensk 88, 93
Loeb, Rabbi Aryeh of Shpole 74, 85
London 616
Lonovitz 108
Lovers of Israel Anshe Medzhibozh 595
Lubavich 74, 242, 617
Lublin 18, 25, 448, 697
Lubomirski Polish noble family 31
Lubomirski, Prince 32
Luchinets 675, 704, 765
Lukin, Benjamin xxiii, 38, 92, 96, 124, 133, 148, 445, 479, 522, 523, 656, 657, 745, 770, 771
Luria, Isaac 51
Lutsk 17
Lvov 14, 17, 18, 32, 50, 110, 427, 448, 627, 638, 700, 708, 730
Lyaskovets 461
Lysenko 274

M

Maggid of Mezerich 57, 72, 74, 76, 242, 614
song 242
Mahler, Raphael 472
Maimonides 282
Makeyevka 722
Malakh, Khaim ben Solomon 48, 110, 116

malaria 176
Malkiman, Igor 766, 768, 771
Malkiman, Jocheved 626
Malkiman, Khaya Burshteyn 671, 700, 768
Malkiman, Khaya Bursteyn 650
Malkin, Vladimir 761, 766, 771
Malta 24, 39
Manchuria 639
mandolin 535
Mankovetsky, Yefrem 316, 416, 656, 766
Manshurova 412, 413
Maps xxvi, 8, 62, 147, 224, 412, 665, 819
  Bar 20
  Derazhnia during WWII 747
  Einsatzgruppen activities in th 665
  German civil administration zones 667
  Gitman's kloiz. 147
  Letichev during WWII 680, 681
  Location Map of Letichev District 819
  Map of Letichev District 820
  Medzhibozh 62
  Old Medzhibozh cemetery 164, 165, 166
  Podolia farm colonies 412
  Podolia Province 8, 30
  Poland 23
  Polish Partitions 34
  Spread of a gefilta fish recipe 224
  Staro Zakrevsky Meidan 396, 399
  The Road from Letichev xxvi
  Transnistria 669
  Two hundred years of Letichev in maps 822
  Ukraine 13
  Volkovintsy, 1941 709
  Zinkov before WWII 734
Marek, Peysakh 237, 279
Margoliot, Rabbi Meir 451
Marive 97, 826, 829
Markov 130
Markov, Count Arkady 31, 35
Markovtsy 384, 486
maskilim 174, 283, 290, 292, 293, 295, 297, 826
Matuschak 729
matzah 779
Mayer, Herman 718, 719, 720, 769
Mayim Hayyim 111
Mazepa 32
Medgibosher True Friends Club 593-595
Medgibozher Progressive Solidarity Society 577
Mednik, Yankel 774
  photograph 775
Medshbesher Lodge 595
Medvedovka 85
Medzhibozh xxii, 1, 8, 20, 39, 41, 54, 55, 57, 68, 74, 76, 79, 85, 88, 90, 93, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110, 112, 119, 122, 172, 173, 175, 180, 181, 188, 200, 201, 203, 204, 224, 238, 257, 258, 282, 283, 286, 288, 290, 291, 293, 295, 327, 363, 364, 400, 412, 423, 426, 444, 454, 455, 506, 516, 521, 534, 608, 610, 613, 613, 614, 616, 626, 630, 631, 633, 635, 654, 655, 662, 695, 748, 771, 789, 817
  arrests in 1953 774
  artels 809
  as a Polish administrative center 3
  as home to Baal Shem Tov 51, 52
  as home to R. Joel Sirkes 44
  attacks by OUN bandits 771
  attempted murder case 456
  Barondess connection 538, 540, 541, 545
  bathhouses 197, 794
  beit midrash 60
  black wedding 195
  box tax 231
  bubonic plague 175
  businesses 384-386
  castle 14, 26, 27, 45, 794, 798, 809
  cemetery 18, 51, 56, 75, 78, 79, 88, 89, 106, 110, 111, 115, 152, 153, 157-169, 698, 792-793, 795, 796, 800, 808
  census of 1758 321, 345
  charitable collections by Chasids 199
  Chasidic leadership 81
  coachmen 332
  coming under Russian control 35
  community debt 448
  court case 26
  during the Baal Shem Tov 53, 56, 58-70
  earliest Jews 18, 38, 317

earliest records 11
Einsatzgruppen aktion 663
extortionist gang 469
fairs and bazaars 320, 323
falling to the Nazis 670
famines 653, 773
financial support of Zionists 620
fires 178
fortifications 12
fortress. See *castle*
founders of K'far Vitkin 623
Frankist debate representatives 49
geography 9
ghetto 685-690, 698, 699, 750, 754, 807
Haidamak attacks 29, 32, 419, 420
Holocaust survivors reunions 783, 810
hospital 196
immigration of Chasidim to the land of Israel 614
innkeepers 465
kahal 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 118, 119, 123, 448, 449, 455, 456
Khmelnitsky massacres 22, 25, 26, 276
kolkhoz 649, 652, 698, 699, 807
landsmanshaftn 577-595
liquidation of Jewish community 687-689
map 62
merchants 351, 352, 357
military colony 428, 429, 430, 439, 440
military conscription 433, 437
mills 329, 330, 794, 808
murder 470
Nazi mass killing site 698-699, 750, 754, 775, 783, 784, 785, 794, 795, 800. See also *Rusanovtsy*
ownership by Polish nobles 424
pogroms 512, 518, 687
Polish Uprising 427
population 18, 20, 22, 37, 61
pospólstwo 62, 63, 64
pronunciation xxv
recaptured from Turkey 30
rights of Jews 19
silkworks 328
size in early 1700s 32
songs of 245, 251, 260, 261, 264, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271
soup kitchen menu 231
synagogues 65, 127, 131, 132, 808, 810
Tatar attacks 11
theft case 468
town hall merchants 355-357
visit by the Bicks 793-796
voter registration 362, 363, 365-366, 369-371
windmill 806
Medzibozer Branch (#297) of the Arbeter Ring 595
Megibozher Progressive Solidarity Society 760
Megila 795, 826
melamed 103, 109, 270, 282, 286, 289, 485, 808
Melamed, L. *244*
Mendelssohn, Moses 51, 290
Mensheviks 4, 634
mental disease 177-178
Merkavat HaMishna 111
Meshbisher Untershutzung Verein 583-593
Meturshteyn 93
Meyer, Louis 162, 302
Mezerich 57, 74, 614
Mezhirov 397
Michapoler Sisterhood of the Michapoler-Podolier Benevolent Association 596
Michapoler-Podolier Benevolent Association 595-596
Michelson, Celia 673, 781, 813
Michelson, Pinkhas 673, 757, 758, 766, 781, 813
Michelson, Velvel 781
midwives 184-186, 378
Miedzybóz. See *Medzhibozh*
Mikhailovka. See *Mikhalpol*
Mikhalpol xxv, 1, 29, 48, 105, 106, 109, 130, 298, 363, 366, 507, 595, 629, 633, 673, 748, 750, 754, 755, 817
businesses 386
cemetery 151, 154
charitable collections by Chasids 90
fairs and bazaars 323
geography 9

Haidamak attacks 29, 33
inns 319
landsmanshaftn 595-597
merchants 351, 352
partisan group of Nikoliuk 673
pogroms 514
population 37, 41
pronunciation xxv
synagogue 44, 130, 134-138
voter registration 376-377
Mikhampol. See *Mikhalpol*
mikvahs 197
military conscription 421
avoidance 436-439
draft lottery 431-434
forced conscription 421-423
Miller, Eddie xxiii, 382
mills 9, 19, 318, 328, 329, 330, 331, 359, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 631, 650, 794, 806, 808
Minhah 826, 829
Minkovtsy 736, 809
Mishna Society of the Apter Rebbe 109, 200, 308, 309-311
Mitnagdim 74, 103, 295, 826
Moda Lebina 173
mogen Dovid. See *star of David*
Mogilev-Podolsky 26, 28, 112, 196, 397, 632, 675, 744, 808, 809
Moishe Khaim Ephraim, Rabbi of Sudilkov 161, 168, 172
Moishele. See *Heshel, Rabbi Moses*
Moldavia 5, 19, 21, 23, 29, 174
. See also *Bessarabia*
Molokane 116
Molomalintsy 428
Molski, Colonel 420
Monastiree 387
Monastrich 106
Mongols. See *Tatars*
Montefiore Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 600
Montefiore Cemetery, Queens, New York 554, 555, 560, 582, 596, 601, 602, 605, 613, 790
Montgomery, Alabama 102
Morgulis, Naum 610
Moroz 495
Moscow 27, 323, 634, 650, 707, 775, 810
Moshe Khaim Ephraim, Rabbi of Sudilkov 74, 75, 106, 110
signature 75
Mount Carmel Cemetery, Brooklyn 545
Mt. Hebron Cemetery, New York 597
Mt. Sharon and Mt. Jacob Cemeteries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 568
Mt. Zion Cemetery, Queens, New York 563, 584, 586, 613
Munich, West Germany *477*
Murovani-Kurilovtsy 675
Musaf 97, 826, 829
Muscovite Russians 27
Myers, Peter xxiii, 162, 302
Mysticism. See Kabbalah
N
N'ila 97, 827, 829
Nagaevo Bay 707
Nahalal 623, 626
Nakhman, Rabbi of Bratslav 74, 85-86, 161, 191, 197, 242, 291, 292, 614, 706
Nakhman, Rabbi of Horedenka 171
Napoleon 415, 424, 425, 465
Natanya, Israel 675
Nazi occupation 661, 662, 754
civil administration 666-667
map of adminstration zones 667
organizational chart of administration 666
Nazis xxi, 2, 6, 40, 108, 110, 306, 655
Ne Zabit 733, 770
Nekhaya, Daniel 23
Nemirov 68, 86, 293, 297, 440, 448, 455
NEP 645, 646
Netecgubtst-Novie 387
Nevakhovich, Judah Leib 290, 421
New York xxii, 108, 110, 112, 237, 453, 454, 476, 537, 538, 540, 637, 639, 756, 768
New York Times 485, 543, 546, 611, 612
Newark, New Jersey 475
nigun 85, 242, 244, 246, 826
Nikitin, Count 429
Nikitin, Victor 415, 417, 418, 422
Nizhne 750, 754, 785
Nizhni-Novogorod 323
NKVD 652, 655

North America 436
Nositsky, Dr. 180
Novaya Ushitsa 397, 470, 471, 480, 634, 643, 675, 703, 704, 748, 767
Novo Konstantinov 24, 104, 123
Novo Konstantinova 685
Novy Meidan 41
numerology 51
Nuremburg War Crimes Trials 663, 667

O

oculists 186
Odessa 64, 89, 283, 297, 327, 331, 334, 344, 497, 500, 506, 535, 550, 618, 619, 626, 645, 673, 677, 692, 695, 702, 705, 765, 778
Odessa Province 668
Oheiv Yisrael 88, 93, 102
Okhrana 458
Okupy 51, 52, 424
Olgopol 297
Olizentz 696
OPE 295, 296
Operation Barbarosa. See *German invasion*
Opotow. See *Apt*
Opta. See *Apt*
Optov. See *Apt*
Oranovsky, General 423
Orel 490
Organisation Todt 5, 662, 667-668, 674, 715, 716, 766, 768, 769, 780
  insignia 668, 715
  wages to forced laborers 668, 769
Orlikowski, Major 427
Orlyk 32
orphanages 196-197, 633
orphans 44, 633
ORPME 408, 409, 417
ORT 200-201, 322, 408, 417, 649
Ostashevskaya 490
Ostova 76
Ostrog 85
Ostrogoths 11
Ostropol 79
Ottoman Empire. See *Turkey*
Ottomans. See *Turks*
Oystacher family 475, 477
. See also *Stacher*

P

Palatine of Podolia 454
Pale of Settlement 180, 185, 201, 294, 303, 321, 322, 328, 421, 422, 614, 634
Panikovtsy 428
Paplinskaya, M. 466
Paris 428, 634
Paris Peace Conference 541
Pasleni 395, 411
Passover 44, 220, 222, 223, 228, 241, 341, 448, 484, 485, 496, 498, 546, 631, 647, 715, 727, 824, 827, 830
Pavenski 33
Penza 672
Peregovtsy 428
Peremishele 708
Peretz, Y.L. 237
Perl, Joseph 471, 472
Perlow rabbinical family 112
Persia 17
Perslavl 401
Pesakh. See *Passover*
Pesotta, Rose 38, 80, 86, 121, 181, 197, 208, 210, 211, 232, 233, 235, 256, 279, 286, 289, 314, 323, 326, 332, 389, 422, 437, 440, 444, 446, 498, 517, 522, 523, 524, 531, 533, 611, 623, 632
  biography 546
  photograph 546
Petliura, Simon 4, 157, 500, 501, 506, 508, 509, 511, 512, 513, 516, 518, 519, 541, 639, 800
Pfaue, Baudirektor 668, 768
pharmacists 177, 359, 363, 378, 381, 383, 384, 386, 634, 775
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania xxiii, 488, 528, 550, 611
Philipowcy 116
photographers 359, 362, 363, 364
pidyonot 76
Piekarz, M. 68, 70, 120
pinkas books 59, 105, 109, 123, 125, 190, 306-313, 450, 827
Pinkas Zinkov 100, 122, 140, 170, 171, 208, 314, 315, 316, 522, 605, 632, 770, 771, 790, 791
Pinkhasel. See *Heshel, Rabbi Pinkhas*
Podlipnyy 737

Podolia Guberniya. See *Podolia Province*
Podolia Province 3, 7, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22, 41, 45, 46, 49, 51, 64, 76, 99, 103, 161, 174, 238, 290, 293, 301, 325, 332, 337, 391, 392, 393, 396, 405, 412, 413, 421, 442, 445, 446, 448, 457, 461, 465, 471, 501, 508, 512, 616, 619, 634, 662, 798, 800, 801, 829
  agricultural colonies 394
  as home to Malakh's sect 48
  birthplace of the Chasidic movement 43, 59
  capture by Bolsheviks 500
  cholera epidemic 175
  craftsmen in 1904 322
  Decembrists 420
  drought of 1892 406
  earliest Jewish records 38
  eye disorders 177
  fairs 323
  famines during 1919-1922 645
  fate of Jewish communities during the Holocaust 662
  immigration of Chasidim to the land of Israel 614
  incorporation of territory into Transnistria 668
  infant mortality rates 185
  Jewish schools in 1849 283
  Khmelnitsky massacres 24, 26
  map 8, 30, 412
  merchants in 1851 328
  military conscription 436
  Nazi civil administration 666
  ownership of land by Polish nobles 424
  peasant uprising 22
  pogroms 484
  Polish partitions 34, 35
  Polish Uprising 426
  population 18, 22, 26, 37
  rebirth after Turkish occupation 31
  recaptured from Turkey 30, 32
  river transport 331
  scurvy 205
  Sephardic communities 16
Podvolochisk 627, 635, 706
Pogorele 424
pogroms 3, 4, 106, 277, 294, 297, 414, 423, 433, 459, 461, 483-520, 533, 535, 550, 616, 633, 673, 687, 694, 706, 714, 736, 737, 744, 791, 794, 827
  during 1896-1907 495-499
  during 1917-1921 499-520, 633, 645
  Kishinev pogrom of 1903 496-497, 525, 541, 616
  Letichev pogrom of 1882 485-495
Pokutentsy 730
Pokutina 412, 413
Poland xxii, 2, 3, 13, 16, 17, 18, 34, 39, 45, 46, 48, 51, 102, 174, 175, 197, 224, 281, 317, 447, 448, 483, 531, 532, 624, 626, 644, 661, 675, 727
  map 23, 34
Poles 2, 7, 18, 22, 24, 27, 33
Poliakov, Shmuel 334
Polianker, Hershel 698, 767
Polish invasion of 1920 519-520
Polish magnates 2, 19, 59
Polish Partitions 34, 35-36, 420, 424
  map 34
Polish Uprising of 1831 291, 329, 393, 394, 425-428
Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 2, 44, 61, 318
Polonoye 57, 74, 75, 746
Poltava Province 19, 501
Poniatowski, King Stanislaw August 424
Poninski, Adam 394
Pope Clement XIV 14
Pope Paul IV 102
Popokh, Leonid 279, 480, 799, 813
Popokh, Raisa 279
Popovka 732, 767
Port Arthur 497
Portugal 16
pospólstwo 827
Potocki Polish noble family 12, 14, 15, 16, 31, 426
Potocki, Jan 14, 33
Poysner, Yankel 779, 812
Poznan 448
Pregerson, Judge Harry 210, 610, 791, 813
Pritchep 484
propincja 319

Proskurov xxii, 1, 5, 8, 16, 95, 103, 104, 157, 210, 297, 334, 394, 396, 397, 410, 461, 500, 507, 519, 634, 651, 652, 655, 662, 663, 674, 675, 678, 694, 706, 714, 715, 748, 771, 774, 779, 791, 799, 800, 802
archive 656, 771, 799
care of Medzhibozh cemetery 792, 793, 805
crown school 297
fortifications 14
geography 9
ghetto 694-696, 731
Karmaluk 465
Nazi mass killing site 691
pogrom mass grave 507, 800
pogrom of 1919 506-508, 514, 633
population 640
Poysner "economic trial" 779
renamed to Khmelnitsky 27, 778
under Ukrainian nationalist control 502
Providence, Rhode Island 112, 551
Prussia 3, 532
Puerto Rico 546
Pukasovka 486
Pukhalsky 37
Pulaski, Casimir 33, 40, 424
Pulier family 520
Pulier, Benjamin 458, 504, 520, 523, 524, 642, 656
photograph 520, 643
Pulier, Emanuel 298, 316, 458, 504, 519, 523, 524, 625, 632
photograph 520
Pulier, Samuel 458-460, 498, 499, 520
photograph 459
Pulier, Sarah Gershenzwit 184, 520
photograph 185
Pulier, Suzanne xxiii, 316, 360, 361, 459, 520, 523, 524, 632, 643, 656
Purim 219, 223, 389, 827, 830
Purkes, Rabbi David 57, 69, 70, 347
Purkow. See *Purkes*
R
Rabbi Israel ben Eliezar. See *Baal Shem Tov*
Rabbin Kazennye. See *Crown Rabbis*
Radziwill Polish noble family 31
Ragozovy Yar 737
Rakochi Castle 14, 37
rapes 633
Rapoport - Bick rabbinical family xxii, xxiii, 110-115, 800
family tree 114
graves in Medzhibozh 114
Rapoport family 671, 678, 773
photograph 773
Rapoport rabbinical family 110, 299, 608. See also *Rapoport - Bick rabbinical family*
family crest 110
lineage 113
Rapoport, Abraham Joshua Heshel 115, 547, 610
Rapoport, Leib 774
photograph 774
Rapoport, Leonid xxii, 122, 211, 235, 315, 316, 445, 446, 478, 480, 521, 657, 670, 673, 678, 680, 758, 766, 768, 771, 772, 773, 774, 791, 812, 813
Rapoport, Polina 680
Rapoport, Rabbi Dov Berish 106, 110-111, 168, 795
Rapoport, Rabbi Eli haKohen of Zinkov 115
Rapoport, Rabbi Khaim haKohen 50, 110, 115, 795
Rappaport, Shlomo. See *An-sky, Shlomo*
Rappoport, Y. Sh. 408
Rashi 85, 88, 209, 281
Rashkov 171
Rechipospolita. See *Poland or Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*
Rechtman, Abraham 121, 157, 161, 162, 171, 187, 188, 204, 209, 235, 278, 448, 478
photograph 161
Red Army 642, 670, 671, 698, 703, 710, 722, 723, 724, 725, 754, 767
Jewish soldiers 755-756
Red Cross 687
Refuat Haam 173
refusniks 630
Registi i Nadpisi 455, 478, 479
Rehovot 631

Rekhtman, Moyshe 674, 703, 765, 766, 768, 769
Reski, Paul 746
Revutsky, Abraham 505, 523
Rhode Island 112
Riga 323
Road from Letichev xxvi, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 14, 43, 127, 173, 237, 281, 317, 318, 361, 391, 419, 441, 447, 475, 483, 508, 525, 613, 633, 653, 655, 661, 662, 692, 703, 714, 715, 754, 770, 771, 811
  map xxvi
  painting, 1700s 36
  photograph 811
Roglia, Dinah 636
Roitman, Lipa 761
Rokhman family xxiii
Rollin, Betty xxiii, 360, 361, 610
Romania 472, 643, 662, 668, 695, 702, 704, 743, 767, 808, 809
Ronina, Lena 151
  photograph 151
Rosh Hashana 97, 229, 712, 827, 830
Rosman, Moshe 39, 53, 56, 58, 116, 117, 121, 208, 211, 388, 389, 444, 478, 479, 480
Rott, Commander Ben 427
Rotterdam 527
Rovenky 722, 723, 724
Rovno 666
Roytburd, Israel 142, 296, 606
Rud rabbinical family 109
Rukhlin/Rollin family 610
Rumania 10
Rumiantsev, General Count Peter 174
Runin, Dvorye 214, 229, 277
Rusanovka 700
Rusanovtsy 750, 754
Russia 1, 3, 174, 175
Russian Revolution. See *Bolshevik Revolution*
Russian State Historical Archives xxii
Russian-Polish War 633
Russki Evrei 89, 91, 122, 170, 196, 199, 200, 203, 211, 235, 295, 315, 445, 446, 480, 488, 521, 522
Russo-Japanese War 423, 442, 497
Russo-Turkish War of 1774 614
Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 442
Ruthenia 448
Rutkovski, F. 465, 466
Ruzhin 104, 471
Ruzhitskiy, Toma 489, 490, 491
S
Sabbatai Tsvi 29, 46-48, 49, 116
  portrait 47
Sabbatean movement 47, 48, 49
Sabbath 44, 177, 178, 213, 233, 234, 328, 423, 439, 626, 824, 827, 830
Sacco and Vanzetti 546
Sadgora 87, 89, 90, 92, 104, 199, 472
Sadgora Chasidim 468, 469
Sadgora Dynasty. See *Friedman rabbinical family*
Safed 614, 618
Sakharov, Major 487
Samus, Samuil 32
Sanok 428
Sarmatian Peoples 11
Satanov 18, 24, 49, 282, 292, 293, 397, 421, 427, 448, 614, 746, 749
Savouray, Israel 195
Saxon, Rolf 802, 813
Saxon, Stephen xxiii, 446, 606
Saxony 323
Scholem, Gershom 116, 117, 120
scurvy 205
Scythian Peoples 11
Sefer HaZohar. See *Zohar*
Seidman, Douglas xxiii, 316
Sejm 425, 426
Selma, Alabama 102
Senderovich, Boris xxiii
Sephardim 46, 116
Sevastopol 707
Shabbos. See *Sabbath*
shakharis 827, 829
Shapira, Rabbi Pinkhas of Korets 76
Shapiro family 708, 710
Shargorod 8, 12, 171, 427, 697, 801
  cemetery 801
  synagogue 12, 38, 801
Sharovka 18, 397, 427, 731
Shavuos 204, 222, 223, 827, 830
Shchedrova 387
She'elot u-Tesuvot Bayit Khadash 45

Shenderovskiy 493
Shepetovka 396, 457
Shivhei haBesht 53, 56, 57, 60, 65, 67, 69, 70, 117, 118, 120, 187, 292, 295, 451, 478, 827
Shklov, Belorussia 290
Shlyakoviye-Karichintsi 465
Shmeis, Abraham 678
Shmeruk, Chone 65, 70, 120, 478
shoemakers 322, 348, 349
shofar 47, 97, 421, 620, 827
shokhet 192, 213, 231, 337, 827
Sholom Aleichem 284, 285, 337, 389, 547, 800
  photograph 337
Shpichentsy 750
Shpitalna bath house 728
Shpole 74, 85
Shrubkov 653
Shrubkovo 428
Shteynberg, Samuil Ruvinovich 756
  photograph 757
shtreimel 94
Shvartsbard, Sholom 501, 541, 543, 634
  photograph 634
Shveytzer family 645
Siberia 437, 460, 464, 472, 639, 774
Sidorova 18
Siegel, Benjamin "Bugsy" 475, 476, 481
  photograph 475
Sieniawska, Elzbieta 179
Sieniawska, Maria Zofia 456
Sieniawski Polish noble family 3, 19, 31, 119, 179, 319, 424
Silesia 323
silk industry 11
Silverman family 374
Silverman Family Circle 607
Silverman, Archibald 551
Silverman, George 214
Silverman, Stephen xxiii, 477, 480, 481, 612, 791, 813
Simkhas Torah 75, 100-101, 122, 123, 223, 243, 450, 828, 830
Singer family xxiii, 485, 610
Singer, Annette Zimmerman 210, 314, 611, 812
Singer, Israel 289, 485
Sinyava 35, 104
Sinyavski 37
Sipurei Maasiyot 86
Sirkes, Rabbi Joel 20, 21, 38, 44-45, 52, 116, 130, 133, 290, 419, 453
Six-Day War 779
Skoptsy 116
Skripnik, Vasiliy 492, 493, 494
Skripnik, Yakov 492, 493, 494
Skula 627
Slobod 321, 345
smikhas 103
Smotrich River 801
Smyrna, Greece 46
Snezhinskiy 489, 490, 491
Snezhnaya 723
Snitkov 41, 130, 172, 351, 678, 684, 700, 818
  merchants 351, 387
Snitkovka. See *Snitkov*
Soba River 427
Sobiesky, Prince Jan 29, 30
Society to Promote Crafts and Agriculture Among the Jews of Russia 409
Sokolets 471
Solobkovets 471
Solovki labor camp 652
songs 237-277, 531
  children's 262, 263, 264
  dance 260
  freylekh 240, 245
  immigrant 531
  love and romance 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271
  nigun 242, 244, 246
  pogrom 274, 276, 277
  religious 241, 247, 248
Sosnovitsy 532
South America 436
Southern Bug River. See *Yuzhny Bug River*
Southern Railway 334, 335, 336, 708
Soviet Army. See *Red Army*
Soviet Extraordinary Commission 661, 748-753, 799
Soviet Union xxi, 4, 755, 779
Spain 16
Speer, Albert 5, 662, 667, 668, 766, 768

Spira, Rabbi Israel of Bluzhov 727-728, 770
St. Petersburg 74, 201, 290, 291, 295, 387, 421, 424, 459, 460, 498, 617, 634, 746, 791, 810
St. Petersburg Jewish University xxii, 767
Stacher, Joseph "Doc" 475-477
  photograph 475
Stalin, Joseph 630, 650, 652, 774, 775, 777, 778
Stalingrad 671, 721, 756, 767
Stalinist purges 4
Stampfer, Shaul 41, 70, 118, 313
Stanislavovka 740, 745, 752, 753, 754, 765, 803
Stanislavtchik 109, 743
star of David 695, 701, 713, 729, 733, 743, 746, 768
Stara Sinyava 214, 278, 445, 446, 607, 701, 706, 746, 749
Staraya Ushitsa 749
Staro Konstantinov 14, 24, 108, 123, 171, 397, 400, 421, 422, 424, 448, 616, 779, 808, 809
Staro Kostantinov 749
Staro Meidan. See *Staro Zakrevsky Meidan*
Staro Zakrevsky Meidan xxiii, 1, 5, 37, 106, 108, 130, 178, 189, 197, 201, 207, 295, 394-411, 412, 413, 427, 437, 453, 463, 496, 497, 507, 534, 547, 611, 635, 636, 639, 655, 672, 775, 785, 790, 818
  cemetery 151, 156, 171
  converted into a kolkhoz 649, 651
  evaculation during German invasion 672
  famine 653
  land tax case 404-406
  landsmanshaftn 556-559
  liquidation of Jewish community 673, 754
  living conditions in early 1920s 650
  map 396
  pogroms 414, 516
  population 37, 41
  pronunciation xxv
  school 306
  secret distillery 463-464
  size 395
  typhus epidemic 633
Staro Zhidovski Meidan. See *Staro Zakrevsky Meidan*
Starobelsk 650
State Ethnographic Museum, St. Petersburg xxii, 125, 131, 161, 223, 227, 229, 255, 270, 308
Stavnitsa 426, 484, 486, 699
Steel, Dawn 610
Stein, Bernard xxiii
Stein, Joseph. See *Zinshteyn, Yosef*
Strelbitskiy 487
Stutskiy *491*
succah 101, 123
Succos 518, 824, 828, 830
sudden mortal cases 178
Sudilkov 74, 75
sugar 215, 218, 221, 222, 224, 225, 226-227, 228, 229, 233, 325, 328, 342, 358, 359, 364, 379, 382, 387
Sultan Mehmet IV 28
Suslovtsy 387
Svetlova 493
Svyatoslav, Rostislav 11
Svyatoslav, Yuri Dolgaruky 11
Sweden 21, 646
Swedish-Poland War 26
synagogues 4, 127, 128-145, 178, 796
  Baal Shem Tov's 127, 131, 178, 796, 806
  Buzniovzach 129
  Derazhnia 130
  Letichev 129
  Markov 130
  Mikhalpol 130, 134-138
  Snitkov 130
  Staro Zakrevsky Meidan 130
  Volkovintsy 130
  Zinkov 130, 138-145
  T
Taganrog 671
tailors 33, 317, 321, 322, 335, 346, 348, 349, 350, 379, 382, 385, 695, 809
Takla 93
Talmud 49, 281, 282, 291, 293, 828
Talmud Torah 283, 289, 828
Tammany Hall 540

tapeworms 176
Taranushenko Archive 133, 134, 139, 140, 143, 318, 319, 320, 329, 355, 462, 712
Tarnopol 89
Tatars 7, 10, 11, 19, 21, 22, 24, 29, 419, 455, 828
taverns 318, 319, 346, 350, 461, 463, 464, 465
Teich, Dr. Meir 697, 767
Tel Aviv 476
Tenzer family 410, 611, 653
Teperovka 750
Tepper, Peter 394
Terek River 724
Tereshovtsy 428
The Dybbuk 238
Tiberias 614
Tikhman, Luba 673, 766, 771, 801
Tiraspol 744
Tisha B'Av 796, 813, 828, 830
Tissot, Simon Andre 173
Tluste 424
Toback, David 320
Todt, Fritz 667, 768
toite Chasidim 85
Tolsoi, Count Dmitri 488
Trachtenberg family xxiii, 608
Trachtenberg, Alan 609
Trachtenberg, Stephen 610
Transnistria 41, 662, 668-670, 675, 695, 696, 697, 702, 704, 731, 732, 738, 743, 766, 767, 808, 809
  map 669
  population 669
  refuge for Jews escaping Letichev District 668, 671, 673, 674
Transylvania 668, 767
Treaty of Buczacz 28
Treaty of Karlowitz 32
Treaty of Versailles 541
Trebukhovtsy 321, 345, 363, 389, 486
Tretyak, Evgenia xxii, 208, 677, 680, 757, 799
Triangle Shirtwaist factory 546
Trieste 428
Trotsky, Leon 634
trumpets 239
Tsar Alexander I 290, 424, 425, 426
Tsar Alexander II 3, 297, 423, 484
Tsar Alexander III 336
Tsar Nicholas I 297, 421, 422, 425, 444
Tsar Nicholas II 457, 497
Tsarina Catherine the Great 3, 34, 424, 715
Tsidulka, Mendel 713, 714, *716*, 768
tsimbl 239
Tsirulnik, Pyotr Yevseevich 772, 773
Tsukerman, B. Kh. 746
tuberculosis 85, 176, 634
Tulchin 57, 76, 420, 704, 744
Turkemenia 630
Turkey 29, 49, 51, 617, 626
Turks 2, 7, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 38, 43, 46, 47, 48, 393
Turkish Rule 27-30
Twersky rabbinical family 112
typhoid 176, 530
typhus 176, 183, 633, 652, 672, 704
U
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum xxi, xxii, 664, 691, 766, 768, 770
U.S. Library of Congress xxii, 672
U.S. Military History Institute 721
U.S. National Archives 544
Udel 74-75, 76, 161, 162, 243
Ukase of 1804 392, 393
Ukraine 1, 4, 13, 22, 24, 27, 33, 40, 60, 175, 176, 177, 304, 323, 329, 391, 420, 426, 440, 465, 527, 640, 642, 668, 767, 793, 797, 798
  famines in the 1930s 652, 653
  famines of 1919-1922 645
  map 13
Ukrainian Civil War. See *Bolshevik Revolution*
Ukrainian nationalists 4, 634, 800
Ukrainian police 664, 714-715, 717, 725
Uman 85, 106
Union of Lublin 18
United Hebrew Charities 542, 545
United Medgibosher Relief Committee 641
University of Hartford 610
University of Pittsburgh 550
Uruguay 526, 611
Ushakov, Major-General 491

Ushitsa murders 104, 470-472
Ushitsa River 10, 154, 801
V
Vaintsbarg, Dr. 180, 484
Vaks, Roza xxiii, 416, 524, 648, 653, 656, 671
Valkevinitzer-Podolier Aid Societ 597-598
Vasilchikov, Count 457
Vasilenka 411, 417
Vaskresenye, Dr. 140
Vatican Council 102
Vaynblat, Yehudis 674, 738, 763, 771
photograph 742
Vaynshtok family xxiii
Vaynshtok, Borris 496
Vaynshtok, David 393, 401, 416, 461
photograph 393
Vaynshtok, Galla 416
venereal diseases 633
Venezuela 526, 611
Venice 24
Verbka 679, 701
Verbka-Murovannaya 380, 818
Verevkin family 721, 725
Verkhovka 738
Vernadsky Library 316
Veselets. See *Vasilenka*
Vienna 30, 89
Vietnam War 102
Vilna 102, 237, 425
Vilna Gaon 51, 74, 103, 614, 617
Vinkovtsy 104, 470, 471, 740, 745, 746, 753
Vinnitsa xxii, 1, 5, 11, 85, 121, 175, 177, 196, 229, 276, 293, 297, 349, 397, 424, 500, 508, 509, 515, 523, 651, 663, 675, 679, 692, 703, 710, 714, 715, 729, 767, 775, 779, 793
crown school 297
Hitler's "Werewolf" bunker 662, 667-668, 769
mass grave of Stalinist victims 655
mass killing 664
train station 671
Visagoths 11
Vladovostok 497
Voitovets 403, 404
Volchok River 9
Volga River 333, 671, 672
Volhynia Province 16, 17, 18, 19, 41, 60, 238, 290, 293, 318, 394, 396, 397, 412, 427, 448, 457, 465, 500, 501, 614, 666
Volk River 9, 670, 673, 711, 781
Volkovinitz-Podolier Benevolent Association 599-600
Volkovintsy xxv, 1, 22, 29, 31, 106, 130, 304, 335, 336, 363, 364, 408, 409, 456, 464, 473, 486, 534, 610, 611, 616, 635, 649, 678, 701, 706, 707, 711, 717, 720, 724, 725, 726, 746, 754, 785, 818
businesses 380-381
cemetery 709
landsmanshaftn 597-600
map 709
merchants 351, 352
Nazi mass killing 749
OPE branch 295
pogroms 513, 516, 644
pronunciation xxv
rail line 336
secret inn 464
train station 334, 513, 708
voter registration 362, 377
Volochisk 500, 627
Volosovtsy 426
Volozhin 293
Volyarka 412
Vonkovtsy 397
Voronetskaya, Princess 448
Voronovitsy 710
Vorontsov, Lukyan 485
Vorontsov-Dashkov, Count 336
Voytovich *493*
W
wagon-drivers. See *coachmen*
Warburg, Felix 541, 547, 548, 612
Warsaw 102, 425, 426, 427, 627, 635, 641
watchtowers 202
weddings 255, 416
. See also *black weddings*
letter of engagement 258
marriage certificate 258
Wehrmacht 662
Weinberg, Morris 547, 548
photograph 547

Weinreich, Beatrice Silverman xxiii, 214, 229, 278, 280, 313, 374
Weinryb, Bernard 16, 38, 39, 40, 41
Weinstock, Ben xxi, xxii, xxiii, 7, 40, 138, 173, 237, 281, 317, 390, 391, 409, 411, 447, 483, 525, 555, 602, 612, 613, 613, 633, 642, 661, 748, 754, 762, 764, 766, 768, 770, 771, 790
photograph xx
Weinstock, Borris 409, 416
Weinstock, Isaac 635-639
photograph 638
Weinstock, Julius 416
Weizmann, Dr. Chaim 544, 546
Wellwood Cemetery, Farmingdale, New York 560, 565, 596
Wexler family 370
Whitefield 451
Wilenski, Lord 69
Williams, Oscar 547-549
photograph 549
Wilson, Woodrow 538
Wise, Rabbi Stephen S. 545
Wolkowinski. See *Volkovintsy*
Wolson, Zina Celniker 286, 314, 315, 429, 445
photograph 287
World War I 3, 332, 335, 414-415, 418, 442, 460, 503, 526, 544, 623, 626, 633, 634, 670, 706
World War II 4, 197, 551, 622, 634, 727
World Zionist Organization 546
wounds 176-177
Wurttemberg, Prince-General Marius 31
Y
Yablunovka 750
Yad Vashem xxii, 41, 766, 767, 813
Yagellon, King Sigizmund 18, 19
Yaltushkov 397, 731
Yampol 58, 105, 112, 123, 457
Yankovtsy 387
Yarmolintsy 180, 323, 397, 641, 673, 695, 746, 754, 805
Yaroslav 19, 47, 179
Yaslovsky 18
Yekaterinburg 323
yellow fever 530
yeshiva 105, 283, 293, 303, 616, 828. See also *Crown Rabbis*
yiches brief 115
Yiddish Meidan. See *Staro Zakrevsky Meidan*
yiddishe mamas 179
YIVO xxii, xxiii, 171, 237, 238, 239, 240, 244, 262, 278, 279, 280, 313, 332, 505, 523, 524, 560, 596, 601, 624, 625, 647, 656, 789
Yom Kippur 97, 223, 487, 673, 677, 684, 687, 697, 769, 790, 828, 830
Yoshpa, Nakhum 620, 621, 629
Yuzhny Bug River 9, 10, 15, 27, 37, 331, 668, 670, 671, 698, 767, 785, 794
Z
Zabreski, Prince Piotr 19, 318
Zalbovitz, Otto 719, 720, 722
Zaletichevka 110, 673, 701, 702, 717, 718, 719, 749, 750, 754, 770, 781
Zalman, Rabbi Shneur of Liadi 74, 76, 121, 242, 290, 617
disputes with R. Borukh of Medzhibozh 76-79, 617
imprisonment 290, 617
song 242
Zamekhov 397
Zamoyski Polish noble family 31
Zamoyski, Zofia 19
Zaporozhe 21
Zavolk 493, 673, 711, 783
Zaytsov 485
Zborov 24
Zbruch River 51, 461
Zebulon 624
Zgarok 384
Zhenishkovtsy 383, 819
Zhitomir 88, 105, 323, 457, 500, 793, 795, 799
Zhmerinka 181, 334, 335, 484, 500, 501, 506, 531, 695, 702
Zichroni, Dora xxiii, 130, 170, 180, 186, 195, 208, 209, 210, 288, 314, 327, 430, 437, 469, 480, 523, 524
Zilberman family xxiii
Zimmerman family xxiii, 193, *228*, 263, 552, 779
Zimmerman, Ben 326, 552

Zimmerman, Dena Singer 205, 206, 212, 224, 228, 289, 441, 446, 521, 526, 529, 530, 575, 611, 799
photograph 526
Zimmerman, Mitya 634, 779
Zimmerman, Morris 327, 526, 527, 528, 530, 552, 575, 799
photograph 552
Zimmerman, Stephen xxiii, 552
Zinkov xxiii, 1, 3, 8, 39, 89, 92, 93, 97, 98, 100, 101, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 130, 180, 181, 182, 205, 246, 296, 298, 351, 363, 364, 395, 397, 412, 431, 437, 461, 507, 547, 551, 608, 610, 611, 613, 615, 620, 624, 625, 630, 633, 646, 648, 662, 790, 819
arrenda 319
assistance for Felshtin pogrom survivors 633
Black Hundreds 498
businesses 383-384
castle 14, 420
celebration of the Tsar's overthrow 499
cemetery 151, 154, 745, 801
earliest records 12
emigration from 630
fairs and bazaars 323
financial support of Zionists 619
fire department 202
geography 10
ghetto 729-730, 732-738, 739-744, 745
hospital 196
inns 318
Jewish school 300, 304
khalutzim 628-629
kheder teachers 284
Khmelnitsky massacres 23, 29
landsmanshaftn 601-605
liquidation of Jewish community 662, 740-743, 750
map 734
May Day celebration 647
merchants 351, 352
military conscription 437
murders in first days of Nazi occupation 670, 739, 745, 754
Nazi mass killing sites. See *Stanislavovka, Dunaevtsy*
ownership by Polish nobles 424
pogroms 514, 516, 517, 736, 737, 740-743, 745
population 18, 37
pronunciation xxv
Saxon's visit 802-805
size in 1578 26
songs from 252, 253, 262
synagogue 130, 138-145, 178, 742
Talmud Torah 283
Tatar attacks 11
theft case 468
voter registration 362, 363, 366-367, 373-376
Zionist activities 616, 621, 622
Zinkover Rebbes 74, 81, 89, 93-99, 106, 246
songs 247
Zinkover-Podolier Benevolent Society 601
Zinkover-Podolier Ladies Association 604-605
Zinshteyn family xxiii, 410, 775
Zinshteyn, Boris 634
Zinshteyn, Yosef 206, 207, 410, 416, 417, 437, 516, 524, 639, 655, 656
Zionism 294, 297, 550, 613-631, 654
Zionist Congress 615, 616
Zionists 180, 289, 295, 303, 511, 515, 541, 551, 613, 615, 616, 619, 623, 625, 626, 627, 629, 638, 654, 746, 779, 808
Zlatopol 85, 502, 726
Zluchevskiy, Ivan 492, 493, 494
Zmigrod 88
Zohar 46, 51, 116, 291
Zurich, Switzerland 634
Zwieback, Ed 594
Zwillman, Abner "Longie" 475

Jewish Name Index

Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from Letichev District

The following is a selective list of surnames of Jews documented to have lived in Letichev District. These are based primarily on the lists found in Chapters 8, 9, 16 and 17. The names are transliterated directly from the original lists, usually from Russian. Note that similar names with the same meaning are grouped together, but it does not necessarily imply that the families were related to each other. Derivatives refer to spelling variations particularly among American immigrants (Chapter 13 lists). The meaning and type comes primarily from Beider (Beider, A., 1993, *A dictionary of Jewish surnames from the Russian Empire*: Avotaynu, Inc., New Jersey.).

Key to Types:

A Artificial
F Derived from a female given name
K Priestly (Kohen or Levite)
M Derived from a male given name
N Based on personal characteristics
O Occupation
R Rabbinical
T Based on a place name

Key to Towns:

D Derazhnia
L Letichev
M Medzhibozh
Mp Mikhalpol
S Staro Zakrevsky Meidan
V Volkovintsy
Z Zinkov

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Abramovich, Abrahamowicz, Abramowicz	Abramson	Son of Abram/Abraham	M	Common
Akerman, Akkerman, Akman, Eykerman	Ackerman	An obstinate person	N	D
Aikhgorin		Unicorn	A	M
Aizenberg, Ayzenberg	Eisenberg	Iron Mountain	A	L
Aksalbinder, Akselbind, Akselband		Shoulder knot	N, A	M
Akselrod, Akselrud	Axelrod	Origin uncertain		D, L
Aksman, Oksman	Axman	Ox man	A, O	M, Mp
Anshin, Anshine		A child of Anshel (?)	M	D, L
Apokorin		One who rejects traditions	N	D
Arbetman		Worker	O	V
Aronovich, Aronowicz	Aronowitz, Aronoff	Son of Aron	P	M
Asnis		From the name Osnas	F	L
Averbukh, Averbakh	Auerbach	A rabbinic family	R	L, M, Z
Balagor		Joker	N	D, Z
Barats, Barits	Baratz	Abbr. for son of Rabbi Tsvi	R	L, M, Mp, V
Barenfeld		Pear tree field	A	D, L
Barinberg	Birnberg	Pear tree mountain	A	D
Barondess		From a pear tree	A	M
Bas, Bas, Basin, Basisty	Bass, Bassin	Bass singer	O	D, L, M
Bashkov	Bashkow	From Basya	F	D, S
Beker, Bekman, Bekerman	Becker	Baker	O	L, M, S
Berdichevski, Berdichevsky		From the town of Berdichev	T	L
Berenshteyn, Bershteyn, Burshteyn	Berenstein, Berstein, Boorstein, Burstein	Amber stone	A	L, M, Z
Berenzon, Berzon		Son of Ber	M	D, Z
Berez, Berets		A variant of Barats (?)	T	M
Berger, Berg, Bergman		Mountain person	A	Common
Berkovich	Berke, Berkowich	Son of Berko	M	Z
Berlyand, Berland		Brilliant	N	D, L, Z
Berman, Burman		Son of Ber	M	M, Z
Beygeldrut		Bagel dealer	O	M
Bezborodky, Bezborodko		Beardless man	N	Z
Bik	Bick	Abbr. for a descendent of Jewish martyrs	A	M, D
Biletsker, Biletskiy		From the town of Biletskoe	T	L
Bilik, Billig, Bilokamen	Billick, Bilk	Merchant of cheap goods	O	L, Z
Blekhman, Bleikhman		Tinsmith	O	M
Bleter	Bletter	License, permit, letter	O	L
Bleyvas		White lead	O	D, S
Blinder	Blonder	Blind	N	Z
Blumenfeld	Blumenfield	Flowering field	A	L
Bokserboym	Boxer	Carob tree	A	L
Brand, Brandman, Brind	Bran	Active person	N	M
Bresler, Brezman		Brewer	O	L, Z
Brener, Brenner		Distiller	O	D
Brill	Brell	Abbr. for son of R. Judah Leib	R	M
Brodsky		From the town of Brody	T	M, S
Broitman, Broytman		Bread man	O	L, M
Bronshteyn	Bronstein, Brownstein	Brown stone	A	Common
Bukhbinder		Book binder	O	L
Cherniy		Black	N	Z
Dekhtyar		Daughter	F	M
Derevitsky, Derevicher, Derevsky		From the town of Derevichi	T	M
Diamant, Diment	Diamond	Diamond, a kind-hearted person	N	M, S, Z
Dinets, Dinisman	Dinitz, Dinesman	From Dina	F	L, S, V

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Dobstis		From Debra	F	D
Dodik, Dodek		From David	M	L
Dorbarminiker		From the son of R. Levi Yitskhak of Berdichev	R	M
Dorfman		Villager	N	Mp
Dukhovnay		Rabbi, from the priest class	O	Z
Duvidovich		Son of David	P	V, Z
Eydelman, Eidelman		Son of Eydel	F	M, Z
Eydelshteyn		Precious stone	A	Z
Einhorn		Unicorn	A	M
Ekht, Gekht		Pike	A	M
Epelboym		Apple tree	A	S
Faerman	Fierman	Fire man	O	Z
Faershteyn	Fierstein, Firestein	Fire stone	A	Z
Falikovich		Son of Falk (Volk, Wolf)	M	D
Farber, Ferber		Dyer	O	L
Fasman, Faser		Barrel, cask maker	O	L, Z
Faynman		Fine, gentle person	N	Z
Faynshteyn, Feynshteyn		Fine stone	A	D, S
Feldberg		Field mountain	A	S
Feldman		Field man	A, O	D, V
Feldshteyn		Field stone	A	L
Feler, Filer	Feller	Skin, hide, fur	O	L, M
Felgendler		Dealer in skins, fur, and hides	O	L
Felman		Skin, hide, and fur man	O	Z
Ferman	Furman	Fur man	O	Z
Feter		Fat	N	Z
Fiks, Fikh		Cattle	O	M, Mp, S
Finger		Finger	N	D
Finkel		Little spark	A	Mp
Finkelshteyn	Finkelstein	Sparkle stone	A	L
Fisgeer		Pedestrian	N	L
Fishbeyn, Fishboyn	Fishbein	Fish bone	A	V
Fishel		From Fishel	M	M
Fishgal		Fish gill	A	V
Fishman		Fish man	O	L, M, Z
Fleyderman, Fliman, Flit		Flute player	O	L, Z
Fleysh, Fleyshman, Fleysher	Fleisher, Fleishman	Meat	O	L
Flomenfeld		Plum field	A	L
Frayman		Free, flipant	N	D, L
Frenkel, Frinkel		From the Frank rabbinical family; from Frankonia; or a Frankist	R, T, N	Mp, Z
Freydzon, Frizon		Freyda's son	F	D
Fridman	Friedman	Free man, refers to the name Sholem; also a rabbinic family	M, R	D, L, Z
Froyman, Froiman		From Ephraim	M	L, Z
Fudim, Fudish		Thread	O	D
Fukelman		From Faige	F	D, Z
Fuks	Fox	Fox, cunning	N	L, M, S, Z
Gaba, Gabai, Gabay, Gapay		Synagogue warden	O	L, M
Galay		Shouter, chatterer	N	D, L, V
Galbershtut	Halberstadt	A rabbinic family	R	M
Galer, Galerman		Barber	O	L
Galperin, Galperson	Halperin	A rabbinic family	R	L, M, Z
Galtsman		Throat man	N	L
Gamarnik		Metal forger	O	Z
Ganulin, Gen		From Khana	F	L, D
Garber, Gerber, Graber		Tanner	O	Common
Garmil		Ermine	A	M
Garshel, Gershel, Geshel, Heshel	Heschel	Heshel rabbinical family	R	M, Z

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Gayzner		From the town of Gaysin	T	L
Gelfand, Gelfond, Golfond	Helfand	Elephant	A	D, M
Gelman, Geylman		Refers to son of Usher	M	L, M
Gendler		Merchant	O	L
Gendzelman, Genzelman		From Hensel	M	Mp
Genelmakher		Handmade products	O	M
Gerbich, Gorbman		Humpbacked	N	M, Z
Gerner		Horn blower	O	V
Gershbeyn		Stag bone	A	Z
Gershfeld		Stag field	A	D
Gershgorin	Gershgoren, Gershgorn, Grishgorn	Stag horn	A	M, D, S, Z
Gershkovich, Gershinovich, Gershonovich, Gersonowicz		Son of Gersh	M	L, M
Gershman		From Gersh	M	Mp
Gertsenshteyn		Heart stone	A	L, Z
Gervits, Gurvits, Gorovich	Horowitz	A rabbinic family	R	D, M, S, V
Geyfin		grape, vine	O	D
Geyner		Chicken dealer	O	Z
Giller, Giler, Geiler	Geller, Heller	Yellow (hair)	N	L, M
Giltman		A guilder	O	Z
Gindes, Gindis		From Hinde	F	M
Gingolts		Fine gold	A	V
Gintsberg	Ginsburg	A rabbinic family	R	M
Gisheynerman		Seller of crocker and utensils	O	Z
Gitelman, Gitman	Gittleman	From Gittel	F	L
Gladshteyn	Gladstein, Gladstone	Straight stone	A	V, Z
Glants, Glanets		Glossy	A	M
Gleyzer, Gleyzor, Gleyzerman		A glazier of glass windows	O	D, M, Mp
Glukh, Glikman	Glick	Happy, fortunate	N	M, Z
Gluz, Gluzman		Glass	O	L
Gluzberg		Glass mountain	A	M
Gnatovsky	Gnatowsky	From the town of Ignatovka	T	D
God		From the name Gad	M	L
Gofman		Court server	O	Mp
Gofshteyn		Court stone	A	D
Goiva	Gerver, Gover	Pride, haughtiness; Tax collector	N, O	M
Goldberg, Goldbarg, Golbarg, Goldenberg	Gold	Gold mountain	A	D, L, M
Goldenshteyn, Goldinsteyn, Goldshteyn, Golshteyn	Goldstein	Gold stone	A	Common
Goldentul		Golden valley	A	L
Goldfarb		Gold dye	A	V
Goldfayn		Fine gold	A	D
Goldis, Goldisman, Goldiv	Goodis	From Golda	F	L
Goldman, Goldshmit	Goldsmith	Goldsmith	O	L, M
Golovatiy		Intelligent	N	D
Gomerbarg, Gomirberg		Hammer mountain	A	M
Gonta		Shingle	O	D
Gorenshteyn		Horn stone	A	M, S, Z
Gorin		Horn	O, A	Mp
Goykhberg, Goykhbarg, Gaikhberg		Tall mountain	A	M
Goykher, Goykhman, Oykerman		Tall man	N	D, Mp, V, Z
Grach		Hot-headed, a gambler	N	D
Grebelskiy, Grebelsky		From the town of Greblya	T	D, L
Grinberg, Grimberg, Grinbarg, Grunbarg	Greenberg	Green mountain	A	Common
Grinblat		Green leaf	A	D, L
Grinfeld		Green field	A	M
Gringelts, Gringolts		Green wood	A	D, L, M

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Grinman		From the Grina	F	S, Z
Grinshpun		Copper stain	O	V
Grinshteyn		Green stone	A	L
Grosman, Groysman		Big man	N	D, L, Mp, Z
Groynimus		An old Jewish family name	M	D
Groysshteyn		Big stone	A	Mp
Grubshteyn		Course stone	A	L, S
Gruverman	Grufferman	Grey haired	N	Mp
Guberman, Huberman		Oats	O	M
Gurfinkel		Carbuncle	A	D, L, M
Gutman		Good man	N	D
Imelshteyn, Nimelshteyn	Himelstein	Sky stone	A	Mp, V
Iolis, Yolis		From Joel	M	L, M
Iontefovich		Son of Yontif	M	Z
Ioshpa, Yoshpa		Jaspar	A	Z
Itsekzon	Isaacson	Son of Isaac	M	Z
Isterman		From Ester	F	M
Ivankovitser, Iwankowiecki		From the town of Ivankovtsy	T	M
Kagan, Kahn, Kohen, Kogan	Cohen, Cohn	Priestly caste	K	Common
Kalifshteyn, Kalikhman, Kalik		Limestone	O	L, Z
Kalina, Kaliner		Rose	A	S
Kalyos, Kalyus	Kalus	From the town of Kalyus	T	L
Kalyuzhner		Dirty	N	D
Kamrash		Quarrelling	N	L
Kapler, Kipiler		Skull cap	O	D
Karmazin		Dark red cloth	O	M
Kats	Katz, Katsi, Katsev	Priestly caste (abbr.)	K	Common
Katsenelenboygen	Katsnelson	A rabbinic family	R	V, Z
Kazdoy		Nightjar	A	V
Kertsburd		Short beard	N	L
Kesel, Kesler, Ketser		Kettle maker	O	L, M, Mp
Kesher		Kosher or basket maker	N, O	L
Khais, Khait, Khaytsman, Khaytman, Khat, Kheyt	Chaes, Chais	Tailor	O	L, M
Khalemer		Nickname for Jew in Ukrainian	A	M
Khalfin		Moneychanger	O	M
Khamerman		Stupid person	N	D
Khankis		From Khana	F	M
Khariton	Chariton, Hariton	Abbr. son-in-law of the rabbi; From the town of Khariton	N, T	M, Z
Khasin, Khazin		Cantor in synagogue	O	L, M, V
Khaskelberg		Khaskel's mountain	A	M
Khaskin		From Khaskel	M	M
Khelemer		From the town of Khelm	T	L, M
Khinkis		From Khana	F	M
Khmelniker, Khmelnitskiy		From the town of Khmelnik	T	D, M
Khodorov	Chadorow, Chadorov, Khodrov	From the town of Khodorov	T	M
Khusid		A chasid	N	D
Kibrik	Kibrick	A poor man	N	D, L, Z
Kigel, Kigil		Jewish pudding	A	L, M
Kilerman		Cellar	A	Mp
Kilinzon		Son of Gilel (Hillel)	M	Z
Kiperbarg		Cooper mountain	A	.
Kitses, Kitces		From Guta (good)	F	L, M
Kizhnerman		Furrier	O	Mp
Kleyman, Kleynman, Kleynerman	Kleiman, Kleinman, Kleinerman	Small	N	D, L, M, S

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Klig, Kligman, Kligerman		Wise	N	D, Z
Kloyzner		Worshipper	O	Mp
Kluber		Pious	N	Mp
Klurfeld		Clear field	A	M, S, Z
Kneyloz, Kneyluz		House of study for children	O	L
Knur		Grumbler	N	L
Kogos		From Kohos	M	D, V
Kokish		Chicken	O	D
Kolomeyskiy, Kolomeisky		From the town of Kolomia	T	L
Kondel		Trader	O	D
Kontorov		Son of the cantor	N	M
Kontorshchik		Worker in a counting house	O	L
Kopit		Boot tree	O	L, Z
Korchmar, Kreychman, Kreychmer, Krisman		Innkeeper	O	L, M, V, Z
Korenblit, Kornblit		Rye leaf	A	Z
Koretskiy		From the town of Korets	T	M
Korf		Kinsman	N	M
Korikh, Korkh		Book binder	O	D
Koros, Kuris		Crucian	A	D
Kotlar, Kotlyar, Kotlarman		Kettle maker	O	L, Mp
Koyfman		Purchaser	O	Mp, V, Z
Kozak		Bold, risky (like a Cossack)	N	L
Kravets		Tailor	O	L, Z
Krayzman, Kreyzman	Kreizman	Curley haired	N	D
Kreymer, Kreyman, Kreymerman	Kramer, Krimer	Shopkeeper	O	D, L, M, Z
Kriger	Krieger	Quarreller	N	D
Krigsgaber		From the town of Kriegshaber	T	M
Krimnuz		Crooked nose	N	Mp
Kritsshteyn		Scratch stone	A	L
Krotman		Cabbage	O	Z
Krupnik		Groats maker	O	L
Krut, Krutiy	Krutt	Resourceful	N	D, M, Z
Kumer		A comer	N	D
Kuperberg		Copper mountain	A	M
Kupershmidt		Copper smith	O	L, V, Z
Kupershteyn		Copper stone	A	D
Kupets, Kupit, Kopit, Kupstov	Kuptsow, Kuptzoff, Kupzoff	Merchant class	O	L, Z
Kurtsman, Kartsman, Kertsman	Kurtzman	Short	N	Common
Kushner, Kushnir		Furrier	O	D, V, Z
Kuzminer		From the town of Kuzmin	T	Z
Kvasha, Kvasho		A honey beer (a crier)	N	M
Lakhterman, Lekhman, Lekman, Lakhman	Lichtman	Light, not heavy	N	M, V, Z
Land, Landa, Lande		From the rabbinic Landau family	R	L, M
Langman		Long	N	Mp
Laskin		From Eliezar	M	Z
Latman	Lattman	Repairman	O	Z
Laviner		From the town of Lavna	T	M
Lazebnik		Bath keeper	O	L, M
Lemelekhis		Lemel's wife	M	L
Lerner		Scholar	O	D, Mp, Z
Lev		From Leib, or Levite	M, K	M
Levin		A Levite from the priestly caste	K	D, L
Levintub		Kind hearted	A	M
Leybenzon		Leyba's son	F	L
Leybovich, Leybzon		Leyb's son	M	D, L
Leyderman		Leather	O	D
Leyferman		Messenger	O	D, M
Leys		From Leah	F	D

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Leznerer		From the town of Leznevo	T	L
Liberman	Lieberman	From Leyb	M	L
Liberzon		Son of Leyb	M	V
Lifshits, Livshits	Lipshutz	An old Jewish family name	R	D, V
Likhttser		Candle maker	O	L
Lisiy	Liss	Bald	N	M, Z
Lisker		From the town of Liski	T	M, Z
Litvak, Litwin		Lithuanian	T	D, M
Lopatin		From the town of Lopatin	T	L
Lubman		To praise	N	L
Mankovetsky		From the town of Mankovetsy	T	S
Magid, Magits		Preacher, storyteller	O	L, V
Makogon		Pestle maker	O	L
Malamid, Malamud, Malemud, Malemad, Melamed, Melamud		Jewish school teacher	O	Common
Malkiman, Malkis	Malkin	From Malka	F	D, L, Mp
Mandel		From Mendel, or an almond	M, A	D, L, Z
Manzon		Son of Mendel	M	D
Marants, Merants	Marantz, Maranz	Orange	A	L, S
Marder		Marten	A	Mp
Margolis, Margulis, Margolioth, Morgulis		A rabbinic family	R	L, M
Markizon, Maryanchik		From Miriam	F	D, M
Matsikh		From the Matsokha River	T	D
Maydel		A girl	N	D
Mazover		From the town of Mazoviya	T	D
Meerovich		Son of Meir	M	L, V
Meller, Meylman, Milman	Miller	Miller	O	Mp, Z
Mendelevich, Mendeliovich, Mendelzon		Son of Mendel	M	D, L, M, Z
Mershon	Meshon	Origin uncertain		D
Meshilekhis		Messenger	O	L
Meylakh		From Elimelech	M	Z
Mikhalzon, Mekhalzon, Mikhelzun, Mikhalevich	Michelson, Mihalevich	Son of Mikhal	M	L
Milis	Millis	Abbrev. Son of Samuel	M	M
Milshteyn		Mill stone	O	Mp, S, Z
Minor		Lamp (Menorah)	A	L
Mints	Mintz	Famous Jewish family	R	D
Mirlis		From Mirel	F	L
Mishkart, Mishkat, Moshkit		Nutmeg	O	L, M
Mok, Mokh		Origin uncertain		L
Monzon		Son of Sholem	M	L
Mordkovich, Mortkovich		Son of Mordechai	M	M
Moreynis		Talmud teacher	O	M
Mosenkis		From Moses	M	M
Motis		From Mordechai	M	L
Moyzman		Mouse man	N	L
Mozaver		From the town of Mozav	T	S
Mozniker		Music maker	O	Z
Munblat		Poppy leaf	A	Z
Muskatblit		Nutmeg leaf	O	M
Muterperil		Mother of pearl	A	Mp
Naerman		New man	N	Mp
Narman		Fool	N	Z
Natenzon	Natanzon, Nathanson	Son of Nathan	M	Z
Navizhenniy		Crazy	N	Z
Nemchinitser		From the town of Nemichintsy	T	M
Neses, Nesin, Nesis	Nesses	From Gnessa	F	Z
Neyman	Newman	Kahal treasurer	O	L

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Neyter		Seamstress	O	Z
Nisel, Nus		From Nusim	M	D, Z
Nudel, Nudelman		Sewing needle	O	D, L
Ofrekhter		Sincere	N	Z
Okon		Perch fish	A	M
Oksengorin		Ox horn	A	L
Orentlikh		Honest	N	Z
Ostrozhetskiy		From the town of Ostrozhets	T	L
Ostrakh		Scared	N	S
Oystacher	Stacher, Ostracher	Interpreter	O	L
Palatnik		Small shop	O	V
Paltiy		From Paltiel	M	L
Paperman		Paper maker	O	S
Parnes	Parness	Elected member of Kahal	O	Z
Pasternak		Parsnip	A	L
Pechuk		Rat	A	L, M
Peler		Raw silk	O	L
Peisoty, Peysoty	Pesotta	Long side locks (*peyas*)	N	D
Pendler		Paint brush	O	L, M
Perelmikher		Pearl maker	O	L
Perelmiter		Mother of pearl	A	L, S
Peres		From Perets	M	Z
Pergament		Parchment	O	L
Pervin		First	N	S
Petrashiver		From the town of Petrashi	T	Z
Pilat		From Peylet	M	L
Pinilis, Pinis	Pinnelas	From Pinchas	M	L
Pirem		From Pearl	F	M
Piser		Scribe	O	M
Pishkiman		Charity collector	O	L
Platker		Shawl or neckerchief	O	M
Plotnik		Carpenter	O	D
Pochtar		Postman	O	M
Polenzer		To become bald	N	D
Polishuk		From Poland	T	M
Polyak	Pollack	From Poland	T	D, L, M
Portnoy		Tailor	O	L, Z
Potashnik		Potash	O	D
Poysner, Poyzner		From the province of Posen	T	M
Pregerson		From Prague	T	M
Presel		Flat iron, to press	O	Z
Psakhis		From Psakhe	M	Z
Pugatch		Eagle owl	N	D
Puler, Pulier		Polisher	O	L
Rabinovich		Son of the rabbi	N	L, M
Rabinshteyn		Ruby stone	A	D, Z
Raboy		Pockmarked, freckled	N	Z
Radbel, Radbil		Origin uncertain		D, M
Rafalovich, Rafulovich		Son of Rafael	M	Z
Rakhlis, Rokhman, Rokhlin, Raykhman, Roykhman, Rukhelman, Rukhlin, Rukhlis, Rukhlyak, Rukhtsman	Rochman, Rollin, Rochlin, Rochlis	From Rachel	F	D, L, Z
Rapoport		A rabbinic family	R	L, Z
Ratner		Member of the Kahal	O	L, M
Raytsis		From Raisa	F	Z
Refulovich		Son of Rafael	M	Z
Reydman	Reidman	To speak	N	Z

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Reynman		Clean	N	Z
Rikels		From Rika	F	Z
Risis, Rissis	Reses	From Rivka	F	L
Riznik, Reznik	Resnick	Butcher	O	L, Z
Royzenblit		Rose flower	A	L
Ronichnik, Ronishnik		Shepherd	O	L
Ronikberg		Origin uncertain		V
Rosen, Rizun, Royz, Royzen, Rozen, Ruzin		Rose	A	L, Z
Rosenberg, Royzbarg, Royzenberg, Rozenberg		Rose mountain	A	L, M, S, Z
Rotshteyn		Red stone	A	V
Royf, Royfman		Doctor	O	L
Roysenboym, Royzboym, Royzenboym, Rozenboym		Rose tree	A	D, M, Z
Roytbard, Roytburd, Roytenburd		Red beard	N	Z
Roytbarg, Roytberg, Rudbarg, Rudberg, Rutberg		Red mountain	A	D, Z
Royter, Roytman	Roitman	Red (hair)	N	Z
Royzenblat	Rozenblat	Rose leaf	A	Z
Royzenblit, Rozenblit		Rose flower	A	S, Z
Royzengurt		Rose garden	A	S
Royzentul, Rozentul, Rozental		Rose valley	A	Z
Royzman		From Rosa	F	Z
Rubin		From Rubin	M	D
Rubinshteyn, Ruvinshteyn		Rubin's stone	A	L, M
Ruboym		Origin uncertain		M
Sadigurskiy		From Sadgora	T	Z
Sadik, Sadikov, Sudak, Tsudichkis		A tsadik or pious man	N	L, Z
Saltrennik	Saliternik	Saltpeter	O	M
Sandler, Sendler		Shoemaker	O	L
Sas	Sass	Abbrev. for Torah scroll; Shul Shames	O	M
Saschin, Soshchin		From Sura	F	L, M, S
Satsin, Satin		Tiresome person	N	L, Z
Segal, Sigal, Sigalman	Siegel, Siegal	Abbrev. from the Levitic order	K	L, M, Z
Senderovich		Son of Sender	M	D
Serbin		From the town of Serbinov	T	D
Serebrier, Serebrei		From the town of Serebriya	T	M
Seroker, Soroker		From the town of Soroki	T	Mp
Shaevich		Son of Shaya	M	M
Shafran		Saffron	A	Z
Shamis	Shames, Shamus	Synagogue sexton	O	L, M, Mp
Shapira, Shapiro, Shuper		A rabbinical family (Spiro)	R	D, M, Z
Shar		Grey	N	L
Shatkhen		Matchmaker	O	L
Shats, Shatsman	Shatzman	Prayer leader	O	D, Z
Shcherb, Shcherber		Gap-toothed	N	L, Mp
Sheer, Sher, Sherman	Sherr	Scissors	O	M, Z
Shefel		Lamb, bucket, or shovel	O	L, V
Shekhman, Shekhtman, Shikhman, Shokhet, Shokhetman, Shoykhet, Shoykhetman, Shoykhit, Shoykhtman		Butcher	O	Common
Shenberg		Beautiful mountain	A	M
Shenker, Sheynker		Tavern keeper	O	L, M
Sheydelman		From Shedel	F	L
Sheynfeld		Beautiful field	A	Z
Sheynman		Beautiful	N	L, Z
Shinder, Shinderman		Skinner	O	Z
Shitenman		Pourer	O	Mp
Shlayman, Shlimen		From Sholem	M	M, Z
Shlyak		Tailor's tape measure	O	M

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Shmid, Shmidt		Blacksmith	O	L
Shmukler		Lace maker	O	M, Mp, Z
Shnayder, Shneyderman	Shneider	Tailor	O	M, S
Shneyfer		Snow	O	M
Shor	Shore	A rabbinical family	R	Z
Shoymerman		Guard or keeper	O	D
Shpaner		A Sephardic Jew	N	M
Shperkan, Shpirkan		Origin uncertain		L
Shpitaler, Shpituler		Poor house; Hospital worker	O	M
Shpitsberg, Shpitsburg		Top of the mountain	A	D, M, Z
Shportilo		Origin uncertain		Z
Shpringel		A jumper	N	D
Shraga		From Shraga	M	M
Shraybman	Shreibman	Scribe	O	M, Z
Shterengas		Stone garden	A	M
Shteynberg, Shtamberg		Stone mountain	A	D, L, M, Z
Shteynbok		Ibex	A	Z
Shteynvas		White stone	A	Z
Shtilerman		Quiet person	N	L
Shtipelman		Pockmarked	N	Mp, Z
Shtivelman		Boot maker	O	L
Stromberg		Stream mountain	A	L
Shtulboym		Steel bone	A	L
Shuster, Shusterman		Shoemaker	O	D, L, M
Shvarts, Shvartser, Shvartsman		Black, dark	N	L, M, V, Z
Shvartsberg, Shvartsbarg, Shvartsburg		Black mountain	A	L, Z
Shvartsburd		Black beard	N	Mp
Shvidko, Shvitko		Quick	N	L
Sidon		A child who cannot walk	N	M
Singer, Zinger		Singer	O	L
Sima, Simes, Simis		From Sima	F	L, Z
Sirota		An orphan	N	L, Z
Sklyarevskiy		Glazier	O	D, L
Slavutskiy		From the town of Slavuta	T	M
Slepoy		Blind	N	D
Snitivker, Snitivaker		From the town of Snitovka	T	M
Somikh		15th letter of Hebrew alphabet	A	M
Somin		From the town of Somino (?)	T	M
Sonich, Sonin, Soskin, Suris		From Sura	F	M, L
Soydelman		Sable	O	L
Soyfer		Scribe	O	Z
Spektor, Spektar	Spector	Inspector	O	L, Mp
Stavnitser		From the town of Stavnitsa	T	M
Steynborg	Steinberg	Stone mountain	A	V
Sudikovskiy		From Sudilkov	T	M
Tobachnik, Tabak		Tobacco	O	L, Z
Taflya		Pane of glass	O	Mp
Taksman		Tax collector	O	M
Tarlo		From the town of Tarlo	T	M
Tartakovskiy		From the town of Tartak	T	D
Tayger		Turkish	T	Z
Telpner		From the town of Stolpin	T	M
Tenenboym		Fir tree	A	Z
Tenzer, Tentser, Tentserman		Dancer	N	D, M, S
Teper, Tepermaynster, Tepermeister, Tepf, Tepner	Tepper	Potter	O	D, Z
Teyman		Tea man	O	Z
Tikhman		Cloth or shawl	O	Z
Tishelman		Table maker	O	D
Tkach		Weaver	O	D
Tolchinskiy, Tulchinskiy		From the town of Tulchin	T	D, M

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Tovbis		From Toube	F	L
Toyter		Dead, very pale	N	L
Trakhtenberg	Trachtenberg	Thinking mountain	A	L
Trager, Treyger		Porter	O	L, Z
Tretyak	Tretiak	From the town of Tretyaki	T	L
Tsarinskiy		From the town of Tsari	T	Z
Tsatska		Toys	O	Mp
Tsedulka, Tsidulka		Small note	A	L, D
Tselniker	Celniker, Zelniker	Haberdasher	O	D, M
Tsigan		Vagabond	N	Z
Tsimelzon, Tsymelzon		Son of Sima	F	M
Tsimerman, Tsimmerman	Zimmerman	Carpenter	O	D, L, M, Z
Tsin, Tsinman, Tsiner, Tsinerman		Tin	O	L, M, Mp, Z
Tsinberg		Tin mountain	A	Z
Tsingiser		Tin caster	O	M
Tsipelshteyn		Tsipora's stone	A	M
Tsipris		Cypress	A	M
Tsukerman	Zukerman, Sugarman	Sugar	O	D, L, M
Uberfeld		Oats field	A	L
Uchitelniy		Teacher	O	Z
Uderman		Goiter	N	L, M
Udler		Eagle	A	M
Ulinetskiy		From the town of Ulyanitsa	T	M
Ulman, Umanskiy		From the town of Uman	T	L
Ushitskiy		From the town of Ushitsa	T	M
Uzbarg		House mountain	A	Z
Vainer, Vayner, Vaynerman	Wein, Weiner	Wine merchant	O	L, M, Z
Vakshtey		Wax stone	A	D
Valdman, Voldman	Wald	Wood	O	D, Mp
Vaserberg		Water mountain	A	Z
Vaserman		Water (carrier)	O	M, V, Z
Vatover		From the town of Vitovo	T	L
Vaynbarg, Vaynberg	Weinberg	Wine mountain	A	L
Vaynblat		Grape leaf	A	L
Vaynshteyn	Weinstein	Wine stone	A	D, M, Z
Vaynshtok	Weinstock	Grape vine	A	L, S
Vayntrub		Grapes	A	M, Z
Vayser, Vayserman, Vaysman	Wasserman, Weiser	White, pale	N	D, L, M, Mp
Vekselman, Veksler	Wexler	Moneychanger	O	L, Z
Veretnik		Coarse cloth	O	M
Vertsman		Owner	O	L, Z
Veytsblit		Wheat flower	A	D
Veytser, Veytsman	Weitzman	Wheat	O	L, M
Vigdorovich		Son of Vigdor	M	Z
Vilk		From Wolf	M	M
Vinokur	Winakor, Winocur, Winokur, Winnik	Distiller	O	D, V
Vitels, Vitis		From Vite	F	L, Z
Vodovoz		Water carrier	O	L, Z
Volfbeyn	Wolfbein	Wolf bone	A	Z
Voliovich, Volzon		Son of Wolf	M	L, M
Voloshin, Vulakh, Vulikh, Vulikhman		From Wallachia	T	D
Vugman		Scales	O	Z
Vurshtatman		Workshop	O	L
Yampolskiy		From the town of Yampol	T	M
Yanivker		From the town of Yanovka	T	M

Name	Derivatives	Meaning	Type	Towns
Yankelevich, Yankeliovich		Son of Yankel	M	D, V, Z
Yankelman		From Yankel	M	M
Yavits		Abbrev. from Jacob Emden	R	L
Yokhtman		Cowhide	O	V
Yosevich, Yozefov		Son of Joseph	M	D, L
Yosim		Orphan	N	M, Z
Zabarskiy		From the town of Zabara	T	L
Zaionchik, Zain, Zeytsman	Zayonshik, Zayenshtik	Hare	N	D, M, Z
Zak		Jewish rabbinic family	R	D, L, M
Zakman		Sack man	O	L
Zaltsman, Zeltser		Salt	O	D, M, Z
Zamikhovskiy		From the town of Zamikhov	T	M
Zamochik, Zamochnik		Chamois	O	D, L
Zats, Zach		Abbr. descendent of pious man	N	D, M, Z
Zaydel		Old man	N	L
Zaydenberg		Silk mountain	N	L
Zaydfeld		Silk field	N	D
Zaydenshteyn		Silk stone	N	V
Zaydman, Zeydman	Zeidman, Seidman	Silk	O	L
Zeerman		Prophet	N	D
Zekel		Small sack	N	Z
Zekherman		Confident	N	Z
Zekhtser, Zektser		Tan dealer	O	L, Mp
Zelman		From Zalman	M	L
Zelmanovich		Son of Zalman	M	V
Zemelzon		Son of Samuel	M	L
Zeylikman		From Zelig	M	Z
Zhurbinskiy		From the town of Zhurbin	T	Mp
Zigelboym		Mast	A	Z
Zilberberg, Zibenberg, Zilberg		Silver mountain	A	D, Mp, S
Zilberman, Silverman, Silver		Silver	O	D, L, M, Mp
Zilbermints		Silver coins	A	D
Zinman		Sense	N	Mp
Zinshteyn	Zinstein, Stein	Sun stone	A	S
Zisels, Zusman		From Zusman	M	L, M
Zlochin, Zlotchin		From Zlata (Golda)	F	Mp
Zola		Ashes	A	Z
Zonis		Origin uncertain		L

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COMMENTS ON NAMING PATTERNS IN LETICHEV DISTRICT

It is quite interesting to compare the types of surnames from different lists separated in time by more than 150 years. During this interval, the Jewish population of the Letichev District increased at least four-fold. The raw data for both these lists can be found in Chapter 8. We are following Beider's surname types and his published statistical analysis of the 1912 list:

Type of Surname:	% from 1912	from 1836	from 1758
(A) Artificial	28.3	16 (14%)	
(F) Female Given Name	8.0	10 (9%)	3 (1%)
(K) Priestly	2.3	3 (3%)	
(M) Male Given Name	9.6	19 (17%)	39 (19%)
(N) Personal Characteristics	15.4	15 (13%)	20 (10%)
(O) Occupations	24.9	35 (31%)	102 (51%)
(R) Rabbinical	4.1	1 (1%)	
(T) Place Name	6.2	15 (13%)	10 (5%)
Acronymic	1.2		
None			28 (14%)

How and when did Jews in Letichev District adopt their surnames? This event seems to have been a gradual process. It appears that most Jews had at least a nickname from the earliest documents. However, many of these nicknames were not kept by the descendents. It appears that most Jews had at least a recorded nickname or patronymic based upon the early documents. Family names were documented by the time of the census of 1816; this infers that their surnames were adopted earlier. Legally, surnames had to be taken after the December 9, 1804 *ukase*. Therefore we can assume that surnames were taken in Podolia sometime between late 1804 and 1816. Close examination of other documents in the Kamenets-Podolsky, such as court records, may help pinpoint the timeframe in which the naming process took place. By the 1830s, lists have surnames which are common in later lists. In the early 1900s lists we find occupational names which no longer match the stated occupation of the individuals. We also find that patronymic surnames do not match the patronymic of the individual. Thus, the family namesake must be at least two generations removed at that point in time. It is interesting to note that even into the twentieth century within their own community, Jews still went by nicknames. For example, Dora Zichroni described Sheindel "from the butter" and Moshe Pizik ("urchin"). These clearly were not the official names of these individuals.

Beider provides an excellent description of the name adoption process in the Russian Empire and the history of governmental rules regarding it. We will not repeat it here. However, two key points need to be emphasized. First, the assignment of surnames was a governmental process to better keep track individuals in the Jewish community. Second, Jews did not necessarily want to be tracked for draft or tax reasons.

Even so, we believe that the Jewish naming practices in the Letichev District followed a consistent pattern, as the previous table illustrates. We observe that the largest category of nicknames or surnames throughout all the lists are occupational names. We also observe that relative to the occupational names, the relative percentages of female and male surnames remain constant. The other types of names also remain relatively proportional in comparison. We interpret the data to show that whatever nicknames the Jews happened to have at the time of official naming, were directly adopted as their family names. Those Jews who did not happen to have nicknames took on (or were given) artificial names.

It is interesting to note that many family names seem to be in more than one town. This could indicate that there was a fair amount of relocation between the communities. The town of Mikhalpol seems to have its own unique group of surnames which, for the most part, are not shared by other communities. This could indicate that the Mikhalpol Jewish community was relatively isolated from those in the rest of Letichev District. Or it is possible that members of the Mikhalpol Jewish community may have had more links to other towns, which were out of the scope of our research (such as towns in the district of Proskurov). Zinkov seems to have the most number of artificial names. This may indicate that Zinkovers may not have given each other nicknames as much as in other communities, or there may have been a concerted effort to change the nicknames into artificial names.

The fact that the relative percentages of categories of family names persist over time can also be interpreted to mean that there was relatively little relocation into or out of Letichev District. In other words, the population growth in the late 1800s is attributable mostly to a higher birthrate, not to significant influx of new families. But, we cannot rule out another possible, but unlikely, interpretation: that there was significant relocation, but from districts which had similar surname proportions.

It is also interesting to follow the male given names over time. We do not have enough information to do the same for female given names.

The top male given names (numbers in parenthesis are actual counts):

	1758	1836	1912
1.	Leybka (14)	Abramko (10)	Moshko (87)
2.	Moszko (13)	Duvid (10)	Itsko (79)
3.	Iankiel (13)	Moshko (10)	Yankel (72)
4.	Herszko (12)	Srul (8)	Ios (64)
5.	Majorko (10)	Alter (8)	Gershko (58)
6.	Ios (10)	Berko (7)	Khaim (51)
7.	Icko (10)	Ios (6)	Abram (44)
8.	Wolf (6)	Mortko (6)	Srul (41)
9.	Dawidko (6)	Aron (5)	Duvid (41)
10.	Abramko (6)	Gershko (5)	Shmul (40)
11.	Berko (6)	Itsko (5)	Leyba (36)
12.	Szmuylo (5)	Ruvin (5)	Berko (30)

It seems that, just like today, given names were popular at different times. Moshe seems to be an extremely popular name through the ages. David and Abram also remain popular through time. Alter and Mortko seems to been a fad in the mid 1800s and have since lost popularity. Khaim seems to have gained popularity with time.

* * * * *

The index that follows are all the individual Jewish names listed in the book. Not all the names are of people who came from Letichev District. Name spellings are consistent with the original language of the document and are verbatim from those documents. Be sure to check for other spellings of similar-sounding names.

A

Aaron, Rabbi of Karlin 72
Aaron, Rabbi of Titov 73
Abovskaya, Fira 761
Abrahamowicz, Mendel 449
Abramko 33
Abramko the tailor 33
Abramko, Abram's son-in-law 33
Abramovich 624
Abramovich, Alter Itskovich 373
Abramovich, Avrohom 743, 744, 753
Abramovich, Buzya 753
Abramovich, Esther 761
Abramovich, Fanya 787, 788, 790
Abramovich, Ilya xxiii, 603, 732, 770, 793
photograph 733
Abramovich, Ios 455
Abramovich, Israel 761
Abramovich, Itsek 751, 761
Abramovich, Itta-Leah 743
Abramovich, Leib 455
Abramovich, Mardkhi 761
Abramovich, Pesakh 787, 790
Abramovich, Rakhil Abramovna 305
Abramovich, Rivka Abramovna 304
Abramovich, Sarah 761
Abramovich, Tsiril 761
Abramovich, Yakov 761
Abramovitsh, Sholem 293
Abramowicz, Boruch 449
Abramowicz, Eyzyk 35
Abramowicz, Mikhel 35
Abramowicz, Wolf 65, 105, 119, 347, 449
Abrams, I. 600
Abrams, Minnie 579
Abramson, A. 561
Abramson, Beckie 563
Abramson, Bessie 561
Abramson, Charlotte 563
Abrum, Rabbi of Medzhibozh 110
Ackerman, Abe 554
Ackerman, Anna 554, 556
Ackerman, Bessie 554
Ackerman, Clara 566, 568
Ackerman, Daniel 554
Ackerman, Harry 554
Ackerman, Isadore 566
Ackerman, Jacob 554
Ackerman, Joe 554
Ackerman, Yonah 554
Adel. See *Udel*
Adelman, Beckie 554
Adelman, Sam 554
Adelman, William 570
Adisman, Itsko 371
Adler, Leo 598
Adler, Susan Barondess 545
Agranovitz 570
Aikhgorin, Shelma 751
Aizenberg, Bluma Shimonovna 305
Aizenberg, Duvid-Ber 367
Aizenberg, Srul Shimonov 305
Aizenberg, Tuba Shimonovna 305
Akerman, Kopel 371
Akivis 606
Akivis, Ichel 603
Akivis, Sonia 603
Akkerman, Berko Itskovich 373
Akkerman, Maier 472
Akman, Brana Gershovna 304
Akof, Devora 761
Aksalbinder, Mikhel 357
Akselband, D. 357
Akselband, Moshe ben Nuta 506
Akselbandova, Sosia 353
Akselbind, Duvid 356
Akselrod, Eliezar 621
Akselrod, Moshe 621
Akselrud, Shlioma Khaimovich 371
Aksenfeld, Israel 293, 440
Aksman, Dotsya 751
Aksman, Leibesh 750
Aksman, Mordko 369, 750
Albershtut, Khaim-Ber 365
Alekhina, Anna Isaevna 152
Alexander 591
Alexander, Rabbi, the Shokhet 53
Alius, Moshe 636
Alper 570
Alper, Andrew 566, 568, 570
Alper, Miriam Mayerowitz 566, 568
Alshon, Leyba Tsalevich 373
Alter Rebbe. See *Zalman, Rabbi Shneur of Liadi*
Alterman, Shimshon Duvidov 367
Altman, Ethel 592
Altman, Louis 588
Altskan, Vadim xxii, xxiii, 480, 483, 748, 766, 770, 771, 814
Amiel, Alicia Feingold xxiii, 594, 611
An-sky, Shlomo 188, 238, 457
photograph 238
Anshil 560
Anshin, Ios Zeylikovich 367
Anshin, Mordko Moshk. 382
Anshin, Nakhman 107
Anshine, Aharon 563
Anshine, Khaya Liba 563
Anshine, Morris 563
Anshine, Zev 563
Anszelow, Moszko 350
Antelis, Ethel 579
Antelis, Paul 579
Apokorin, Manya 789
Apokorin, Shmil 789
Applebaum, Khaim 563
Applebaum, Minnie 563
Aptekarz, Rabbi Hersh Leybowish 64, 105, 449
Apter Rebbe. See *Heshel, Rabbi Abraham Joshua of Apt*
Arbetman, Zelman Eylakhovich 377
Arendarz, Abel 348
Arendarz, Leyba 449
Arensberg, M. 295
Arenson, Sarah 554
Armel, E. 357
Aronoff, Abraham 565
Aronovich, Zaskel 356
Aronowicz, Abramko 35
Aronowicz, Notka 347
Aronowicz, Notu 345
Aronowicz, Zelman 449
Aronowitz 585, 591
Aronowitz, A. 586
Aronowitz, Ernestine 603
Aronstein 570
Asch, Sholem 547
Ashke, Fonye 760
Ashkenadzi, B. 751
Ashkenazi, Fonye 687
Ashkenazi, Rabbi Tsvi Hirsh 48, 110
Ashkenazi, Rabbi Yehiel 66, 73, 74, 278
Ashkinazi, Tuba Itsk. 381
Asnis, Aba Khaimovich 364
Asnis, Elsh Shmuelev 367
Asnis, Fanny 592
Asnis, Joseph 590
Asnis, Kh. 488
Asnis, Shmul Borukhovich 362, 364
Aspler, Bernard 557
Aspler, Bertha 557
Aspler, Marian 558
Auerbach, Ephraim 547
Auerbach, Paul 603
Auerbach, Rabbi Moshe Zeev 73
Augenbraun, Hedy xxiii, 360, 361

Averbach, Moshe 605
Averbakh, Iankel 356
Averbakh, Munya 630
Averbakh, Pinya 630
Averbakh, Rabbi Ephraim 108
Averbakh, Rabbi Mikhel of Dunaevtsy 471, 472
Averbukh, Ayzik Mendelevich 373
Averbukh, Froim Iankelevich 353
Averbukh, Luzer Abramovich 364
Averbukh, Meier 108
Averbukh, Shlema 107
Averbukh, Zina Srulevna 304
Avrumovich, Ios Abramovich 369
Avstriak 744
Axelbank, Chaia 588
Axelbank, Gedalia 588
Axelrod, Abraham 554
Axelrod, Aryeh Leib 554
Axelrod, Blima 554
Axelrod, Gitel 554
Axelrod, Gussie 554
Axelrod, Harry 554
Axelrod, Katie 600
Axman, Abraham 761
Axman, Charles 579
Axman, Ida 579
Axman, Israel 581
Axman, Joe 579
Axman, Molly 581
Axman, Moshe 761
Axman, Sarah 582
Aysenberg, Bronya 489, 490, 491
Ayveen family 758
Ayzelman, Gersko Modkovich 373
Ayzenbarg, Luzer Shlemovich 373
Ayzenberg 358
Ayzenberg, Duvid-Ber 379
Ayzenberg, Zus Leybovich 373
Ayzenshan, Ikhil Iosevich 373
Ayzykow, Zaywel 348
Azvolinskiy, David Naymovich 151

B

Baal Shem Tov 3, 40, 51-56, 65, 69, 71, 75, 85, 103, 133, 172, 181, 186, 187, 192, 195, 197, 204, 230, 243, 250, 291, 292, 293, 347, 508, 616, 698, 794, 823
  as behalfer 284
  as folk healer 186, 188
  brother-in-law. See *Gershon, Rabbi Abraham*
  Chasidic leadership in Medzhibozh 81
  concerning Haidamak attacks 33
  daughter. See *Udel*
  disciples 56-57, 69, 72, 73, 74, 81
  family tree 73
  Frankist debates 49, 116
  grandson. See *Borukh of Medzhibozh or Moshe Khaim Ephraim of Sudilkov*
  grave 51, 88, 106, 110, 111, 157, 161, 162, 167, 168, 169, 626, 698, 794, 795, 797, 802, 807, 809
  great-grandson. See *Nakhman of Bratslav*
  journey to Israel 615
  letter from 68
  Medzhibozh as home 32, 60, 802
  name on tax lists 67, 347
  petition to R. Meir of Konstantynow 105
  prayer book 57
  protective spirit 508, 626
  signature 59
  song 242
  status in community 66, 68, 70, 123
  synagogue 127, 130, 131, 178, 798, 808
Bagelman 570
Bain, Aaron 596
Bain, Rebecca 596
Bainer, Moshko 179
Baitman, Srul 179
Bakalarz, Dawidko 349
Bakalarz, Zysnel 348
Bakartz, Inkiel 346
Bakhor, Dov Ber 208
Bakhor, Yakov Yosef 208
Balaban, Mayer 116, 119
Balagor, Maria 303
Balagur, Meylakh Yankelev 371
Balagur, Yakov Froimov 305
Balber, Volko Shmulevich 376
Baldaszow, Abramko 347
Baliner, Herman 601
Baliner, Rose 601
Balis, M. 570
Baltch, Meyer 581
Balter, Nakhum 563
Balter, Zev 563
Baltman, Duvid 364
Bantelman, Meer-Leybish Mordkovich 373
Bar, Khaim Yolkovich 367
Bar, Mordechai 516
Bar, Sura Leyb. 378
Bar, Yankel Moshkovich 373, 383
Bar-Hai, Eliav 278
Barasch, Celia 589
Barasch, Hyman 588
Barash, H. 585
Barats Yankel-Oyzer Leybovich 369
Barats, Froim Iosev. 364, 378
Barats, Sura Abr. 386
Baratz family 618
Baratz, Joseph 618, 634
  photograph 619
Baratz, Khaim 515
Baratz, Louis 597, 598
Baratz, Rose Leah 598
Barbash, Samuel 621
Bard, Zisi 601
Barenboim, Joseph 702
Barenboim, Pinya 702
Barenfeld, Alec 554
Barenfeld, Erukhim Yankelevich 371
Barenfeld, Moshko Volkovich 371
Barenfeld, Ovshiy Shaevich 367
Barfeld, I. 752
Bargraser, Berko Shmulevich 371
Barinberg, Itsko Peysakhovich 371, 381
Barinberg, Malka Gerts. 381
Barits, Khaim Iosevich 376
Barmad, Nafula Khaskelevich 373
Baron, Salo 38, 205, 209, 318, 388, 446
Baron, Zalman 563
Barondess, Anna Zifels 540, 541, 545
Barondess, Benjamin 545
Barondess, Edward 545
Barondess, Feige-Mintze Goldman 538
Barondess, Joseph 538-546, 577, 580, 587, 611, 612
  portraits 539
Barondess, Rabbi Judah Samuel 538
Baronfeld, Bella 563
Baronfeld, Isidor 563
Barrett, Barnett 579
Barrett, Fannie 579
Barshak, A. 751
Barshtein, Sh. Volf. 364
Barsuk, Pinkhas 379
Bart, Itsko 178
Bartal, Israel 70
Baruch, Filon 605
Bas, Avrum Borukhovich 369
Bashkov, Avigdor 404, 407, 480
Bashkov, Batya 636
Bashkov, Borukh 463, 464
Bashkov, Dora 635, 636
Bashkov, Feiga 397
Bashkov, Feybish 397
Bashkov, Gersh 397
Bashkov, Itsek Faibishevich 404, 479
Bashkov, Rivka 636
Bashkov, Yakov Shimon 635, 636
Bashkova, Rosa 408, 463, 464
Bashkow, Betty 534
Bashkow, Dora 534
Bashkow, Jacob Simon 534
Bashkow, Riva Weinstock 534
Bashkow, Rivka 557
Basin, Aron 367
Basin, Sendel 372
Basisty, Moszko 346
Basisty, Nyson 347
Bass, Abraham 582
Bass, Arnold 581
Bass, Beatrice 579
Bass, Dr. Joseph 558
Bass, Golda 582
Bass, May 579
Bass,Rosalin 582
Bassin, Abraham 579
Bassin, Anna 579
Batalin, Betty 560
Batalin, Harry 560
Batler, Ester 305
Batler, Leyb Moshkovich 373
Baum, David 560
Baum, Sarah 560
Becker, Beckie 554
Becker, Golda 554
Becker, Hyman 554
Becker, Ida 554
Becker, Rebecca 554
Becker, Samuel 595
Behar, Sylvia 598
Bein, Rebecca 596
Beker, Nukhim Gershkovich 369
Beker, Sheyva 641
Bekerman, Moycey Isakovich 151
Bekman, Avrum Leizor Leizerovich 411
Bekman, Gersh 397
Bekman, Manzya Nudelman 706, 708, 710, 759
Bekman, Rachel 759
Bekman, Srul 364
Beletskiy, Ovoyka 759
Belfer, Nakhman Abramovich 373
Belinsky, Menashe 556, 557, 793
Beliovich, Avrum Manus 467
Beliovich, Ides 467
Bell, Sam 575
Belostotskaya, Blyuma Bentsionovna 151
Beltser, Gershko Abramovich 371
Bender, Mollie 579
Bender, Samuel 579
Benderov, Sheivakh 179
Benderov, Volka 179
Bendich, Leib 648
  photograph 648
Bendzshtein, Bentsion 596
Benjamin, Benjamin 596
Benjamin, Ida 596
Benkerman, Shulim 473
Benya the tavern-keeper 33
Berchenko, David 627
Berchenko, Peysakh Itskovich 367
Berdichevski, Leonid Afanasyevich 756
  photograph 756
Berdichevski, Micha Joseph 283, 293-294, 616, 756
  portrait 294
Berdichevskiy, Srul Berkovich 371
Berdichevsky, Moshe 762
Berdichevsky, Srul 762
Beregovski, Moshe 238, 239, 244, 278, 280
Berenbaum, Sam 579
Berenshtein, Etla Shmulevna 304
Berenshteyn 473
Berenshteyn, Itsko 356
Berenshteyn, Leyzor Peysakhovich 373
Berenshteyn, Mordko Peysakhovich 373
Berenshteyn, Moshko 753
Berenzon, Bronya 732
Berenzon, Favish Gershkovich 373
Berenzon, Mot 372
Berenzon, Srul Itsk. 372, 381
Berets, Khaim 688, 760
Berez, Gitel 586
Berez, Kieva 589
Bereza, Mordko Mordkovich 367
Berezhansky, Srul Leibovich 411
Berg, Avraham 141
Berger, Abraham 596
Berger, Adele 601
Berger, Annie 582
Berger, Becky 554
Berger, Borukh Aizykovich 353
Berger, Clara 603
Berger, Elke 601, 606
Berger, Feige 596
Berger, Iankel 356
Berger, Ios Abovich 369

Berger, Ios-Leizor Iankelevich 353, 373
Berger, Itsko Abramovich 373
Berger, Joseph 596, 601
Berger, Khaim Iukelovich 353
Berger, Leiba Kopeliovich 353
Berger, Lou 606
Berger, Louis 563
Berger, Max 554
Berger, Maxwell 600
Berger, Nekhosh Aron. 362
Berger, Sonya Abramovna 305
Berger, Sonya Borukhovna 305
Bergerova, Khana 353
Bergman, Abraham 563
Bergman, Yehuda Leib 563
Bergunis 649
Berich, Jacob 641, 642
Berik, Volko Manusovich 364, 365, 372, 382
Berkalin, Lazer 356
Berke, Benjamin 561
Berke, Faye 561
Berke, Morris 561
Berke, Toby 561
Berko the tavern-keeper 33
Berko, son of Itsko 33
Berkovich family 764
Berkovich, Berko Moshkovich 373
Berkowitz, Abe 561
Berkowitz, Adele 561
Berland, Berish 621
Berland, Shimon 621
Berlyand 358
Berlyand, Isaak 372
Berlyand, Moshe Sh. 200, 202, 252, 253, 262, 289
Berman, Albert 557
Berman, Archie 554
Berman, Bassie 636
Berman, Clara 563
Berman, Gertrude 582
Berman, Herbert 595
Berman, Iris 561
Berman, Louis 563
Berman, Moshko Gershov 369
Berman, Paul 561
Berman, Rivka 636
Berman, Robert 582
Berman, Srul Itskovich 373
Berman, Zlata Ikhilevna 304
Bernch, Fred 596
Bernsch, Louis 596
Bernshtam, Isaak 208
Bernshteyn, I. B. 359
Bernstein, Aaron 589
Bernstein, Abraham 554
Bernstein, Benjamin 554
Bernstein, David 598
Bernstein, Hyman 598
Bernstein, Ida 592, 596
Bernstein, Isaac Moses 592
Bernstein, Isadore 600
Bernstein, Lena 560
Bernstein, Leon 579
Bernstein, Mary 593
Bernstein, Morris 591, 598, 603
Bernstein, Murray 598
Bernstein, Paul 596
Bernstein, Pauline 554
Bernstein, Pearl 554
Bernstein, Ray Rose 579
Bernstein, Rebecca 596
Bernstein, Rose 591
Bernstein, Sarah 589
Bernstein, Seidel Aaron 592
Bernstein, Yetta 598
Bershkovich, Ikheel 208
Bershteyn, Binnim Frumovich 353
Bershteyn, Gerts Shevelevich 369
Bershteyn, Ios Susherovich 376
Bershteyn, Itsko Susherovich 376
Bershteyn, L. 751
Bershteyn, Nis Meerovich 376
Bershteyn, Nusen 179
Bershteyn, Ruvin 352
Bershteyn, Sheybakh Volf. 382
Bershteyn, Volko Itskovich 369
Berzon, I. 379
Berzon, Polya Gershovna 305
Besfamilia, Ema 778
Besht. See *Baal Shem Tov*
Beskerovniy, Khil 751
Besserman, Jacob 598
Bey, Peysakh 352
Beygeldrut, Berko Kelmanovich 369
Beygeldrut, Yankel Meerovich 369
Beygelfrud, Sh. 752
Beyn, Itsko Shliomovich 353, 356
Beyner, M. P. 151
Bezborodkaya, Rakhil Iovel. 383
Bezborodkiy, Iovel Meerovich 373
Bezborodkiy, Zus Meerovich 373
Bezborodko, Nus. 383
Bezeken, Rose 579
Bezumniy, Shulim Khaimovich 377
Bezwerchy, Szmuylo 349
Bialik 631
Bick rabbinical family. See *Rapoport - Bick rabbinical family*
Bick, Charles 112, 114, 795, 796, 815
photograph 112
Bick, Rabbi Abraham 114
Bick, Rabbi Isaac 110, 111-112, 113, 114
photograph 111
Bick, Rabbi Khaim 111, 113, 114, 124, 278, 545, 587, 610, 632, 633, 796, 808, 810
photograph 112
Bick, Rabbi Khaim Yekhiel of Medzhibozh (elder) 111, 114
Bick, Rabbi Meir Menachem 110, 114, 167, 168, 797
Bick, Rabbi Moishe 170, 390
Bick, Rabbi Moshe 112, 114, 795
photograph 112, 796
Bick, Rabbi Moshe (elder) 114
Bick, Rabbi Saul Issachar (II) 111, 112, 114
Bick, Rabbi Saul Issachar Berish 110, 111, 113, 114, 797
Bick, Rabbi Simkha 111, 113, 114
Bick, Rabbi Tsvi Arieh 111, 114
Bick, Simkha 114
Bick, Sonya 795, 815
Bidik, Solomon 621
Bieniasowicz, Kielman 449
Bierman, Zelig 386
Bik family 778
photograph 778
Bik, Aron 364, 379
Bik, Boris 789
Bik, Eliukim 437
Bik, Eta Ushitsky 790
Bik, Lenya 789
Bik, Moshko 376
Bik, Polya 789
Bik, Shavel Abramovich 353
Bik, Shmil Hirsh 778
Bik, Simyon 787, 788, 789, 790
Bik, Simyon and Eta xxiii, 209, 303, 386, 761, 763, 778, 788, 789, 790, 793, 814, 815
Bik, Udel Zats 778
Bikhman, Yankel 472
Bikman, Shmuel 472
Bikov, Lenya 788
Bikova, Polya 788
Biletsker, Abramko 352
Biletsker, Alter 352
Biletsker, Vol 352
Biletskiy, Leyb 759
Biletskiy, Rivka 759
Biletskiy, Srul 179
Biletskiy, Tsilia 759
Bilik, A. 473
Bilik, Dvora 621
Bilik, E. 488
Bilik, Elka Srul. 378
Bilik, Ester-Khaya 362
Bilik, Shlema Leyzorovich 362, 364, 379
Bilinkes, Efraim 596
Bilk, Elik Leyzerovich 362
Billick, Pauline 569
Billig, Sarah 586
Bilokamen, Moshko Shmul. 384
Bilokoshen, Shmul Azrilevich 373
Binger, Lilly Rosen 562
Binman 473
Binter, Davis 559
Bir, Gerts 468
Bird, Pessie 606
Birent, Elizabeta Markovna 151
Birman, Shloyme 789
Birnbach, Harry 561
Birnberg, Nathan 562
Birnberg, Nechomo 562
Birshteyn, Sheyvakh Volkovich 366
Blacharz, Mordha 347
Black, Daniel 563
Black, Gussie 563
Black, Israel 559, 563
Black, Louis 563
Black, Minnie 563
Black, Rebecca 563
Black, Shlomo 563
Blank, Yankel Volfovich 366
Blat, San Yankelevich 373
Blatsis, Ios 352
Blaustein, Claire 560
Blaystein, Minnie 560
Blaystein, Morris 561
Blecher, Abroham 744
Blecher, Lou 606
Blecker, Bella 601
Blecker, L. 601
Blecker, Louis 603
Blecker, Mary 603
Bleikhman, Abrashko 472
Bleikhman, Benshika 472
Bleikhman, Duvid 472
Bleikhman, Mordko 107
Blekhman, Batya bat Yakov 506
Blekhman, Ezriel ben Yakov 506
Blekhman, Mekhlya bat Yakov 506
Blekhman, Rivka bat Yakov 506
Blekhman, Sima bat Zelig 506
Blekhman, Yakov 506
Blekhman, Yekhel Dov ben Yakov 506
Bleter, Rubin 641
Bleter, Taube 641
Bleter, Tsiril 642
Bleter, Tuba Ikhil. 385
Bleter, Yudel 642
Bletter, Bertha 562
Bletter, Esther 562
Bletter, Glady 561
Bletter, Gloria 612
Bletter, I. 562
Bletter, Nathan 562
Bletter, Robert 563
Bletter, Rubin 562
Bletter, Sydney 561
Bleyvas 399
Bleyvas family 411, 642
photograph 411
Bleyvas, Abraham 636
Bleyvas, Hershel 761
Bleyvas, Ios Mortkovich 395, 404, 467
Bleyvas, Itsek 751
Bleyvas, Itsko 404
Bleyvas, Kreina 639
photograph 640
Bleyvas, Leah 636, 761
Bleyvas, Mikhel 395
Bleyvas, Reizel 642
photograph 642
Bleyvas, Rivka 467
Bleyvas, Yakov 761
Bleyvas, Yankel 399
Bleyvas, Yitzkhak 636
Blifeld, Rukhlya Berk. 383
Blinder family 630
Blinder, Amnon 605
Blinder, Dovid 617, 623
photograph 617
Blinder, Iosef 605
Blinder, Shlomo 605
Blitman, David 566, 569
Blitman, Dora 566, 569
Blonder, Isidore 557
Blonder, Martha 557, 558
Bloomenfeld, Adelle 564

Bloomenfeld, Baila 564
Bloomenfeld, Joseph 564
Bluimin, Abramko 473
Blumenfeld, Benjamin 564
Blumenfeld, Frieda 564
Blumenfeld, Pauline 561
Blumenfeld, Pessya 563
Blumenfeld, Rachel 564
Blumenfeld, Yosef 563
Blumenfield, Fanny Waxman 549
Blumenfield, Max 549
Blumenfield, Rabbi Samuel M. 549-550
  photograph 549
Bobeck, Beckie 579
Bobeck, Esther 579
Bobeck, Isadore 577
Bobeck, Joseph 579
Bobes, Isaac 621
Bobick, Berl 590
Bobick, Hyman 584, 592
Bobick, Julius 585
Bobick, Mary 592
Bobick, Max 583, 585, 592
Bobick, Miriam 592
Bobick, Rebecca 592
Bobick, Samuel 585, 592
Bobick, Shirley 586
Bobick, Sidney 584, 585
Bobick, Vitty 586, 592
Bochkis, Aron 352
Bodnar, Liber Yankelevich 371
Bodnar, Zus 371
Bodner, Duvid Shmerelevich 373
Bodner, Leibish Eliavich 353
Bogen, Dr. Boris 541, 611, 612
Bogolunov, Mot 649
Bogomilniy, Peysakh Shmerel. 369, 384
Boida 358
Boker, Elya Berk. 385
Bokser, Itsko Shlemovich 369
Bokserboim, Leizor 179
Bokserboym, Khil 751
Bokserboym, Leyba 367
Bokserboym, M. K. 385
Boltman, Srul 129
Bonshtrom, Froim 179
Boonin, Harry 612
Boorstein, Frank 569
Boorstein, Israel 567
Boorstein, Nathan 564
Boorstein, Rachel 568
Boorstein, Sophie 564
Bor, Khana 179
Boraks, Lillian 598
Bordman, Bella 601
Bordman, Dora 603
Bordman, Sam 603
Bordman, Yoshua 601
Boris, Shuster 702
Borish, Sylvia 600
Borishkevich, G. 282
Bornstein, Nettie 598
Borokhovich, Abraska 356
Bortskhuk, Shlima 554
Bortskhuk, Yekheel 554
Boruchow, Manaszko 346
Boruchowicz, Herszko 350
Boruchowicz, Iewna 348
Boruchowicz, Iosyp 350
Boruchowicz, Szymon 346
Boruchowicz, Wol 350
Borukh the tavern-keeper 33
Borukh, Rabbi of Medzhibozh 73, 74, 75, 76-79, 81, 88, 121, 161, 168, 172, 243, 619, 727, 795
  disputes with R. Shneur Zalman of Liadi 76-79, 619
  grave in Medzhibozh 115, 795, 802
  halatl 727, 728
  with Hershel Ostropoler 79, 80-81, 82, 84
Borukhowicz, Nakhum 35
Boxer, Anna 563
Boxer, Isidor 563
Boyn, Ios Volf 352
Brailovsky, Leizer 397
Brakhan, Itskhak 597
Bran, Helene 558
Bran, Mary 557
Bran, Max 558
Brand, Volko 356
Brandman, M. 357
Brandman, Mordko Sanevich 369
Brandman, San Leibovich 353, 356
Brandman, Yetta 577
Branowitz, Harry 558
Branowitz, Max 557
Branowitz, Yetta 557, 558
Branzon, Avraham 624
Brasch, Sol 603
Braunstein, Ettie 592
Braunstein, Morris 582
Braverman, Leyba Berkovich 369
Breidbart, Sonya Trachtenberg xxi, xxiii, 234, 258, 279, 296, 299, 301, 377, 442, 608, 612, 779
  photograph xxi
Breiman, Abe 554
Brell, Morris 581
Breman, Dud 752
Breman, Gitlia 752
Breman, Shlema 752
Brener, Abrum 303, 787, 788, 789, 790
Brener, Itsik 787, 789, 790
Brenner, Leyzer 386
Bresler family 758
Bresler, Elizabeta Grigorbevna 151
Bresler, Moishe Shmuelevich 151
Bresler, Yankel 367
Breslofsky, Morris 569
Breslofsky, Rose 569
Breyman, Meylakh 367
Breytman, Ikhil Meylekhovich 367
Brezman family 763
Brezman, Feiga Moishevna 304
Brezman, Iokhiel Shimonov 373
Brezman, Khaika Moishevna 304
Brick, Clara 601
Brill, Beckie 603
Brill, Dora 601
Brill, M. 595
Brill, Minnie 557
Brill, Moishe Itzye 693, 760
Brill, Morris 557
Brill, Nathan 593
Brill, Philip 603
Brill, Pinya 605, 606
Brill, Samuel 593
Brill, Tessie 586, 593
Brill, William 586, 593
Brind, David 178
Brind, Itsko Ayzikovich 369
Brind, Moshko Ayzikovich 359, 364, 369, 385
Brind, Shmul Ayzikov 367
Brockdit, Khaim 751
Brodskii, Itska 356
Brodskiy Meer-Iuda 369
Brodsky, Israel 226
Brodsky, Joseph 579
Brodsky, Lazar 226
Brodsky, Leon 226
Brodsky, Marion 557
Brodsky, Martin 557
Brodsky, Moshko 397
Brodsky, S. I. 201
Brodsky, Sonia 579
Broenshtrom, Ios 372
Broido, M.Sh. 357
Broitman 179
Broitman, Leibish 107
Broitman, Pinkhas ben Shmuel 507
Broitman, Srul 108
Broizman, Gdal 472
Brondin, M. 751
Brondzikh, Khaim 372
Bronfman, Munya Khaim. 382
Bronkman, Khaim 170
Bronolan, Khaim Kelmanov 130
Bronshteyn, Ester Kelman. 385
Bronshteyn, Gdal Mendelevich 364
Bronshteyn, Gershko Moshkovich 373
Bronshteyn, Itsko Ayzikovich 372
Bronshteyn, Khanokh Henikh 474
Bronshteyn, Leyser 690, 750, 760
Bronshteyn, Mendel Ovshievich 371, 381, 382
Bronshteyn, Mendel-Moyshe 372
Bronshteyn, Moshko 473
Bronshteyn, Simkha 687, 750, 760
Bronshteyn, Yoisef 760
Bronstein, Adam xxiii, 587
Bronstein, Harry 587
Bronstein, Mariam 642
Brooks, Anna 595
Brotskiy, Nakhman Leybovich 377
Brown, Beckie 598
Brown, F. 570
Brown, Isidore 598
Brownstein 570
Brownstein, Benjamin 554
Brownstein, Hyman 582
Brownstein, Isaac 600
Brownstein, Ruth 579
Brownstein, Sarah 554
Broyda, Aron Meerovich 371
Broytman, Abrashko 178
Broytman, Leizar 178
Broytman, Leyba Srulevich 364
Broytman, Srul Abramovich 364
Broytman, Zeyda 364
Bruda, Aron 197
Bruman, Abram 649
Brun, Aron-Yankel Yankelevich 362, 366
Bruslofsky, Morris 566
Bruslofsky, Paula 566
Brussilov, General Aleksei Alekseevich 442, 446
Brustein, Isidore 565
Brutman, Shaya 649
Buber, Martin 102
Buchalter, Dr. Hyman 605, 606
Buchalter, Esther 603
Buchalter, Gitel 606
Buchalter, Gussie 601
Buchalter, Morris 601, 603
Buchalter, Moshe 605
Buchalter, Nathan 601
Buchalter, Sam 606
Buchalter, Samuel 603
Buchalter, Samuel D. 603
Buchalter, Zena 603
Buchalter, Zena Rose 603
Budko, Daniel 348
Budman, Harry 600
Budman, Susan 600
Budnik, Khaim 372
Bufty, Al 570
Bufty, Harry 570
Bugash, Adel 570
Bugash, Hyman 566, 567, 569, 570, 575
Bugash, Ida 566, 569, 570
Bukhbander, Mortko 351
Bukhbinder, Leyb Mendelevich 367
Bukher, Nukhim 352
Bukis, Mordkhe 183
Bun 346
Bunam, Rabbi Simchah of Pshis'cha 72
Burakovski, Nusin 170
Burd, Asher 597
Burd, Harry 598
Burd, Sarah 598
Burdman, Rosa 752
Burdman, Sura 752
Burdman, Zyda Nesanelevich 373
Burman, Froim 467
Burman, Froim Abramovich 367
Burman, Gershko 467
Burman, Lenya 753
Burman, Mortko Leiba 467
Burman, Moshko Mortkovich 467
Burnstein, Gertrude 566
Burnstein, Sam 566
Burshteyn 151
Burshteyn, Bronya 650
Burshteyn, Ete 757
Burshteyn, Eyser 570
Burshteyn, Feyga Aron. 378
Burshteyn, Froim 367, 673, 757, 783, 785
  photograph 758, 783
Burshteyn, Grisha 788
Burshteyn, Ios. 378

Burshteyn, Khasia 757
photograph 758
Burshteyn, Khava 650
Burshteyn, Khaya Tuba 761
Burshteyn, Leiva 761
Burshteyn, M. 378
Burshteyn, Maria 672
Burshteyn, Marik 758
Burshteyn, Minya 789
Burshteyn, Mirtsya 379
Burshteyn, Mordekhai 650
Burshteyn, Mordko Ios. 378
Burshteyn, Moshko 107
Burshteyn, Moshko Mordokovich 367, 379
Burshteyn, Mot 367
Burshteyn, Mutty 673
Burshteyn, Nakhman 303
Burshteyn, Peysakh Itskovich 367
Burshteyn, Rabbi Nusim ben Hersh of Letichev 105, 129
Burshteyn, Rabbi Nusin ben Hersh of Letichev 438
Burshteyn, Rabbi Samuil of Letichev 108
Burshteyn, Simyon 787
Burshteyn, Sonya 672
Burshteyn, Srul 352, 758
Burshteyn, Srul Volkovich 367
Burshteyn, Tsilya 758
Burshteyn, Yank. Volk. 378
Burshteyn, Yosef Matyevich 650
Burstein 570
Burstein, Chaia 560
Burstein, I. 570
Burstein, Isor 570
Burstein, Israel 566
Burstein, Morris 561
Burstein, Nakhum 563
Burstein, Samuel 570
Burstuck, Chia Sura 593
Burstuck, Harris 593
Butler 568
Butler, Abraham 582
Butler, Morris 570, 579
Butler, Rachel 582
Butler, Sarah 579
Butman, Harry 597
Byalo, Leyb 751
Byalo, Yankel 751
Bykova, Pesia Iankeliova 353

C

Cahan, Abe 544
Cahan, Lewis 237, 278, 279
Cahn, Sam 580
Calchinsky, Louis 579
Calin, Esther 558
Calin, Isaac 557, 611
Calin, Morris 557, 558
Cantor, Itsik 141, 142, 144
Cantor, Rabbi Bernard 640-641
photograph 641
Carp, Jacob 588
Celniker, Leo xxiii, 287, 314, 315, 445
Cerulik 347
Cerulik, Moszko 346
Chaban, Galina 657, 775, 814
Chachka, Itsko Shovelevich 376
Chachka, Zeylik Itskovich 376
Chadorov, Simkha 642
Chadorow, C. 562
Chadorow, Nathan 562
Chadorow, Sadie 563
Chadorow, Sam 563
Chadorow, Sonia 562
Chadorun, Anna 563
Chadrav, Abraham 761
Chaers, A. 570
Chaes, Abraham 579
Chaes, Morris 588
Chaess, A. 570
Chaiken, H. 570
Chaimowicz, Moszko 350
Chais, Dora 579
Chalodof, Mary 595
Chapin, David xxi, xxii, xxiii, 7, 12, 41, 43, 107, 115, 127, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 167, 169, 172, 202, 208, 210, 213, 228, 237, 330, 338, 390, 481, 483, 507, 525, 611, 612, 615, 661, 679, 748, 754, 766, 768, 773, 784, 786, 787, 790
photograph xx
trip to Letichev District 799-803
Chapin, Pauline Zimmerman xxiii, 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 224, 228, 279, 314, 389, 415, 446, 521, 526, 611, 655, 814
Chapter, R. 562
Chaplick, M. 562
Charnis 399
Charnis, Gershko 352
Charnis, Ios 352
Charnis, Itsko 373
Charnis, Shika 787, 815
Charnus, Srul 352
Charytan, Leybka 347
Charyton, Marko 348
Chasanov, Hyman 600
Chasanov, Katie 600
Chase, Ida 582
Chaskelson, Rose 586
Chawczyn, Leybka 348
Chayczyn, Peysach 349
Chayesh, Anatoliy Ilyich xxiii, 123, 124, 146, 170, 171, 206, 207, 208, 390, 416
Chelson, Dr. Borris I. 570
Cherkasskiy, Ovsy Froimovich 369, 378, 380
Cherney, S. 562
Cherniy, Fishel Mordkovich 376
Cherniy, Moshko Mordkovich 376
Cherniy, Rafail Abramovich 152
Chernoff, Blima 596
Chernoff, Israel 596
Chernoff, Zhenie 795
Cherry 568
Cherry, Isadore 568
Cherry, J. 570
Cherry, Jacob 568
Cherry, Lillian 568
Cherry, Mary Mayerowitz 566
Cherry, Max 570
Cherry, Nathan 566, 570
Cherry, Sarah 568
Chervinsky, Morris 579
Chervonenkiy, Ios Leybovich 369
Chervonenkiy, Ushuya 758
Cheskelson, Louis 588
Chester, Dora 655
Chicherman, Moshko 473
Chigerman 473
Chik, Udko 179
Chius, Rose 581
Chodorow, Annie 564
Chodrow, Nathan 565
Chornaya, Feiga 467
Chovnik, Srul 352
Chustek, Ida 589
Chustek, Louis 584, 585, 589
Chustek, Philip 584
Chustek, Samuel 584
Coff, Abraham 564
Coff, Menucha 564
Cohen 570
Cohen, Abraham 582
Cohen, Ben 579
Cohen, Dora 582
Cohen, Elise 582
Cohen, Frank 566, 570, 575
Cohen, Frieda 560
Cohen, Gussie 593
Cohen, Hyman 570
Cohen, Ida 554
Cohen, Isidore 554
Cohen, Jack 597
Cohen, Jacob 598, 603
Cohen, Louis 564, 579, 582
Cohen, Louis P. 591
Cohen, Louise 581
Cohen, M. 586
Cohen, Mary 566, 593
Cohen, Max 590, 593
Cohen, Meryl 598
Cohen, Meyer 554
Cohen, Mildred 582
Cohen, Minnie 581, 598
Cohen, Mollie 554, 589
Cohen, Molly 593
Cohen, Monroe 581
Cohen, Morris 586, 589
Cohen, Myer 570
Cohen, Nathan 598
Cohen, Nettie 564
Cohen, Pinchus 590
Cohen, R. 570
Cohen, Rachel 593
Cohen, Ray 554
Cohen, Rivka Rachel 564
Cohen, Rose 579, 590
Cohen, S. 570
Cohen, Sadie 590
Cohen, Samuel 560, 581, 587
Cohen, Sarah 589
Cohen, Yetta 579
Cohen, Zelig 554
Cohen, Ziesel 554
Cohn, Annie 593
Cohn, Max 593
Cohn, Morris 593
Cohn, Rone 593
Collin, Joseph 557, 558
Collin, Sarah 558
Cooperman 571
Cooperman, Morris 569
Cooperman, Rose 569
Coopersmith, Al 571
Coopersmith, Jack 579
Coopersmith, Nellie 579
Corn, Barukh 596
Corn, Rebecca 596
Crass, Harry 571
Cutler 571
Cutler, Celia 569
Cypres, Beckie 554
Cypres, Beila 554
Cypres, Eta 641
Cypres, Sam 554
Cyrulik, Iankiel 346
Czarneyki, Boruch 449
Czarny, Baruch 119
Czarny, Herszko 349

D

Daen, Ikhil Volk. 382
Dankowicz, Szmoilo 19
Dantsek, I.. 357
Dantsen, D. 199, 203, 235
Dantsig, Khaim Moshko. 363
Dantsig, Luzer Shimshon. 370, 384
Darezensky, Nyszko 449
Darivoff, Irvin xxiii, 432
Darman, Sam 605, 606
David, Rabbi of Tulna 93
David, Rabbi, the Maggid of Tulchin 57
Davidko the dealer 33
Davidovitz, Pamela 605
Davidowicz, Iuzef 449
Davidowitz 606
Davis, David 592
Davis, Estelle 586
Davis, Fanny 592
Davis, Frank 585
Davis, Lena 589, 593
Davis, Nathan 589, 592
Davis, Randy xxiii, 370
Dawid from Orinin 18
Daychekh, Borukh 352
Dayen, Harry 571
Dechtereva, Luba 606
Deckerman, Bertha 601
Dedov, Daniel 595
Dedov, Harry 595
Dedov, Ida 595
Dekhtyar, Beyla Khaim. 385
Dekhtyarev, Khuna Abr. 383
Dellon, Alex 598
Dellon, Fannie 598
Dellon, Sarah 598
Derborindiker, S. 751
Derekhvorf, Duvid 432

Derevicher, Nakhman Zeylikovi ch. 362, 364, 365, 385
Derevitskiy, El Oyzerovich 365
Derevitsky 649
Derevsky, Beryl 563
Derewicki, Majorko 349
Derezanski, Icsko Rzeznik 349
Derezenski, Hirsz 449
Desatnick, Sarah 595
Desiatskiy, Itsek 351
Deutsch, Rebecca 589
Deych, Genrich 170, 416
Deyneka, Herszko 346
Diamant, Malka Gershk. 359, 363, 384
Diamond, Anita 603
Diamond, Celia 588
Diamond, Harry 586, 592, 603, 606
Diamond, Ida 592
Diamond, Lena 589
Diamond, Lorraine 582
Diamond, Morris 588, 592
Diamond, Pincus 588
Diamond, S. 586
Diamond, Slove 592
Diamondstone, Herman 577
Dib, Matus 352
Dichter, Anna 600
Dicker, Ethel 557, 558
Dicker, Irving 557, 558
Dickman, Nashy 593
Dickman, Nassie 589
Dickman, Nathan 589, 593
Dickman, Wulf 593
Dickter, M. 599
Dikler, Leyba-Avrum Ayzikovich 367
Dikshteyn, Aron Khaim. 372, 382
Dilman, Lidiya Efimovna 152
Dilman, Shalom 563
Dimanshteyn 751
Dimanshteyn, Itsek 751
Dimelson, Khone 751
Diment 399
Diment, Borukh 407
Diment, Feige 762
Diment, Ios 404, 480
Diment, Itsko 397
Diment, Moshko 404, 480
Diment, Nakhum 762
Diment, Yosef 762
Diment, Zus Aronovich 374
Diminshteyn, Ikhil Itskovich 367
Dinas, Alter 352
Diner, Keila Motovna 304
Diner, Zlata Motovna 304
Dinesman, Ann 557
Dinesman, Dora 558
Dinesman, Michael 557, 558
Dinesman, Minnie 557
Dinets, Moshko 380
Dinets, Zelman Simkhovich 362, 379
Dinetz, Nessie 554
Dinisman 399
Dinisman family 410
Dinisman, Berko 397
Dinisman, Elya 404
Dinisman, Itsik 762
Dinisman, Michael 611
Dinisman, Mordko 404, 480
Dinisman, Moshe 636
Dinitz, Abraham 597, 598
Dinitz, Dinah Shulman 181, 208
Dinitz, Israel 598
Dinitz, Lena 598
Dinitz, Meyer 598
Dinitz, Pauline 598
Dinitz, William 598
Dinowitz, H. 562
Dishel, Louis 582
Dobrovolski, Zakharii 470
Dobtsis, Ikhil 366
Dobtsis, Yodko Shmulevich 372
Doctor, David Zeylikov 130
Dodek, Khaya 379
Dodik, Moshko 367
Dolgov, Iontel Srul. 381
Dolobofsky, Joe 554
Doner, Rukhlya Khaim. 379
Dorbarminiker, Leyka 370
Dorfman, Baron 603
Dorfman, Dora 603
Dorfman, Esther 564
Dorfman, Gertrude 561
Dorfman, Joseph 603
Dorfman, Leiba Meerovich 467
Dorfman, Mendel Shlemovich 376
Dorfman, Nathan 564
Dorfman, William 561
Dorman, Fanya Solomonovna 152
Dov Baer, Rabbi of Olianow 73
Dov Ber, Rabbi. See *Maggid of Mezerich*
Draizen, Eli 554
Draizen, Louis 554
Drakhler, Mot Gertsovich 376
Draz, Moshe 563
Dreisen, Dora 554
Dreishpel, Fishel 472
Dreizen, Hyman 582, 593, 594, 653
Dreizen, Mary 582
Drell, Anna 582
Drell, Zelig 582
Drill, Clara 582
Drill, Max 582
Drosvit, Shimon Senderovich 370
Drozhner, Mordekhai 621
Drozner, Baron 603
Drucker, Harry 571
Drucker, Ida 586
Drucker, Nathan 601
Drucker, Nukhim 601
Drucker, Rebecca 601
Druker, Ida 593
Druker, Lina 593
Druker, Morris 593
Dubienski, Manaszko 118
Dubiler, Icko 346
Dubin, David 579
Dubin, Fruma 582
Dubin, Rose 579
Dubin, Simon 582
Dubitski, L. 488
Dubitzky, Rebecca 593
Dubnow, Simon 39, 40, 116, 117, 118, 209, 415, 444, 479, 480, 521
Dubowy, Szmuylo 349
Duchowny, Falk 347
Dudick, Morris 598
Dudick, Moshe 597
Dudick, Pearl 598
Duka, Noyl 751
Dukach, Moshko Luzerovich 374
Dukach, Shloyma 751
Dukach, Shome 751
Dukhovnay, Khava 752
Dukhovnaya, Dvoyra 753
Dukhovnaya, Estra 753
Dukhovnaya, Fania 753
Dukhovnaya, Genya 753
Dukhovnaya, Khaya 753
Dukhovnaya, Manya 753
Dukhovnaya, Sanya 753
Dukhovnaya, Sura 753
Dukhovnaya, Volko 753
Dukhovnaya, Zina 753
Dukhovniy, Izrail 732
Dukhovny, Boris 752
Dukhovny, Iser 752
Dukhovny, Sema 753
Dukhovshiy, Khaim Mordkovich 374
Dukhterov, Khuna Srul-Avrumovich 374
Duvidovich, Duvid Gershkovich 374
Duvidovich, Itsko Kopelevich 374
Duvidovich, Kopel Duvidovich 374
Duvidovich, Nukhim Duvidovich 366
Duwidowicz, Borukh 35
Dvorkin, I. 164
Dyenson, Esther Rifka 588
Dyenson, Jechiel 589, 593
Dyenson, Joseph 577
Dyenson, Samuel 593
Dymshits, Valery xxiii, 117, 133, 134, 139, 143, 149, 171, 318, 319, 320, 329, 355, 462, 712, 768
Dyszel, Pearl 581
Dziegciarz, Moszko 350
Dziubin, Herszko 346

E

Easter, Abe 566, 569
Easter, Nancy 569
Eckman, M. 599
Edel. See *Udel*
Edelman, Harry 566
Edelman, Kalman Khayka 761
Edelstein, Pauline 579
Edelstein, Philip 579
Edlin, William 580
Efraim of Medzhibozh 18, 20
Efraim the Jew of Medzhibozh 318
Efruil, Froim 178
Efrus, Froim 351
Efus, Gersh 750
Ehrenburg, Ilya 684, 767
Eidelman, Anya 303
Eidelman, Leib 473
Eidelman, Maier Srulevich 472
Eidelman, Meir 649
Eidelman, Mendel Leizorovich 472
Eidelman, Mendel Srulevich 472
Eidelman, Srul 472
Eifus, Khil 751
Einbinder, Ida 601
Einbinder, Joseph 596
Einbinder, Louis 601
Einhorn, Moishe 674, 685, 689, 693, 754, 759, 765, 767
Einhorn, Rachel 686, 688, 760
Einhorn, Shloime Tepper 686, 760
Eisen, Charles 588
Eisen, Gerald 586
Eisen, Marvin 586
Eisen, Pearl 586
Eisenberg, D. 600
Eisenberg, Louis 571
Eisenberg, Max 577
Eisenberg, Sophie 579
Eisengart, Jennie 582
Eivin 511, 681
Eizengort, Aron 472
Eizengort, Srul Shlomo 472
Ekht, G. 357
Ekht, Gershko Manevich 363, 364, 366
Eksman, Moshko 473
Ekster, Tsvi 518
El the carpenter 33
Elazar, Rabbi of Brody 117
Elbirt, Meer 369
Eliach, Yaffa 727, 770
Elimelech, Rabbi of Lishensk 72, 88, 93
Eller, Bessie 596
Ellman, Bessie 562
Elman, Nuta 369
Elowicz, Michel 449
Elphand, Gertrude 586
Elphand, Louis 585, 591
Elson, Benjamin 564
Elson, Dora 560
Elzon 358
Elzon, Porkel Iudkovich 353
Emden, Miriam 113, 114
Emden, Rabbi Jacob 110
Endziman, Khaim 352
Enochowicz, Dawidko 346
Enochowicz, Srol 346
Entelis, Srul 371, 385
Epel, Ios Moshkovich 376
Epelboim, Volko Moshkovich 479
Epelboym, Ios 397
Epelboym, Moshko 397
Epelboym, Ovishia 480
Epelboym, Rabbi Yankel 416
Epelboym, Volko 404
Epelfeld, Etel 750
Epelfeld, Tsipa 789
Epshteyn, Motl 751
Epstein, Benny 592
Epstein, Morris 586, 592
Epstein, Rose 592
Erikhman, Itsik 758

Erikhman, Khava 758
Erivman, Harry 566, 568
Erivman, I. 571
Erivman, Israel 566, 568
Erivman, Sarah 566, 568
Erlichman 681
Esterman, Gitel 761
Esterman, Isidore 581
Esterman, Khana 761
Esterman, Ray 581
Estis, Srul Volkovich 377
Estrin, Yank. Isr. 359
Etelboym, Rabbi Yankel ben Moses of Staro Zakrevsky Meidan 106
Etkes, Immanuel 65, 70, 119
Etkin, Feiga Aronovna 305
Etsey, Yankel 351
Ettensohn, Sarah 579
Ettenson, Jacob 582
Ettinger, Shmuel 22, 38, 70, 119
Eydelman, Anyota 788
Eydelman, Kelman Moshkovich 371
Eydelman, Khayka 751
Eydelman, Srul Zusevich 376
Eydelshteyn, Ester 383
Eydison, Moshko Mendelevich 376
Eyger, Shlema 366
Eykerman, Eilya Moshk. 381
Eyvin, Kreyn 759
Eyzelman, Volko Itkovich 377

F

Faber, Yetta 593
Fabricant, Abe 571
Fadell, Mary 579
Faden, Fannie 593
Fader, H. 557
Faerman, Khana Iovel. 383
Faerman, Leybish Moshkovich 375
Faerman, Moshko Iovel. 383
Faerman, Yankel Moshkovich 375
Faershteyn, Aron Mordkovich 375
Faershteyn, Duvid Mordkovich 375
Fagan, Samuel 571
Fahnrich, Adolph 554
Fahnrich, Hannah 554
Faibishovich, Itsko 356
Fainman, Bunya Shlemovna 305
Fainshtein, B. 515
Fainshtein, Gersh Volf 410
Fainshtein, Reuven 464
Fainshteyn, Moshko 404, 407
Faisy the weights man 95
Falcoff, Rebecca 595
Falcoff, Samuel 595
Falikovich, Fira Isaakovna 153
Falikovich, Moshko 373
Falk, Rabbi 105
Falyk, Khaim Leybovich 466
Falyk, Liba 467
Fani, Mania 742
Fani, Moshe 742
Farber, Bertha 564
Farber, Bessie 569
Farber, Frank 567, 569
Farber, Froyka 571
Farber, Hyman 566, 571
Farber, Ios 369
Farber, Israel 566
Farber, Jack 564
Farber, Meer Duvidovich 369
Farber, Meier 108
Farber, Mordko Iosevich 369
Faser, Feiga 763
Faser, Moti 763
Faser, Yitskhak 763
Fasman, Itsko Moshkovich 375
Fasman, Kh. B. 151
Fasman, Shlioma 369
Fastlich, Moe 581
Fastlich, Sadye 581
Fatelis, Khaim Vigdorovich 371
Fateliv, Iosif 751
Fauzer, Liza 593
Fauzer, Nathan 593
Faver, Ikhil Alterovich 375
Faybishowicz, Kopel 35
Faygenblat, Shaya 751
Faygenblat, Shmil 751
Fayn, Aron 751
Fayn, Sh. 357
Faynblat 358
Fayngold, Leyb 751
Faynman, Moshko Gershkovich 375
Faynman, Simkha Shlemovich 375
Faynshteyn, Duvid 373
Faynshteyn, Mikhel Shulimovich 366, 382
Faynshteyn, Sema 789
Faynshteyn, Shmul 366
Fede, Benny 630
Feder, Esther 598
Feder, Itskhak 630
Federman, Aizi 606
Federman, Irving 596, 606
Federman, Itsi 606
Federman, Kitty 596
Feferman, Benny 605
Fefiruint, Eyetil Meir 178
Feiga, granddaughter of Besht 73, 161, 162, 243
Feiler, Pearl 591
Feinberg, A. 562
Feinberg, Anna 562
Feinerman, Elias 554
Feinerman, Keile 554
Feinerman, Rebecca 554
Feingold, Abraham 761
Feingold, Fishel 594
Feingold, Israel 761
Feinstein, I. Jack 571
Feinstein, Nasse 589
Felberin, Yehoshua 637
Feld, Becky Fox 564
Feld, Celia 606
Feld, Moshe Leib 563
Feldberg 399
Feldberg family xxiii
Feldberg, Abraham 563, 564
Feldberg, Bella 564
Feldberg, Eliahu 611
Feldberg, Feige 611
Feldberg, Louis 561, 564
Feldberg, Rachel 564
Feldberg, Tsiril 398, 497
photograph 398
Feldberg, Yehoshua 637
Feldbum, Tsvi 180
Feldman, Celia 554
Feldman, David 554, 605
Feldman, Dovid 630
Feldman, Dr. B. 571
Feldman, Dvora 632
Feldman, Harry 558
Feldman, Ikhel Moshkovich 375
Feldman, Jacob 554
Feldman, Jean 596
Feldman, Lena 596
Feldman, Marik xxiii, 416
Feldman, Mary 554
Feldman, Max 596
Feldman, Moshe-Yitskhak 180
Feldman, Murray 557
Feldman, Nathan 554, 557
Feldman, Perl 605
Feldman, Sam 557
Feldman, Shmul 352
Feldman, Sophie 596
Feldman, Yehuda Leib 554
Feldshteyn, Mordko 369
Feldshteyn, Motel Moshk. 378
Feler, Shmil 351
Felgendler, Mortko 352
Felgendler, Ruvin 352
Fell, Anna 564
Feller, David 586, 591
Feller, Isidore 585
Feller, Lena 591
Feller, Mary 591
Feller, Ozer 591
Feller, Sadie Chaya 591
Felman, Ios Srulevich 375
Felman, Itsko Iosev. 383
Ferber, Berk 351
Ferman, Basia 753
Ferman, Duvid Ruvinovich 375
Ferman, Idel Itsil 305
Ferman, Ios Nusinov 305
Ferman, Ita 753
Feter, Itsek-Aron Abramovich 375
Feyderman, Khaim Yankelevich 375
Feynshteyn 399
Feynshteyn, Ios 397
Feynshteyn, Khaim 397
Feynshteyn, Reuven 397
Fierman, Pessie 630
Fierstein, Charles 554
Fies, Shmarka 437
Figilczyn, Majorko 349
Figlarz, Abramko 350
Fikeman, Mikhel 351
Fikh, N. M. 201
Fiks, Berk 352
Fiks, David 752
Fiks, El 371
Fiks, Gersh 397
Fiks, Ios Beyrishovich 371
Fiks, Leyba 352
Fiks, Moshko 480
Fiks, Volko 479
Fiks, Zelman Geynikovich 377
Filer, Srul 369
Filtershteyn, Khaim Moshk. 380
Fine, Jennie 595
Fine, Kalman 595
Fine, Lee 566, 570
Finegold, Esther 595
Finegold, Samuel 595
Fineman, Abraham 563
Finger, Moshko Leyb. 366, 382
Fink, Irving 601
Finkel, Ikhel Moshkovich 377
Finkel, Lyove 740
Finkel, Pinkas Moshkovich 377
Finkel, Srul 397
Finkelman, Duvid 366
Finkelshteyn 358, 378
Finkelshteyn, Moshko Sruliovich 353
Finkelshteyn, Shifra Zeyd. 359
Finkelshteyn, Shimshon 621
Finkelshteyn, Shimshon Srulevich 362, 363, 365, 379
Finkelstein, Ida 560
Finkelstein, Isaac 554
Finkelstein, Judith 564
Finkelstein, Julius 562
Finkelstein, M. 562
Finkelstein, Rebecca 562
Finkelstein, William 596
Firestein, Bertha 554
Fisch, Benjamin 591
Fisch, Mildred 591
Fischman, Asher xxiii, 170, 208, 209, 314, 445, 446, 480, 523, 524, 791
Fises, Shmuel 641
Fisgayer, C. 562
Fisgayer, M. 562
Fisgeer, Yankel Aronovich 369
Fishbein, Chaim 597
Fishbein, Clara 598
Fishbein, Isidore 598
Fishbein, Izzy 597
Fishbein, Joseph 557
Fishbein, Pauline 554
Fishbein, Thelma 598
Fishberg, Max 571
Fishbeyn, Nuta Fishel. 381
Fishboyn, Shimon 352
Fishel, Iankel 356
Fisher, Dave 606
Fisher, Fannie 601
Fishgal, Alter 352
Fishman, Asher 389
Fishman, Celia 563
Fishman, Dorothy 566
Fishman, Dosha 571
Fishman, Dr. Moshe Mikhailovich 109, 180, 181, 195
Fishman, Duvid Mordkovich 375
Fishman, Elya 384

Fishman, Enya 363
Fishman, Esther 596
Fishman, Ida 596
Fishman, Ios 384
Fishman, Ios Usherov 363, 371
Fishman, J. 562
Fishman, Jay 566
Fishman, Joseph 566
Fishman, Leah 569
Fishman, Leyah 566
Fishman, Louis 596
Fishman, M. 571
Fishman, Mois. Mikh. 384
Fishman, Murray 596
Fishman, Neil 561
Fishman, Rachel 596
Fishman, Samuel 567, 569, 571
Fishman, Saul 571
Fishman, Shevel 369
Fishman, Shlomo 473
Fishman, Shmul-Duvid 369
Fishman, Umer Azr. 359
Fishtroms 611
Fixman, Leiba 437
Fladell, Frank 579
Fladell, Jack 579
Fladell, Lillian 581
Flam, Sydelle 596
Flaum, Beverly 564
Flax, Jacob 603
Flayman, David 650
Flayman, Hita 650
Flayman, Khava 650
Fleet, Rebecca 595
Fleisher, Harry 571
Fleishman 571
Fleishman, Mordko 472
Fleishman, Shulim 471, 473
Fleyderman, Idal 352
Fleysh, Toviy 365
Fleysher 152
Fleyshman, Rivka 732
Flidman, Dovid 630
Flidman, Perl 630
Fligman, Avraham 606
Fligman, Bella 603
Fligman, David 603, 606
Fliman, Ovshiya-Geshel Aronovich 375
Flit, Deya Aizik. 378
Flit, Ruvin Avrumovich 365
Flomen, Malke 586
Flomen, Nathan 588
Flomenfeld, Khana Pesakh. 378
Flomenfeld, Pinkas Zelmanovich 369
Flomin, Khaim 753
Fogel, Bertsi 652
Fogel, Hymie 611
Fogel, Jacob 762
Fogel, Mikhla 652
Fogel, Moshe 311
Fogel, Shaindel 762
Fogel, Zushe 762
Foglia, Dinah xxiii, 519, 534, 559
Folkes. See *Purkes*
Forman, Chaym 349
Forman, Dina 601
Forman, Leylik 349
Forman, Louis 582
Forman, Mendel 347
Forman, Mychel 349
Forman, Pincus 603
Forman, Rebecca 581
Forshtetman, Frieda 472
Forshtetman, Oizer 472
Fortis, Dr. Mojzesz 179
Fox, Anna 566, 569
Fox, Bala 569
Fox, Bertha 566, 569
Fox, David 603
Fox, Ethel 554
Fox, Fannie 554
Fox, Harry 564, 588
Fox, J. 585
Fox, Jacob 554
Fox, Julius 592
Fox, Khaika 761
Fox, Max 554, 566, 569
Fox, Morris 569
Fox, Rebecca 566, 569
Fox, Rosa 554
Fox, Sadie 564
Fox, Samuel 566, 569
Fox, Sonia 603
Fox, Victor 566, 569
Fox, Yetta 592
Fox, Zeidel 567, 571
Foygelman, Khaim 732, 743
Foygelman, Leva 732
Foygelman, Misha 732
Foygelman, Sholom 637
Foygelman, Zyama 732
Foygelson, Khaim 752
Foykelman, Sheva Abramovich 743
Fradis, Yitskhok 518
Francuz, Iankiel 347
Francuz, Ilia 348
Frank, Jacob 48-50, 116
  portrait 49
Frayman, Berko Shlemovich 373
Frayman, Edya Mordk. 381
Frayman, Naftula Itsk. 379
Freid, Solomon 208
Freides, Itskhak 621
Freifeld, Max 601
Freifeld, Menakhem 728
Freifelder, Dr. J. 571
Frekhtman 473
Frenkel 812
Frenkel, Aharon 630
Frenkel, Anya Aronovna 306
Frenkel, Aron Ioynovich 375
Frenkel, Dora Aronovna 305
Frenkel, Duv. Ioyn. 387
Frenkel, Geinikh Aronovna 306
Frenkel, Hanoch 605
Frenkel, Ioyna Moshkovich 377
Frenkel, Khaika 630
Frenkel, Max 606
Frenkel, Natanel 605
Frenkel, Natanial 627
Frenkel, Shoel 563
Frenkel, Srul Shaevich 373, 382
Frenkel, Yasha 303, 789
Frenkel, Yitskhak 605, 627, 630
Freydzon, Fima 789
Freydzon, Roza 789
Freydzon, Simyon 788
Freydzon, Yankel Itskovich 373
Fridelman, Abramko 472
Fridman, Duvid 369
Fridman, Ios Abr. 373, 382
Fridman, Ioyna Fridelevich 375
Fridman, Mikhel 373
Fridman, Moshko Duvidov 366
Fridman, Moyshe 788
Fridman, Shlioma 373
Friedlander, Prof. Israel 640-641
  photograph 641
Friedman 787, 790
Friedman rabbinical family 72, 87, 89, 104
Friedman, Benjamin 579
Friedman, Bernice 554
Friedman, Harry 582
Friedman, Ida 582
Friedman, Nathan 554
Friedman, Rabbi Abraham Jacob of Sadgora 89, 90
Friedman, Rabbi Isaac of Bubosh 93
Friedman, Rabbi Israel of Ruzhin 104, 471, 472, 473, 482
Friedman, Rabbi Sholoma Khaim of Sadgora 92
Friedman, Sam 571
Friedman, Samuel 571
Friedman, Shmuel 623, 624
Friedzon, Shmil 303
Frinkel, Mikhel 351
Frizon, Itsko Naftulovich 373
Froiman, El Moshkov 305
Froimowicz, Leyzor 350
Froimowicz, Szaja 346, 449
Froimowicz, Szlomka 350
Froimowicz, Wol 348
Froyman, Naftula Itskovich 369
Froyman, Shmul Azrilevich 375
Froynovich, R. Simkha 152
Fuchs, David 601, 606
Fuchs, Frank 588
Fuchs, Joe 601
Fuchs, Julius 589
Fuchs, Shapsie 590
Fuchs, Shifra 588
Fuchsman, Esther 603
Fuchsman, Philip 603
Fuczensk, Leybka 346
Fudim, Boris 761
Fudim, Borukh Moshk. 382
Fudim, Etya 761
Fudim, Frieda 761
Fudim, Gershka 437
Fudim, Kharna 761
Fudim, Leib 761
Fudim, Zhenya 761
Fudim, Zina 761
Fudish, Berko 373
Fudish, Moshko Abovich 373
Fuk, Moshko Iosevich 365
Fukelman 740, 752
Fukelman, Aizik 743
Fukelman, Ikhel Shlem. 383
Fukelman, Moshe 743, 752, 764
Fukelman, Sema 752
Fukelman, Sonia 752
Fukelman, Sura Ar. 364, 382
Fukhs, Dovid 296, 315, 626, 630, 631
Fuks, El Leyzorovich 375
Fuks, Froim Leyzorovich 375
Fuks, Gersh 732
Fuks, Gershko Leyzorovich 375
Fuks, Ioyzen Meerovich 375
Fuks, Khaskel 404, 479
Fuks, Kiva 107
Fuks, M. 385
Fuks, Malka Shimon. 385
Fuks, Moshko Ios. 378
Fuks, Risya 732
Fuks, Rivka Mordk. 379
Fuks, Shmil 732
Fuks, Velvel 399
Fuks, Yankel Leyzorovich 375
Fuks, Yekhezkal 637
Fuks, Zelman 369
Furkes. See *Purkes*
Furks, Leib 208
Furman 600
Furman, Basia 763
Furman, Jacob 554
Furman, Leiba 466
Furman, Lillian 554
Furman, Yetta 564
Furst, Beatrice xxii, 112, 114, 124, 132, 329, 632, 634
  photograph 112
Furst, Moshe 114, 157, 167, 633

G

Gaba, Ikhel Leybovich 369, 385
Gabai, Berka 437
Gabay, Dr. Girsh 621
Gabay, Dr. Solomon 180, 618
Gabay, Dr. Tsvi 621
Gabay, Genrikh 208
Gabay, Gersh Shlemovich 367
Gabay, Grig. Sol. 378
Gabay, Leyba 348
Gabin, Fannie 581
Gabin, Nathan 582
Gadshmit, Naftula 351
Gaikhberg, Berko 356
Gak, Moshe 386
Galaganow, Dawidko 348
Galarsky 399
Galay, Duv. Leyb. 364, 382
Galay, Pesya 363
Galay, Tsesya Meshulim. 381
Galbershtut, Khaim Gersh. 384
Galer 681
Galer, Abrasha 759
Galer, Atya 758

Galer, Eosif 758
Galer, Ete 719
Galer, Genya 726
Galer, Luba 719
Galer, Mania 712
Galer, Mordko Mordkovich 367
Galer, Moysha 758
Galer, Nunya 759
Galer, Rukhel Nudelman 706, 712, 719, 759
Galer, Rukhle 758
Galer, Sonya 759
Galer, Yankel 712
Galerman, Abraham 595
Galerman, Moses 595
Galerman, Rachel 595
Galerman, Yetta 595
Galman, Perets 606
Galperin, Eykel 385
Galperin, Gershko Ayzikovich 372
Galperin, Idel Shlemovich 365
Galperin, Ides. 378
Galperin, Ios Yankelevich 366
Galperin, Ios. Avr. 384
Galperin, Itsko Khaimovich 353
Galperin, Khaika 303
Galperin, Khaim-Leyb Mikhelevich 366
Galperin, Khana Ios. 384
Galperin, Malka Shulim. 383
Galperin, Moshko 382
Galperin, Shmul 179, 367
Galperinova, Tsina 353
Galperson, Duvid-Itsek Mikhelovich 353
Galts, Rivka 761
Galtsman, Froim Shmulevich 367
Galushka, Duvid Gershokovich 366
Galuz, Khuna 352
Gamarnik, Dovid ben Khaim 507
Gamarnik, Mana Khaimovich 374
Gamarnik, Moshko Khaimovich 374
Gamarnikova, Khana 353
Gamerberg, M. 246
Gamerberg, Yosef 761
Gamis, Avrum 751
Ganulin, Moshe 621
Ganulin, Moicey Khaimovich 365
Ganz, Shlomo 563
Gapay, Duvid Leybovich 366
Gaperman, Melvin 606
Garber, Abrashko Pinkhasovich 353
Garber, Ios Yodkovich 374
Garber, Ioyna Yodkovich 374
Garber, Morris (Moshe) 100, 182, 284, 300, 314, 316, 523, 601, 605, 606, 623, 646
Garber, Ovshiya Senderovich 374
Garber, Rachel 601
Garber, S. 752
Garber, Sender 744
Garber, Shaiya 694
Garber, Shmul Senderovich 374
Garber, Srul-Duvid Itskovich 372
Gardshmir, Rabbi Lev of Medzhibozh 106, 180
Gardshmir, Rabbi Mordechai ben Lev of Medzhibozh 106, 180
Garfinkel, Florence 557
Garmil, Khaim Yokelevich 369
Garnik 744
Garshel, Berko Khaimovich 370
Garshel, Moshko Khaimovich 369
Gauss, Dr.Julius G. 591
Gaynor, Eric Jay 558
Gaynor, Lee 557
Gaynor, Martha 557
Gaynor, Morris 557
Gaynor, Morris Gershgorn 557
Gayzner, Reyzya Leyb. 359
Gebets, Yudka 351
Gedaliah, Rabbi of Ilintsy 117
Geefin 571
Gefter, Anna 603
Gefter, Sam 603
Geiler, Iankel 356
Gekht, Gersh M. 384, 385
Geldfind family 764
Gieler, Alter 178
Gieler, Sh. 751
Gelfand, Gitel bat Yakov Leib 507
Gelfand, Mordko Abr. 385
Gelfond, Abramko 372
Gelfond, Mendelev 370
Gelfond, Ovshiya-Leyzor 370
Gelfond, Zeylik Nutovich 369
Gelilzon, Mosko Benis 356
Geller, M. G. 359
Geller, Roza 789
Geller, Sima 789
Gelman 200, 358, 751
Gelman, Aaron 603
Gelman, Esther 761
Gelman, Fira 788, 789
Gelman, Gersh Itsk. 385
Gelman, Gersh-Leyb 365
Gelman, Ikhil Itskovich 370
Gelman, Itsko Nusin 359
Gelman, Itsko Shmul. 383
Gelman, Jennie 603
Gelman, Khana 303
Gelman, Khasya 762
Gelman, Lova 788, 790
Gelman, Rivka Pinkhas. 381
Gelman, Scheindel 601
Gelman, Shlema Khaimovich 374
Gelman, Shmul Shlionovich 370
Gelman, Yosel 762
Gemarnik, Boris xxiii, 767
Gen, Il. 382
Gen, Khaytsya 381
Gen, N. 381
Gendelman, N. 599
Gendler, Leyba 367
Gendzelman, Zakh Abr. 387
Genelmakher, Srul 370
Genfilshtein, Yankel 473
Geniov, V. 379
Genzelman, Itsko Leybovich 376
Geprichter, Shlomo 606
Gerber, A. 357
Gerber, Esther 603
Gerber, Eva 560
Gerber, Ida 586, 592
Gerber, Max 592
Gerber, Moshko 351
Gerber, Rebecca 592
Gerber, Zise 603
Gerberg, Abram 356
Gerbich, Khaim-Gersh 370
Gerbman, A. 603
Gerir, Mortko 468
German, Abraham 596
German, Morris 554
German, Rebecca 596
Gerner, Anna 560
Gerner, Berko-Moshko Godevich 377
Gernoys, Mot Benyamovna 305
Gernoys, Pesya Benyamovna 305
Gershbeyn, Ikhil Yankelevich 374
Gershel, Moshko Khaimovich 362
Gershfeld, Hyman 554
Gershfeld, Moshko 372
Gershgoren 399
Gershgoren, Becky 558
Gershgoren, Joseph 557
Gershgoren, Julius 557, 558
Gershgoren, Max 557
Gershgoren, Moshe 624
Gershgoren, Sarah 637
Gershgorin, Duvid Gershonov 374
Gershgorin, Ruvin Duvidovich 369
Gershgorin, S. 751
Gershgorin, San Yankelevich 362, 382
Gershgorina, Enya Khaimovna 153
Gershgorn, Morris Gaynor 558
Gershgorn, Rebecca 558
Gershinovich, Bluma Elev. 379
Gershinovich, Shmul Leyzorovich 367
Gershkovich, Benyamin 356
Gershkovich, Maiorka 357
Gershkovich, Mordko 356
Gershkovich, Shlioma 352
Gershman, Moshko Nakhmanovich 376
Gershman, Rebecca 579
Gershman, Sam 579
Gershon Itskovich, Rabbi of Zinkov 105
Gershon Shlemovich, Rabbi of Mikhalpol 105
Gershon, Rabbi Abraham 53, 54, 72, 75, 451, 615
Gershonovich, Abram Nukhimov 365
Gerson, B. 566
Gersonowicz, Iankel 449
Gerts, Udko 179
Gertsenshteyn, A. 379
Gertsenshteyn, Itsko Shmulevich 366
Gertsenshteyn, Malya 383
Gertsenshteyn, S. 379
Gertsman, Shmul 437
Gerver, Anna 588
Gerver, Chane 593
Gerver, Eli xxii, 613
Gerver, Jechiel 593
Gerver, Joseph 588, 589, 593
Gerver, Julius 589, 593
Gerver, Kenneth xxii, 613
Gerver, L. 586
Gerver, Leib 583
Gerver, Lena 591
Gerver, Louis 588
Gerver, Michael xxii, xxiii, 122, 170, 241, 249, 390, 446, 612, 613, 634, 760
Gerver, Miriam L. xxiii
Gerver, Moses 593
Gerver, Robert xxii, 613
Gerver, Samuel 585
Gerver, Yechiel. See *Goiva, Yechiel*
Gerver, Yetta 593
Gerver, Yetty 589
Gervey, Breina 589
Gervey, Joseph 593
Gervey, Morris 589
Gervey, Moses 593
Gervits 336, 358, 399. See also *Horowitz*
Gervits, Berish 107
Gervits, Charna 359, 385, 387
Gervits, Freyda Itsk. 381
Gervits, Gershko Evelevich 369
Gervits, Grigoriy Yakovevich 153
Gervits, Iankel 357
Gervits, Iankel Gevshkovich 353
Gervits, Iankel Iovliovich 353
Gervits, Khana 329
Gervits, Leyb Nakhmanovich 374
Gervits, Meshulam Nosson 329, 687, 760, 796
Gervits, Miriam 114
Gervits, Nakhum 637
Gervits, Sarah 797
Gervits, Shimek 750
Gervits, Shimon 694, 760, 795, 796, 798
Gervits, Shmul 811
Gervits, Yaakov 797
Gervits, Yankel 637
Gervits, Yankel Eliovich 359, 363, 369, 384
Gervits, Yankel Meshelimovich 369
Gervits, Yosef 797
Gervitsova 358, 387. See also *Gervits, Charna*
Gervitz family 329
Geshel, Itsek-Meyer-Avrum Gevsheivich 353
Geshel, Itsko Abramovich 353
Geshel, Moshko Khaimovich 366. See also *Heshel, Rabbi Moses of Zinkov*
Geshel, Pinkhas Khaimovich 366. See also *Heshel, Rabbi Pinkhas of Zinkov*
Geshel, Srul Abramovich 363
Geshel, Srul Iosiovich 353
Geshel, Zus Abramovich 370
Geshel, Zus Itskovich 353
Geyfin, Ios Shlemovich 372
Geyfin, Shlema Srulevich 372, 382
Geylman, Duvid 352
Geylman, Zelman 351
Geyner, Yankel Gershkovich 372
Gezes, Naum 757
photograph 757
Gidelman, Girsh 130
Gidsey, Becky 564
Gidsey, Jack 564
Gidsey, Sarah 564
Giedrycz, Mendel 349
Giedrycz, Szmuylo 349
Giersonow, Ios 349
Giersonowicz, Leyzor 350

Giersonowicz, Moszko 347
Gierzonowicz, Iankiel 449
Gilden, Bertha 564
Giler, Alter 351
Gilis, Berko 753
Gilis, Duvid 753
Gilis, Sosia 753
Giller family xxiii, 115, 299, 547, 608, 610, 648, 649, 803
photograph 299
Giller, Edward 298, 299, 656
Giller, Feiga Rapoport 299, 648
photograph 299
Giller, Lipa 648
Giller, Lipa Mordkovich 365
Giller, Mordechai 648
Giller, Mousya 298, 299
photograph 299
Giller, Nunya 299
photograph 299
Giller, Shmul Iosevich 369
Giller, Sosia 547
Gilman, Sam 582
Gilman, Sarah 582
Gilovits 399
Gilsberg, Berko 753
Giltman, Ios Moshkovich 374
Giltman, Joseph 601
Giltman, Lena 601
Giltman, Leyzor Moshkovich 374
Giltman, Shloma 437
Giltman, Sonya Leizerovna 305
Gimberg, Nuta 352
Gindes, Yankel Evelevich 369
Gindis, Iovil Zusiovich 369
Gindis, Khaim Abramovich 369
Gindis, Moshko Eliovich 370
Gindis, S. 751
Gindis, Sh. 751
Gindiv, Moyshe 751
Gingolts, Bentsion Lipovich 367
Ginsberg, Charles 595
Ginsburg 358
Ginsburg, Baron Horace 238, 416
Gintsburg, Zus Itskovich 365
Gipinder, Moszko 348
Gisheynerman, Ikhil Toyvievich 374
Gisis, Elekh 751
Gisis, Nakhman 751
Gisis, Oyzer 751
Gispet, Froim 351
Git, Tovba 351
Gitelman, Moshko 351
Gitelman, Moshko Shmulevich 365, 379
Gitin, Mordha 348
Gitman, Faybish Froimovich 367
Gitman, Keile 554
Gitman, Pini 554
Gitman, Srul 146-148, 365, 488
Gitterman, Dinah 588
Gitterman, Ida 589
Gitterman, Louis 588
Gittleman, Doris 558
Gittleman, Samuel 557, 558
Gittleman, Sarah 577
Gladshteyn, Gitel 761
Gladshteyn, Itsko Leybovich 374
Gladshteyn, Kh. 751
Gladshteyn, L. Sh. 381
Gladshteyn, Leyba Benyominovich 374
Gladshteyn, Shevel Khaimov 366
Gladshteyn, Volf Leyb. 384
Gladshteyn, Yankel Shevelev 366
Gladstein, Cookie 606
Gladstone, Frank 598
Gladstone, Irving 603
Glanets, Shaia 750
Glansky, Jacob 554
Glansky, Reizel 554
Glants, Abrum Rertsovich 370
Glants, Mendel 367
Glaser, Rose 554
Glaser, William 554
Glass 568
Glass, Anna Farber 566
Glass, Betty 603
Glass, David 566, 571
Glass, Freda 569
Glass, Jacob 569
Glass, Samuel 566, 571, 576
Glass, Yankel 571
Glassen, Esther 601
Glassman, Isaac 562
Glassman, Mary 554
Glassman, Paula 560
Glassman, Rose 589
Glatstein, Jacob 547
Glatster, Volko 751
Glazer, Harry 598
Glazer, Mollie 598
Glazer, Rabbi Yoel Yehuda ben Moshe of Letichev 109
Gleizor 358
Gleyzer 399
Gleyzer, Bentsion Alterovich 369
Gleyzer, Froim Gershkovich 370
Gleyzer, Leyb 180, 637
Gleyzer, Moicey Bentsionovich 370
Gleyzer, Moshko Bents. 367, 384
Gleyzerman, Moshko Nakhmanovich 376
Gleyzor, Khaskel Alterovich 372
Gliants, Gerts 357
Gliants, Leibish 357
Gliants, Shevel 357
Glick, Aharon 563
Glick, Anna 561
Glick, Bertha 581
Glick, Daniel 581
Glick, Dora 581
Glick, Fannie 564
Glick, Goldie 581
Glick, Harry 564, 581
Glick, Herman 581
Glick, Lazer 594
Glick, Louis 581
Glick, Meyer 581
Glick, Morris 588
Glick, Rachel 581
Glick, Rose 564
Glick, Sam 561
Glick, Samuel 581, 611
Glick, Seymour 581
Glick, Shloime 594
Glikman, A. 523
Glikman, Ios 352
Gliner 358
Gluchy, Berko 348
Glukh, Eyzel Leyzorovich 374
Glukh, Grisha 753
Glukh, Khana Moshevna 304
Glukh, Vova 753
Glusman, Lewis 591
Glusman, Sophie 591
Glussman, Louis 585
Gluz, Manya 752
Gluz, Yank. Simkh. 379
Gluz, Yankel 367
Gluzbarg, Itsko Benyominovich 369
Gluzbarg, Shmul Yankelevich 369
Gluzbarg, Zus Shulimovich 369
Gluzberg, Moyshe 751
Gluzberg, Tsiporah bat Moshe 507
Gluzman family 758
Gluzman, Abram 752
Gluzman, Beila Yakovlevna 304
Gluzman, Beyrish 352
Gluzman, Gliy 179
Gluzman, Ikhil Iosevich 374
Gluzman, Lena 789
Gluzman, Leyba 365
Gluzman, Leyzor 352
Gluzman, M. 554
Gluzman, Minya 732
Gluzman, Mot 366
Gluzman, Motl 752
Gluzman, Rachel 554
Gluzman, Semyon 170, 171, 674, 732, 755, 765, 793, 815
Gluzman, Sheva 554
Gluzman, Sol 554
Gluzman, V. 751
Gluzman, Velvel 554
Gluzman, Volko Moshkovich 374
Gluzman, Yasha 789
Gluzman, Yodko 367
Gluzman, Yokel Zusevich 372
Gnatovekaya, Manya 788
Gnatovsky, Itsak 762
Gnatovsky, Sheindel 762
Gnatovsky, Shloima 762
Gnatovsky, Shmaya 762
Gnatowsky, Abraham 554, 582
Gnatowsky, Fanny 582
Gnatowsky, Minnie 582
Gnatowsky, Munie 554
Gnatowsky, Rae 582
Gnatowsky, Samuel 582
Gnatowsky, Sol 582
God, Motel 367
God, Perem 380
Godshteyn 505
Gofman, Itsko 366
Gofman, Shlema-Gershko Iosevich 376
Gofman, Shmul Iosevich 376
Gofshteyn, Etya 467
Gofshteyn, Leib Duvidovich 467
Gofshteyn, Liba 467
Gofshteyn, Meier Duvidovich 466, 467
Gofshteyn, Udlya Zeyd. 381
Gofshteyn, Yankel 471, 472
Goibar, Berko 356
Goichman, Benjamin 603
Goikhman, Shmuel Itskov 304
Goiva, Charles 590
Goiva, Froim Abramovich 353
Goiva, Gershka Abramovich 353, 356
Goiva, Hattie 590
Goiva, Hortense 586
Goiva, Yechiel 241, 249
photograph 241
songs 241, 249
Golbarg, Pin Shmulevich 369
Gold, Ann 596
Gold, Charles 563
Gold, Clara 563
Gold, David 564
Gold, J. 560
Gold, Meyer 595
Gold, Philip 596, 597
Gold, Rose 258, 373, 379, 607
Gold, W. 560
Goldbarg, Abram 372
Goldbarg, Berko 372
Goldbarg, Leyba Moshk. 384
Goldbarg, Mikhel 357
Goldbarg, Moshko Gdalevich 369
Goldbarg, Shlioma 367
Goldbarg, Srul Itskovich 372
Goldbarg, Yankel Volevich 372
Goldbark, Shlioma 351
Goldbart 354
Goldberg 571
Goldberg, Basya 762
Goldberg, Carl 561
Goldberg, Esther 581
Goldberg, Eva 598
Goldberg, Froike 762
Goldberg, Harry 563
Goldberg, Hyman 582
Goldberg, Khaim 751
Goldberg, Khana 762
Goldberg, Lena 561, 582, 590
Goldberg, Louis 558
Goldberg, Max 564
Goldberg, Menashe 351
Goldberg, Morris 581
Goldberg, R. 562
Goldberg, Sam 598
Goldberg, Samuel 590
Goldberg, Sarah 557
Goldberg, Sasha 557
Goldberg, Shlomo 630
Goldberg, Shmil 751
Goldberg, Susan Berman 591
Goldberg, Tevye 657, 771, 776, 782, 807, 814
Goldenberg 810
Goldenberg rabbinical family 108, 109, 110
Goldenberg, Abraham 564

Goldenberg, Dr. Gdal-Gersh Leibovich 208
Goldenberg, Gersh 810
Goldenberg, Gersh Khaimovich 152
Goldenberg, Gershka 468
Goldenberg, Khaim Ber 688, 760
Goldenberg, Khaim Moshkovich 370
Goldenberg, Khaim-Gersh Leybovich 362, 369
Goldenberg, Khatskel 690, 760
Goldenberg, Lev Moiseevich 759, 771, 814
Goldenberg, Liza 759
Goldenberg, Malka Moshk. 381
Goldenberg, Meer Moshkovich 367
Goldenberg, Mikhail 759
Goldenberg, Rabbi Gedali Morkovich of Derazhnia 108
Goldenberg, Rabbi Moshe 110, 758, 759
Goldenberg, Shlomo 605, 626, 631
Goldenberg, Sima Naumova Rud 759
Goldenshteyn 358
Goldenshteyn, Abrum 404, 479
Goldenshteyn, E. 357
Goldenshteyn, Froim 397
Goldenshteyn, Froim Moshkovich 353, 357
Goldenshteyn, Ide Froimovich 353
Goldenshteyn, Leib 356
Goldenshteyn, Moshko Aronovich 352, 353
Goldenshteyn, U.F. 353
Goldenshteyn, Usher Shloimovich 353
Goldenshteyn, Yankel Gershkovich 370
Goldentul, Mordko Zeylik. 378
Goldentul, Shmerel Borukhovich 369
Goldfarb, Khana 762
Goldfarb, Mekhel 303
Goldfarb, Mendel Beyrish 380
Goldfarb, Moyshe 751
Goldfarb, Samuel 595
Goldfarb, Sarah 595
Goldfarb, Tsirl 762
Goldfarb, Volf 762
Goldfayn, Duv. Send. 363
Goldfayn, Gersh 353
Goldfayn, Ios 353
Goldfayn, Ios. Sendel. 381
Goldfayn, Ios. Shmul. 382
Goldfayn, Moishe Moziovich 353
Goldinhershel, Abraham 565
Goldinsteyn, Shmul Usherovich 365
Goldis, Beila 761
Goldis, Yankel Duvidovich 365
Goldis, Yikhiel 761
Goldisman, Starosta 438
Goldiv, Avrum 751
Goldiv, Iosif 751
Goldiv, Khaya-Sura 751
Goldman, Beryl 762
Goldman, David 590
Goldman, Emma 546
Goldman, Ida 564
Goldman, J. 561
Goldman, Jessie 554, 556
Goldman, Khaim 563, 564
Goldman, Louis J. xxii, 391
Goldman, Max 564
Goldman, Minnie 589, 593
Goldman, Morris 554
Goldman, Murray 561
Goldman, Perets 762
Goldman, Peysakh Volkovich 367
Goldman, Rachel 590
Goldman, Rudolph 564
Goldman, Sarah 564, 589
Goldman, Yehudah 563
Goldman, Zlata 571
Goldshmit 413, 414
Goldshmit, Dr. 196
Goldshmit, I.. 357
Goldshmit, Naftul Yankelevich 365
Goldshteyn, A. 289
Goldshteyn, Azril Moshkovich 377
Goldshteyn, Duvid 787, 788, 790
Goldshteyn, Eva 788, 789
Goldshteyn, Fira Solomonova 302
photograph 302
Goldshteyn, Genya 789
Goldshteyn, Gershko 107
Goldshteyn, Gershko Nakhmanovich 367
Goldshteyn, I. 357
Goldshteyn, Isak 386
Goldshteyn, Itsko 473
Goldshteyn, Itsko Abramovich 370
Goldshteyn, Leyb Shaev. 381
Goldshteyn, Manya 787
Goldshteyn, Meer Idovich 372
Goldshteyn, Nakhman 179
Goldshteyn, Shaya Yankelevich 372, 381
Goldshteyn, Srul 372
Goldshteyn, Zhenya 789
Goldsmith, Eva 554
Goldsmith, Isidore 554
Goldsmith, Milton 598
Goldsmith, Rose 598
Goldstein, Beckie 554
Goldstein, Bella 579
Goldstein, Bernard I. 551
Goldstein, David 554, 555
Goldstein, Ethel 564
Goldstein, H. 600
Goldstein, Isaac 554
Goldstein, Jack 566
Goldstein, Jacob 555, 571
Goldstein, Joseph 564
Goldstein, Morris 555
Goldstein, Shirley Zimmerman 224, 279, 611, 781, 814
Goldstein, Simon 579
Goldstein, T. 554
Golenischevskiy, Leyba 351
Golfond, Mordko Abramovich 369
Golovatiy, Moshko Berkovich 372
Golovatiy, Shmul 366
Golshteyn 491, 495
Golubchik, Yankel 751
Gomerbarg, Yankel Mendelevich 369
Gomerman 151
Gomirberg, Mendel Yankelevich 370
Gonik, Abrum 397
Gonta, Bella 788, 790
Gonta, Klara 787, 788, 789
Gonta, Sara 788, 790
Gonta, Srul 788
Gonta, Yosef 762
Gonta, Zina 789
Gonte, Moyshe 751
Goodis, Bessie 564
Goodis, Harris 564
Goodis, Mary 564
Goodis, Yakov 563
Goodman, Barris 582
Goodman, Bernhard 582
Goodman, Fanny 586, 592
Goodman, Harry M. 582
Goodman, Isaac 589, 592, 593
Goodman, Louis 577, 582
Goodman, Moli 592
Goodman, Mollie 589
Goodman, Sarah 582
Goodman, Sholim 593
Gorberg, Pesya 762
Gorbman, Abram Pinkasov 304
Gorbman, Pinkhas Mogikovich 374
Gordon 571
Gordon, Aaron David 617
Gordon, Harry 579
Gordon, Lillian 581
Gordon, Mildred 566, 569
Gordon, Morris 566, 569, 581
Gordon, S. 562
Gordon, Y.L.. 631
Gordon, Yetta 579
Gorenbeyn, Volko 397, 404
Gorenshteyn 399
Gorenshteyn, Ala 637
Gorenshteyn, Feige 637
Gorenshteyn, Ios Shmuelovich 353, 357
Gorenshteyn, Israel 637
Gorenshteyn, Kaskel 479
Gorenshteyn, Khaiatuba 357
Gorenshteyn, Khaim Iosiovich 353, 357
Gorenshteyn, Khaskel 404, 516
Gorenshteyn, Mendel Iosiovich 353
Gorenshteyn, Motel 751
Gorenshteyn, Nukhim 397
Gorenshteyn, Rabbi Israel Abraham of Mikhalpol 109
Gorenshteyn, San 479
Gorenshteyn, Shaya 399
Gorenshteyn, Shmul Meierovich 404, 407
Gorenshteyn, Shmul Mordk. 383
Gorenshteyn, Volko 751
Gorenshteyn, Volko Duvidovich 370
Gorenshteyn, Yankel 751
Gorenstein, Ezra 605, 606
Gorenstein, Isidore 557
Gorenstein, Meyer 557, 558
Gorenstein, Mollie 558
Gorenstein, Pessie 605
Gorin, Vigdor Gershkovich 376
Gorind, Nyunya 751
Gorinshteyn, David Bentsionovich 152
Gornik, Moshe 632
Gorovich, Nusin 370
Gorowitz, Vadim 795, 796
Gorzenstein, Leva 675
Gottleib, Lee 561
Gottleib, Mayer 561
Gottlober 403
Gottlober, Avrom-Ber 293
Gover, Annie 588
Gover, Chas. 586
Gover, George 583, 585
Gover, Jacob 583, 588
Gover, Joe 589
Gover, Joseph 593
Gover, Lena 589, 593
Gover, Louis 593
Goyfman, Rakhil 381
Goykhan, Aron 351
Goykhbarg, Gershko Berkovich 365
Goykhbarg, Yankel Berkovich 365
Goykhberg, B. 357
Goykhberg, Gershko 370, 384
Goykhberg, Itsko Berkovich 370
Goykhberg, Itsko Gershkovich 370
Goykhberg, Khana Abr. 385
Goykhberg, Leyb 751
Goykhberg, Zhak. 357
Goykher family 707, 709
photograph 726
Goykher, Anna 726
photograph 726
Goykher, Asya 719, 759
Goykher, Ella 706, 726
photograph 707
Goykher, Galina 705
photograph 705, 726
Goykher, Hana Nudelman 706, 710, 711, 715, 716, 718, 719, 759
photograph 708
Goykher, Moishe 681, 706, 713, 717, 759
photograph 707
Goykher, Nelly 726
Goykher, Rachel 706, 717, 759
photograph 707
Goykher, Shifra 706, 726, 759
Goykher, Vladimir xxi, 40, 170, 171, 210, 389, 390, 480, 521, 523, 524, 531, 654, 666, 668, 673, 674, 680, 705, 725, 726, 748, 754, 755, 759, 765, 766, 767, 768, 770, 771, 782, 792, 814, 815
photograph 705, 725
Goykher, Yosef 706, 710, 726
photograph 726
Goykhman, Itsek Shimonovich 376
Goykhman, Leybish Iserovich 374
Goykhman, Leyzor 369
Goykhman, Moshko Iserovich 374
Goykhman, Simkha Abramovich 376
Goz, Helen 581
Goz, Samuel 581
Grabelski family 759
Graber, Khaim Moshkovich 376
Graber, Moshko Mordkovich 376
Grabler, Khasya 751
Grably, Toba 593
Grach family 763
Grach, Ayzik-Gersh 372
Grach, Kolman 763
Grach, Monya 763

Grach, Pesse 763
Grach, Reiza 763
Grach, Riva 763
Grach, Shloime 763
Grach, Shlome 303
Grach, Srul 386, 787, 790
Grach, Tsippe 763
Grach, Yasha 763
Grach, Yodko Fishelevich 372
Grad, Eleanore 566, 568
Gratz, Edith 595
Gratz, Harry 595
Grebelskiy, Abram Gershkovich 367, 378
Grebelskiy, Leyba Shmulevich 372, 387
Grebelskiy, Shmul 378
Grebelskiy, Shmul Iosevich 372
Grebelskiy, Shmul Khaimovich 367
Grebelsky 510
Grebelsky, Gershka 107
Grebelsky, Gershko 108
Grebelsky, Pinya 605
Grebelsky, Shmuel 107
Grebelsky, Yecheel 605
Greber, S. 600
Grebnya, Gershko Zeylikovich 369
Green, Abraham 581
Green, Esther 581
Green, Itskhak 563
Greenbaum, Louis 569
Greenberg 562
Greenberg the watchmaker 688, 760
Greenberg, Abraham 560
Greenberg, Augusta 581
Greenberg, Benjamin 588
Greenberg, Chaim 547
Greenberg, David 603, 605
Greenberg, Dora 601, 603
Greenberg, Gitel 601
Greenberg, Goldie 589
Greenberg, Gussie 593
Greenberg, H. 562
Greenberg, I. 562
Greenberg, Israel 589, 593, 621
Greenberg, Jasper 581
Greenberg, Julia 562
Greenberg, Khaim Gabriel 593
Greenberg, Leah 601
Greenberg, Lee 606
Greenberg, Lena 564, 589
Greenberg, Levi 601
Greenberg, Max 577
Greenberg, Michael 794
Greenberg, Minnie 589
Greenberg, Miriam 588
Greenberg, Morris 564
Greenberg, Moshe Dovid 563
Greenberg, Pincus 601
Greenberg, Sam 601, 603, 605, 606
Greenberg, Samuel 601
Greenberg, Sarah 560, 601
Greenberg, William 588
Greenfield, Isidor 561
Greenfield, Rose 561
Greenhof, J. 562
Greenman 606
Greenman, Joseph 603, 605
Greenman, Morris 603
Greenman, Moshe 605
Greenman, Yetta 603
Greenstein, Celia 566, 569
Greenstein, Diane 566, 568
Greenstein, Ethel 566, 569
Greenstein, Mary 593
Greenstein, Samuel 569
Greenstein, Sarah 569
Greenstein, William 566, 569
Greferman, Jerry 606
Grik, Aron 751
Grik, Avrum 751
Grik, Borukh 751
Grimbarg, Abramka 351
Grimbarg, Avner 351
Grimberg, Avner 179
Grinband, Shmul 372
Grinbarg, Gershko 376
Grinbarg, Gilil Avnerovich 365
Grinbarg, Itsko Leybiovich 374
Grinbarg, Mordko Abramovich 374
Grinbarg, Moshko Abramovich 374
Grinbarg, Moshko Itsk. 385
Grinbarg, Pinkhas Abramovich 374
Grinbarg, Shmelko Srulevich 374
Grinber, Abramko 352
Grinberg 655, 812
Grinberg, Abram Duvidov 130
Grinberg, Dudya 751
Grinberg, Duvid Itskovich 369
Grinberg, Duvid Volkovich 369, 385
Grinberg, Gershka 437
Grinberg, Gitlya Berk. 385
Grinberg, Itsko Mendel. 363, 365, 386
Grinberg, Moshko 367
Grinberg, Moshko Gdalevich 369
Grinberg, P. 751
Grinberg, Pinkhas Ovshievich 369
Grinberg, Sopotnik 751
Grinblat, Ios Azrilevich 367
Grinblat, Mikhel 372
Grinfeld, Aron 356
Grinfeld, Froim Abr. 385
Gringelts, Lina 387
Gringolts, Khaim Shimshonovich 363, 366, 382
Gringolts, Khuna 108
Gringolts, Lipa 488, 621
Gringolts, Lipa Moshkovich 362, 365
Gringolts, Shimshon Moshk. 358, 359, 362
Gringolts, Shulim Lipovich 367
Grinman 744
Grinman, Beinish 397
Grinman, Khaim 473
Grinman, Khana 764
Grinman, Maryam Leyb. 383
Grinman, Mortko Moshkovich 410
Grinman, Moshe 740
Grinman, Moshko 410
Grinsberg, Manya 758
Grinshpun, Gershko 352
Grinshpun, Moshko-Mordko 480
Grinshpun, Naum 649
Grinshteyn 752
Grinshteyn, Aron Mordkovich 367
Grinshteyn, Isaak Moisevich 151
Grinshteyn, Khaim-Volf Yankelevich 367
Grinshteyn, Motel 649
Grishgorn, Ben 753
Grishiteyn, Abramko 352
Grishiteyn, Mortko 352
Grobman, Abramko 472
Grodin, Rose 561
Grodin, Sam 561
Groeh, Sarah 593
Grois, Duvid Aronov 304
Groskin, David D. 571
Grosman, Duvid 376
Grosman, Ios Gershkovich 376
Gross, Sarah 598
Grossman 571
Grossman, Aaron 596, 597
Grossman, Abraham 596
Grossman, Aron 571
Grossman, Bessie 596, 597
Grossman, Betty 597
Grossman, Esther 596, 597
Grossman, Harry 596, 597
Grossman, Ida 597
Grossman, Joseph 597
Grossman, Khaiah 596
Grossman, Milton 597
Grossman, Sam 596, 597
Groynimus, Shaya Shmulevich 372, 382
Groynimus, Shmul 372
Groysman, Borukh 352
Groysman, Gershko Leybovich 376
Groysman, Ios Leyzorovich 374, 383
Groysman, Khaskel 366
Groysman, Leibish 107
Groysman, Manus 367
Groysman, Mot Shmulevich 376
Groysman, Yudlya Manus. 378
Groysshteyn, Abram Khaimovich 376
Groysshteyn, Leyba Khaimovich 376
Groysshteyn, Moshko Khaimovich 376
Groysshteyn, Yankel Khaimovich 376
Groyvasan, Zlote 751
Gruber, Jennie 555
Grubshteyn family xxiii, 400, 410, 442, 814
photograph 442
Grubshteyn, Aleksander 657, 771, 793
Grubshteyn, Borukh Aronovich 367
Grubshteyn, Dr. Elya 301
photograph 301
Grubshteyn, Dr. Moisei Abramovich 779
photograph 779
Grubshteyn, Dvoyra 442
photograph 442
Grubshteyn, Elka 762
Grubshteyn, Elya 397, 398, 442
photograph 442
Grubshteyn, Israel 762
Grubshteyn, Khaim 762
Grubshteyn, Leib 762
Grubshteyn, Liza 762
Grubshteyn, Mikhel 780
photograph 780
Grubshteyn, Mordko 404
Grubshteyn, Moshe 442
photograph 442
Grubshteyn, Riva 762
Grubshteyn, Rivka 442
photograph 442
Grubshteyn, Rukhel 637
Grubshteyn, Sanya 399, 637
Grubshteyn, Shimon 497
Grubshteyn, Srul 399
Grubshteyn, Tuba 637
Grufferman, Melvin 603
Grufferman, Ruth 603
Grunbarg, Ios 107
Grunbarg, Shoel 107
Grushoff 562
Gruver, Riven 751
Gruverman, Ikhel Skharievich 376
Gruverman, Srul Ikhilevich 376
Gruz, Nukhim Ayzikovich 377
Gruz, Shlema Ayzikovich 377
Guberman 751. See also *Huberman*
Guberman, D. xxiii, 159, 160
Gubernan, Fanya 751
Guberman, Leib 473
Guberman, Sara bat Moshe 507
Guberman, Yokheved bat Tsvi 507
Gubernik, Moshe 386
Gudzinsky 399
Gultman, Moishe Leizerov 304
Gulyan, Gershko Iosevich 369
Gumbar, Duvid 352
Gumbar, Simkha 352
Gumberg, Toviya 352
Gurfinkel, Idl 751
Gurfinkel, Livsha Ikhil. 385
Gurfinkel, Mendel 372
Gurfinkel, Mikhel 352
Gurfinkel, Moyshe 751
Gurfinkel, Natan 677
Gurfinkel, Pal Yukelevich 367
Gurilina, Fira Aleksandrovna 151
Gurilina, Kharitovna 151
Gurilina, Klaviya Kharitovna 151
Guron, Shlioma 352
Gurtenberg, Mendl 751
Gurtenberg, Meyer 686, 760
Gurtman, Zeylik Shlemovich 374
Gurvich, Ch. 357
Gurvits, Meer-Mordko Moshkovich 372
Gurvits, Tsivya 382
Gusakoff, Abraham 603
Gusis, Teiba Yakolevna 304
Guterman, Valeyo 471, 473
Gutman, Gdal 372
Gutman, Moshe 515
Gutman, Rabbi Doctor 639
Gutman, Yekhel 515
Guttman, Isaac 586
Guzman, Duvid 472
Guzman, Shlomo 472
Guzman, Srul 473
Guzman, Srul-Leizor 472
Gvilman, Shama Berkovich 376

Gwertz, Barbara 603
Gyatmanova, Leya 179

H

Haas, Bertha 564
Haberberg, Akiva 563
Hager, Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Kossov 72
Haimowitz 592
Haimson, Benjamin 603
Haimson, Minnie 603
haKohen, Eliezer 311
haKohen, Elkhonan 621
haKohen, Rabbi Avraham 311
Halberstam, Rabbi Chaim of Sanz 72
haLevi, Aharon 310
haLevi, Berish 310
haLevi, Isaac 293
haLevi, Rabbi Yisrael Tsvi Yitzkhak 310
haLevi, Rabbi Zekharia 310
Halon, Ezra 605
Halon, Phil 605
Halperen, Jacob 593
Halperin, Annie 579
Halperin, Charles 579
Halpern, Bernard 577, 582
Halpern, Bertha 582
Halpern, Isidor 597
Halpern, Jacob 582
Halpern, Jennie 597
Halpern, Yetta 582
Hamovitz 571
Handelman, Victor 603
Hanover, Rabbi Nathan 25, 281, 313
Hapman, Jack 606
Hapman, Jacob 605
Hariton. See also *Khariton*
Hariton, William 588
Haritun, Moszko 119
Harris, Anna 555
Harryton, Frank 565
Hassan, Louis 600
Hauptman, Elke 601
Hauptman, Jacob 603
Hauptman, Sam 605
Hauptman, Tillie 603
Hauptman, Y. 601
Hayflick, William 571
Haymovitz 571
Hechtman, Samuel 593
Heiman, Pasach 588
Hekht, Tsvi 310
Heller, Isaac 596
Heller, Pessie 596
Helman, Shlomo 621
Helman, Shmuel 200
Helman, Yitskhok 623
Hendrie, Alford 600
Hendrie, Rose J. 600
Herman, Harry 564
Herman, P. 562
Hersh ben Meir, Rabbi of Derazhnia 106, 130
Hershel Ostropoler 79-84, 121, 168, 698, 706, 802
Hershfeld, Blima 554
Hershfeld, Moshe 554
Hershko the butcher 33
Hershko the renter 33
Hershko, son of Ruvin 33
Hershkowicz, Abramko 35
Hershkowiczowa, Shedla 35
Hershoff, Anna 582
Hershoff, Bessie 555
Hershoff, Morris 582
Herskowitz, Sam 582
Herszko, Rabbi 347
Herzl, Theodore 617, 622, 623, 625
Herzog, Marvin 224, 234
Heschel, Prof. Abraham Joshua 3, 89, 102-103, 123, 282, 313, 478
photograph 103
Heschel, Rabbi Isaac 781, 814
Heshel rabbinical family 3, 74, 87, 88-99, 104, 106, 172
family tree 87, 93
Heshel, Rabbi Abraham Joshua of Apt 72, 74, 81, 88, 93, 115, 125, 168, 186, 282, 309, 457, 626, 795
grave in Medzhibozh 115, 795, 802
Heshel, Rabbi Abraham Joshua of Medzhibozh (II) 81, 90
Heshel, Rabbi Abraham Joshua of Medzhibozh (III) 81
Heshel, Rabbi Isaac Meir of Medzhibozh 81, 92
Heshel, Rabbi Isaac Meir of Zinkov 81, 89, 93
grave 92
Heshel, Rabbi Israel Shalom Joseph of Medzhibozh 81, 89-91, 106, 199, 439, 440
photograph 90
signature 91
Heshel, Rabbi Khaim Menakhem 93, 94, 246, 620
Heshel, Rabbi Meshulam Zusia of Zinkov 81, 88, 93, 606
photograph 92
Heshel, Rabbi Moses Mordecai of Medzhibozh 102
photograph 102
Heshel, Rabbi Moses of Zinkov 93-99, 100, 366, 620
house 96
photograph 95
synagogue 101
Heshel, Rabbi Pinkhas of Zinkov 93, 100, 246, 366, 620, 739
synagogue 101, 631, 739
Heshel, Rabbi Samuel 316
Heshel, Rabbi Shmuel of Neustadt 88, 93
Heuszejowicz, Szulim 350
Heyman, Robert 542
Himelstein, Sadie 596
Himelstein, Sheva 597
Himelstein, Yoshua 596
Hinkoifev, Yisroel 740
Hirchman, Jennie 593
Hirsch, Baron Maurice 201
Hirsch, Lena 555
Hirsh, Jacob 571
Hirshman, Rose 603
Hirshman, Sam 604
Hirshorn, Gordon 569
Hirshorn, Samuel 569
Hoffman, Boris 557, 558
Hoffman, Louis 571
Hoffman, Mollie 558
Hollander, Harriet 489, 522
Honigberg, Isaac 610
Honigberg, Sam 304, 316, 610
Hoptman, Rachel 589
Horenstein, Nekhama 554
Horenstein, Sam 554
Horowitz. See also *Gervits*
Horowitz, Alter 554
Horowitz, Fannie 564
Horowitz, Hyman 557
Horowitz, Jean 557, 558
Horowitz, M. 562
Horowitz, Morris 604
Horowitz, R. 562
Horowitz, Rabbi Naftali Tzvi 72
Horowitz, Rabbi Yaakov Yitzchak of Lublin 72
Horowitz, Sadie 604, 605, 606
Horowitz, Yenta 554
Horsman, Sam 606
Horstein, Sam 605
Houshell, I. 571
Huberman. See also *Guberman*
Huberman, David 693, 760
Huberman, Rose 674, 689, 690, 692, 693, 696, 697, 765, 796, 797
Hurwitz, Hirsch 582
Hyman, Rosie 564
Hymovich, Alter 571
Hymowitz, Alter 566
Hymowitz, Benjamin 566
Hymowitz, Isadore 570
Hymowitz, Stella 566, 570

I

Iankelovich, Gershka 357
Iankelovna, Egia 467
Iankielowicz, Aron 346, 449
Iankielowicz, Icko 350
Iankielowicz, Szmuylo 350
Iankilowicz, Bien 449
Iarmut, Ezdra 348
Ickowicz, Zalman 35
Idbril, M. 752
Idel, Motl 751
Ideliovich, Berko 352
Idis, Moyshe 751
Iewzayszyn, Szloma 348
Iewzio 346
Ignatwosky, A. 554
Ikman, Manya Srulevna 304
Ilvepon, Itsek 751
Imelshteyn, Gershko Yankelevich 376
Imelshteyn, Moshko Yankelevich 376
Imelshteyn, Noikh Moshkovich 376
Inspektor, Iankiel 348
Inspektor, Zaywel 347
Intoligator, Icko 350
Introligator, Gersh-Vol 473
Introligator, Leah 473
Introligator, Oszar 347
Iofis, El 367
Iofis, Zislya Mendel. 378
Iontefovich, Ayzik Itskovich 374
Ios the baker 33
Ios, son of Ruvin 33
Iosefzon, Ios 107
Ioshpa, Beyla 383
Ioshpa, Ikhel Itskovich 374
Ioshpa, Itko, Munishevich 374
Ioshta, Munish 397
Iosiovich, Abrashka 357
Iosiovich, Alter 352
Ioudski, Ela 449
Irilevich, Idel 751
Irilevich, Itsek 751
Irilevich, Shlema Itsk. 385
Isaac, Hinda 603
Isaac, Khaim 603
Isaacson, Asher 590
Isaacson, Rose 601
Isaacson, Sarah 590
Isaacson, Yitskhak 611
Isaak, Rabbi of Letichev 105
Israel the Dead 73, 161-162, 205
Israel the Silent 73
Isterman, Aron 751
Isterman, Moshko 370
Itsekzon, Khaim-Shama Moshkovich 374
Itshak Leyb, Rabbi of Zinkov 93, 94
Itzkowitz 562
Itzkowitz, Isaac 562
Itzkowitz, Jennie 562
Iudczyn, Dawid 346
Iudczyn, Ios 346
Iudkovich, Munis 356
Iudkowicz, Munesz 346
Iukhim, Gershko Moshkovich 353
Iukhim, Shmul-Khaim Gershkovich 353
Ivanitser, Azya 762
Ivanitser, Dovid 762
Ivanitser, Shaindel 762
Ivanitser, Shani 762
Ivankovetskiy, Leybish Duvidov 130, 396
Ivankovitser, M. 357
Iwankowiecki, Mot 350
Izhak (Madyar), Abram 732
Izhak, Maltsya 732
Izhak, Riva 732
Izufov, Khaia Volf. 363

J

Jabotinsky, Zev 625
Jacob Joseph, Rabbi of Polonoye 68, 72, 74, 75, 117
Jacob, Rabbi of Meturshteyn 93
Jaffe family 44
Jaffe, Dr. Bernard 571
Jarvis, Serge 793
Jascrowsky, Harry 586
Javetz, Yankel 296
photograph 296
Javitz, Jacob 565

Jehiel, Rabbi of Kovel 53, 54
Joseph, Rabbi of Yampol 58, 105, 118, 123

K

Kaback, Sal 597
Kagan, R. 562
Kagan, Shlioma Mikhilovich 353
Kaganovitsky, Abram 170
Kahan, Arcadius 318, 388
Kahn, Frank 566
Kalifshteyn, Itsko 368
Kalik, Mef 751
Kalika, Zovel Gershkovich 375
Kalikhman, Glal Abramovich 375
Kalikhman, Ioel Abramovich 375
Kalikhman, Khaim Shmulevich 374
Kalina, Avrum 397
Kalina, Malya 653
Kalina, Reuven 404
Kaliner 399, 553
Kaliner family 398, 401, 793
photograph 398
Kaliner, Boris 788, 790
Kaliner, Isaac 558
Kaliner, Milya 788, 790
Kaliner, Sosya 516, 652
Kalish, Anna 588
Kalish, L. 488
Kalish, Lena 590
Kalish, Morris 586, 590
Kalish, Rabbi Yitzchak of Vorki 72
Kalish, Ruth 592
Kalishman, Joseph 604
Kalishman, Sherry 604
Kalman, Louis 558
Kalnitzky, Julius 601
Kalter, I. 566
Kalus, Benjamin 571
Kalus, Bernard J. 571
Kalus, Borris 571
Kalus, S.E. 571
Kalyos 358
Kalyos, Aron Leybov 368
Kalyos, Gersh Moshkovich 367
Kalyos, Moshko Samuilov 368
Kalyos, Shmul Berkovich 365
Kalyos, Zeyda Leybovich 368
Kalyos, Zeyde 621
Kalyus, Gersh Adamov 367
Kalyuzhner, Aron Ayzikovich 366
Kamass, Annie 586
Kamiger, Gershka 468
Kaminer, Leonard 557
Kammen, Rachel 586
Kamrash, Isaac 567
Kamrash, Khaya-Feyga 379
Kamrash, Moishe 567
Kandelman, Yetta 601
Kanes, Jennie 591
Kanes, Louis 591
Kangun, Itsek 751
Kanis, George 581
Kanis, Harry 582
Kanis, Jennie 582
Kanis, Sandra 581
Kannas, Annie 593
Kannas, Louis 593
Kannis, Annie 586
Kanter, Icko 350
Kantor, Ayzyk 348
Kantor, Khaim 753
Kantor, Khaya 753
Kantorshtik, Isachar Dov ben Yosef 282
Kantorshtik, Meir 432, 453
Kantorshtik, Nr. I. 622
Kantorshtik, Yosef 190, 521, 522, 621
Kantselman, Aizik 411
Kanun, Baba Srul. 385
Kaplan, Annie 564, 582
Kaplan, Dora 560
Kaplan, Fannie 564
Kaplan, Gussie 582
Kaplan, Hannan 582
Kaplan, Harry 564
Kaplan, Henry 564
Kaplan, Hyman 560
Kaplan, Ida 564
Kaplan, Irving 598
Kaplan, Isaac 582
Kaplan, Jack 597
Kaplan, Khaim 563
Kaplan, Khana Rapoport 547
Kaplan, Lucille 582
Kaplan, Morris 564
Kaplan, Moshe 563
Kaplan, Mouzya 547
Kaplan, Pauline 597
Kaplan, Tsvi 563
Kaplan, Wolf 564
Kapler, Esther 582
Kapler, Ida 582
Kapler, Max 582
Kapler, Moshko Srulevich 366
Karafin, Itsko 438
Kardaner, Dov 204
Kardoner, Ida 581
Kardoner, Sam 581
Karetzky, Aaron 132
Karmazin, Noekh Srul. 362
Karon, Pauline 595
Karp, J. 585
Karp, Julius 592
Kartko, Srul 468
Kartsman, Mot Meerovich 376
Karvarska, Rukhlia 353
Karvasarskiy, Khaim Mordkovich 353
Kashcheva, Tatyana Markovna 151
Kasman, Vili 606
Kassman, Philip 606
Kasten, Sam 557
Katchmar 327
Katechkes, Sara 637
Katechkes, Simkha 399
Kats, Berko 352
Kats, Duvid 367
Kats, Duvid Abrumov 304
Kats, Fira 788
Kats, Gersh 397
Kats, Ios 366
Kats, Ios Naftulovich 370
Kats, Iosia 351
Kats, Itsko Abramovich 374
Kats, Khaim 368, 404, 407
Kats, Khaim Abrumov 370
Kats, Khaim Ios. 385
Kats, Khava 761
Kats, Meilikh 689, 760
Kats, Mordko 366
Kats, Moshe 437
Kats, Mot Yakovlev 305
Kats, Moyshe 751
Kats, Naftali 310
Kats, Nukhim 630
Kats, Oyzer Mendelevich 376
Kats, S. 201
Kats, Yakov 563, 761
Kats, Yankel 371
Kats, Zelman Leybov 367
Kats, Zise 761
Katsenelenbogen, Rabbi Alter of Zinkov 108
Katsenelenboygen, Ya. 383
Katsev, Shimon Khaninovich 374
Katsi, Ios 382
Katsi, Motel 382
Katsknelson, Ios Palt. 359
Katsmanov, Giy 179
Katz, Anna 569, 582
Katz, Bertha 566, 568
Katz, Carl 566
Katz, Dora 593
Katz, Eva 564, 566, 570, 582
Katz, Gedalia 569
Katz, Harry 564
Katz, Herman 564
Katz, Isadore 566
Katz, Isidore 555
Katz, Jack 566, 570
Katz, Jennie 582
Katz, Joseph 577, 597
Katz, Joseph P. 582
Katz, Lena 569
Katz, M. 586
Katz, Mae 566
Katz, Max 569
Katz, Michael 606
Katz, Mitchel 604
Katz, Morris 581, 582, 588
Katz, N. 562
Katz, Philip 596, 597
Katz, Rebecca 582, 605
Katz, Rivka 582, 606
Katz, Rose 596, 597
Katz, Sadie 555
Katz, Samuel 566, 568, 571
Katz, Sophia 588
Katz, Sophie R. 582
Katz, Zlota Goldman 569
Katzin, S. 571
Katznelson 337
Katzov, Khaika Yosef-Lazer 630
Kaufman 572
Kaufman, Aharon 621
Kaufman, Anna Krell 564
Kaufman, David 591
Kaufman, Dorothy 561
Kaufman, George 561
Kaufman, Ida 597
Kaufman, Isadore 561
Kaufman, Jacob 564, 582
Kaufman, Janet 561
Kaufman, Mary 564
Kaufman, Max 561
Kaufman, Nathan 597
Kaufman, Samuel 564
Kaufman, Sarah 561
Kaufman, Sylvia 561
Kazdoy, Rivka Bents. 380
Kelenzon, Eska 753
Kelenzon, Letia 753
Kelenzon, Moshko 753
Kelenzon, Nina 753
Kelenzon, Pinya 752
Kelenzon, Rukhlya 753
Kelenzon, Sura 753
Kelenzon, Yalka Itskovna 304
Kemerash 566
Kendiches, Khaike 696, 760
Kennis, Louis 585
Keren, Shmil 630, 631
Kersbur, Abram 758
Kersbur, Hana 758
Kershner, Joseph 582
Kerstnetskaya, Donya 789
Kertsburd, Yankel-Leyb Aronovich 367
Kertsman, Ester 379
Kertsman, Moshko Shulimovich 376
Kertsman, Shulim Umerovich 376
Kesel, Rabbi Mendel ben Tsvi of Letichev 108, 171, 196
Kesher, Abramko 352
Kesher, Ruvin 352
Kesler, Moshko Ruvinovich 376
Kessler, David 590
Kessler, Israel 588
Kessler, Nechuma 589, 593
Kesten, Anna 598
Ketser, Iosif 751
Ketser, Yodko Gersh. 384
Khaiah, Bendzshtein 596
Khaim the tailor 33
Khaim Yekhiel Meir, Rabbi 88
Khaimel. See *Heshel, Rabbi Khaim Menakhem*
Khaimowicz, Borukh 35
Khais, Ezra Iosevich 371
Khait, Itsko 179
Khait, Misha 788
Khait, Moshe 790
Khakham Tsvi 110
Khalemer, Pinkhas Shamov. 385
Khalfin, Bronya 699, 765, 768, 810
Khalfin, Iosif Srulevich 700
Khamerman, Binish 352
Khamerman, Khaim 352
Khandin, Leyba 371
Khankis, Rabbi Yitskhak of Medzhibozh 109, 310
Kharif, Shimon 366
Khariton 357, 553. See also *Hariton*

Khariton, Bentsion 641, 642
Khariton, Yankel Borukhovich 375
Kharitonov, Itska 356
Kharitonova, Leia 357
Khasik, Yankel 751
Khasin, Gilel Gershkovich 371
Khaskelberg, Khaya Mikhel. 385
Khaskelberg, Moshe 625, 641, 642
Khaskin, Volko Gershkovich 371
Khat, Alter 352
Khat, Leybish 352
Khaytman, Leyzor 351
Khaytsman, Gershko 365
Khaytsman, Gerts 365
Khaytsman, Ios 351
Khazin, Duvid 352
Khazin, Moshko 352
Khelemer, Ios Itskovich 369
Khelemer, Pinkas Shamovich 364, 365
Khersonskaya, Ester Ovshiev. 381
Kheyt, Yankel 637
Khinkis, Itsko 371
Khlaster, Borukh 356
Khmelniker, Feigan 764
Khmelniker, Itta 764
Khmelniker, Khaim 764
Khmelnitskiy, Berel 751
Khmelnitskiy, Metus 179
Khmelnitskiy, Shulim 751
Khmilnitskaya, Khaytsya 385
Khmilnitskaya, Mani Efroim. 359
Khmilnitskaya, Rivka Yank. 385
Khmilnitskiy, Borukh Abramovich 371
Khmilnitskiy, Isaak Berkovich 373
Khmilnitskiy, Shulim 371
Khmilnitskiy, Simkha Iosev. 385
Khodorov, Ios 384, 385
Khodorov, Ios Mordkov 363, 365
Khodorov, Ios Nukhimovich 371
Khodorov, Leyba Mordkov 363, 365, 384, 385
Khodorov, Mordko Leybovich 362, 371
Khodorov, Pin 371
Khodrov family 327
Khodrov, Simkha 327
Khoil, Dovid 108
Khorovei, Khaim 626
Khren, Khatsya 788
Khren, Sarra 788
Khunovich, Froyka 732, 765
Khunovich, Izrail 732
Khusid, Moshko Borukh. 383
Khusid, Moshko Itskovich 369
Kianofsky, Elizabeth 598
Kianofsky, Jacob 598
Kibrick, Benjamin 581
Kibrick, Hilda 581
Kibrik, Abram Pinkasov 305
Kibrik, Berish 107, 367
Kibrik, Berko Moshkovich 375
Kibrik, Gitlya Mordk. 382
Kibrik, Ikh. 621
Kibrik, Leibish Gertseliovich 353
Kibrik, Lipa Itskovich 366
Kibrik, Mortko Iankeliovich 353
Kibrik, Moshko Berkovich 375
Kibrik, Moshko Gersh. 383
Kibrik, Rasi 764
Kibrik, Shmul 370
Kibrik, Shmul Moshkovich 374
Kibrik, Tsipora 751
Kibrikova, Ekhvid 353
Kibrikova, Ita 353
Kibrikova, Leia Usherovna 353
Kichel, Mendel 179
Kielmanowicz, Lieyba 449
Kigel, Aron Leib 178
Kigel, Avram 758
Kigel, Gdal Abovich 370
Kigel, Gdalya 751
Kigel, Genya 789
Kigel, Genya Gershk. 379
Kigel, Ilya Markovich 151
Kigel, Khaim 178, 351
Kigel, Lev Smulevich 151
Kigel, Maks 758
Kigel, Marik 758
Kigel, Moshko Gdal-Shmulevich 376
Kigel, Pesya 758
Kigel, Polya 758
Kigel, Rabbi Aharon Ari 311
Kigel, Sarra Iosifovna 151
Kigel, Sofya Yakovlevna 151
Kigel, Srul Ovshiev. 367, 378
Kigel, Tamara 758
Kigel, Tema 758
Kigel, Tenya 787
Kigel, Vol Gershkovich 351, 353
Kigel, Yissakhar Dov 311
Kigel, Yudlya Shmul. 379
Kigel, Zus Voliovich 353
Kigil, Gedel Abram. 363
Kigil, Sonia 151
Kigis, Kisil, Moshkovich 372
Kilerman, Berko 352
Kilerman, Moshko-Leyba Luzerovich 376
Kilinzon, Moshko Itskovich 374
Kilinzon, Srul Moshkovich 374
Kindelson, Ethel 555
King, Jack 595
Kiperbarg, Moshko Benyuminovich 367
Kiperman 473
Kiperman, Khaya 467
Kiperman, Rabbi Wolf of Makov 105, 130
Kiperman, Srul Borukhovich 466, 467
Kipiler, Aron 730, 731
Kipiler, Sonya 731, 732
Kipiler, Vladimir 666, 674, 729, 732, 765
Kipnis, Jack 606
Kipnis, Shlioma Leibovich 353
Kirchman, Sarah 581
Kirkif, Itsek 751
Kirsch, Jacob 569
Kirschman, Louis 579
Kirschner 579
Kirschner, Ida 581
Kirschner, Minnie 579
Kirschner, Theodore 581
Kirshner, Abraham 581, 641, 642
Kirshner, Bella 788
Kirshner, David 606
Kirshner, Kate 579
Kirshner, Mollie 581
Kirtsman, {illegible} Moshkovich 376
Kirtz, Julia 592
Kiselhof, Z. 244
Kiselik, B. 357
Kishnefsky, Jack 604
Kishnewsky 601
Kishnewsky, Saul 601
Kisilev, Volko Ekisilevich 376
Kisilief, H. 596
Kisiloff, Barney 596, 597
Kisiloff, Carl 597
Kisiloff, Helen 597
Kisiloff, Minnie 596, 597
Kisiloff, Rose 597
Kitces, Rabbi Tsvi Wolf 56, 67, 69, 70, 103, 168, 345, 452, 478, 797, 802
Kitry, P. 562
Kitser, Adelya 690, 760
Kitses. See *Kitces*
Kitshes, Shmul-Vol 353
Kitsis 378. See *Kitces*
Kitsis, Fayvel 371
Kitsis, Ios. Fayvel. 384
Kitzes. See also *Kitces*
Kitzes family 633
Kivolich 179
Kizhnerman, Itsko Shlemovich 376
Kizhnerman, Mendel 473
Kizhnerman, Moshko Shlemovich 376
Kizhnerman, Shama, Moshkovich 376
Kizner, Abraham 581
Kizner, Dobeh 761
Kizner, Itschak 761
Kizner, Mindel 761
Kizner, Rose 581
Klasik, Helen 606
Klasik, Khehila 606
Klatzkin, Benjamin 595
Klatzkin, Mildred 591
Kleiman, Leizor 410
Kleiman, Mortko Leizorovich 410
Kleiman, R. 271
Kleiman, Srul 480
Klein, Ben 596
Klein, Beryl 527, 530
Klein, Miriam 596
Kleinberg, Max 592
Kleinberg, Rosina 592
Kleinberg, Teibel 592
Kleinerman, Aaron 598
Kleinerman, Clara 598
Kleinerman, Harry 597
Kleinfam, Leyb 751
Kleinman, Basya Idelevna 305
Kleinman, Katie 595
Kleinman, Manya Idelevna 304
Kleinman, Morris 595
Kleinmann, Moshe 618
photograph 618
Kleinsberg, Rosina 586
Klekband, Raful Abramovich 375
Kleyman 399
Kleyman, Abram 732
Kleyman, Khaim 368
Kleyman, Polia 753
Kleyman, Sema 753
Kleyman, Srul 404, 522
Kleyman, Srul Mendelevich 367
Kleyman, Yankel 368
Kleyner, Khaim 751
Kleynerman, El Gershkovich 372
Kleynman, Ginda Nukhim. 385
Kleynman, Nukham 371
Kleynman, Yodko Ayzikovich 374
Klich, Itsko Duvidovich 372
Klig, Fima 788, 789
Klig, Itsko Duvidovich 366, 382
Klig, Khaim 788, 790
Kliger, Khaim Mordkovich 366
Kligerman, Yankel Meerovich 375
Kligman, Benyamin 473
Klinger, Moyshe 751
Kloyzner 751
Kloyzner, Fishel 366
Kluber, Sheyva Izrail. 386
Klugman, Lew 572
Klurfeld, Gershon 395, 397
Klurfeld, Reyzya Srul. 385
Klurfeld, Sid 606
Klurfield, Sidney 604
Klyman, Julius 572
Kneple, Yakov Efimovich 152
Kneyloz, Khaim-Gersh 365
Kneyluz, Leybish 367
Kniazer, Jennie 582
Kniazer, Max 582
Knisyn, Gdal 346
Knur, Abrashko 179
Knur, Mordko Mordkovich 365
Knut, Vol 178
Koch, Anna 581
Kochmanka 347
Kodner, Rivka 379
Kogan family 758
Kogan, Aron Zeli-Monovich 374
Kogan, Borukh 381
Kogan, Dvoyra Duv. 385
Kogan, Ezra Ar. 383
Kogan, Gershko Duvidovich 370
Kogan, Khaim Aronovich 374
Kogan, Leyba 490
Kogan, Motya 811
Kogan, Perl 690, 760
Kogan, Simkha 750
Kogan, William 564
Kogan, Z. 752
Kogen, Paula 601
Kogos, Berko Iosevich 366
Kogos, Kisil Moshkovich {same person ?} 372
Kohen 110, 825
Kohen, Shmuel ben Zalmen 507
Koifman, Eliahu 563
Koifman, Iudka 407
Koifman, Moishe Nusinov 305
Koifman, Moshe 563
Koifman, Roza Nusinovna 305

Koifman, Shlema 397
Kokish, Itsko Yankelevich 372
Kokoruza, Rabbi Yankel ben Hersh of Volkovintsy 105, 130
Kolawsky, Louis 572
Kolbes, Benjamin 572
Kolinsky, Anna Schwartz 557, 558
Kolinsky, Harry 557, 558
Kolish, Hertz 588
Kollman, Louis 557
Kollman, Rose 557
Kolomeisky, Iosif 108
Kolomeisky, Leiba 108
Kolomeisky, Yankel 108
Kolomeyskiy, Leyba Khaimovich 365
Kolomeyskiy, Moshko 368
Koltshinski, Moshe 621
Komarogkin, Mikhel Azrielov 305
Konat, Etla Srulevna 305
Konat, Sura Srulevna 305
Kondel, Aron 366
Konson, Leib 208
Konstanitanov, Ios 179
Kontorov, Elia 357
Kontorov, Faibish 356
Kontorshchik, Iosif 365
Kontorshchik, Samuil Iosevich 368
Kopciak, Wolf 582
Kopeliovich, Abram 130
Kopeliszyn, Froim 349
Kopelson, Abe 566, 569
Kopelson, Pearl 569
Kopit, Itsko Leyzorovich 367
Kopit, Zeyda Khaimovich 374
Koplick, Bertha 561
Koplick, Max 561
Koplick, Ruth 561
Koplick, Susan 561
Koptinyok, Manya 152
Korchmak, Gersh 751
Korchmar, Gershon Duvidovich 371
Kordiner, Rabbi D.B. haKohen of Medzhibozh 109
Koremb, Simkha 473
Koren, Eva 787, 788, 789, 790
Koren, Tsalik 751
Korenblit, Shmul Gershkovich 375
Koretskiy, Aron Leyzorovich 370
Korf, Itsko Abramovich 466
Korf, Mordko 362
Korikh, Leyzor Mordkovich 372
Korikh, Shlema Ikhelevich 372
Korkh, Duvid Yankel 352
Korkh, Srul Usher 352
Korn, Alex 279, 316
Korn, Bella 591
Korn, Shmuel 605, 626
Kornblit, S. 208
Koros, Berko 366
Korshmar, Gersh 687, 760
Kortschmon, Shmuil 438
Kosover, Mordkhe 214
Kotkow, Icko 347
Kotlar, Khana 596
Kotlar, Leib 596
Kotlarman, Borukh Iosev 305
Kotlarz, Faytel 348
Kotlarz, Leyba 449
Kotlarz, Leybka 348
Kotler, Nis Moshkovich 376
Kotlowsky, Louis 572
Kotlyar, Moshko 367
Kotlyar, Srul 473
Koton, Meyer 557
Koton, Rose 557
Kovaleva, Zislia Meierovna 467
Kovalsky, Girsh 649
Kovitz, Joel 557
Kovitz, Susan Stein 557
Kowelski, Bluma 346
Kowelski, Inkiel 347
Kowelski, Ios 347
Kowelski, Majorko 350
Kowelskiy, Ila 449
Kowler, Jacob 577
Koyfman, Abram Slemovich 366
Koyfman, Abramko 352
Koyfman, Duvid 352
Koyfman, Duvid Srulevich 377
Koyfman, El Nakhmanovich 376
Koyfman, Gdal 352
Koyfman, Ira 788
Koyfman, Khaim Iosevich 365
Koyfman, Khasya 762
Koyfman, Khova 762
Koyfman, Meer 352
Koyfman, Modko Khaim. 378
Koyfman, Nuna 762
Koyfman, Shulim 352
Koyfman, Zisya 762
Kozak, Fishel 751
Kozak, Khaim-Srul Duvidovich 365
Kozak, Moszko 349
Kozak, Srul Shlemovich 367
Kozak, Yankel 751
Kozovyi, Ios 179
Kraizman, Asya 761
Kraizman, Rakhil 761
Kraizman, Sheva 761
Krakauer, Bella 589
Krakower, Bella 593
Krakower, David 593
Krakower, Sarah 593
Kramarka, Judycha 350
Kramarz, Fajuch 347
Kramarz, Hotka 449
Kramarz, Iankiel 348
Kramarz, Iontef 346
Kramarz, Wolf 449
Kramarz, Zyskiel 348
Kramer, Abraham 581
Kramer, Abraham J. 598
Kramer, Anna 598
Kramer, Brana 598
Kramer, Celia 558, 604
Kramer, Charles 598
Kramer, Frank 557
Kramer, Gershon 596
Kramer, Golda 596
Kramer, Joseph 598
Kramer, Lilian 569
Kramer, Nettie 581
Kramer, Sam 604
Kramer, Sarah 557, 558
Kramrash, Fannie 569
Krantz 606
Krantz, Dina 604
Krantz, Eva 604
Krantz, Joseph 604
Krasnoshteyn, Klara Falkovich 780
photograph 780
Krasnoshteyn, Vladimir 780
photograph 780
Kraus, Goldie 588
Krauss, Samuel 588
Kraver, Blima 554
Kraver, Tsvi 554
Kravets, Berko Abramovich 367
Kravets, Itsko Khaimovich 374
Kravits, Berko 107
Kravits, Mordko 107
Kravitz, Joseph 606
Krawiec, Abramko 349
Krawiec, Ayzyk 349
Krawiec, Enoch 350
Krawiec, Gdal 346
Krawiec, Hanania 349
Krawiec, Herszko 349
Krawiec, Iankiel 349, 350
Krawiec, Ios 347
Krawiec, Iudka 348
Krawiec, Moszko 348
Krawiec, Srol 349
Krawiec, Szachno 348
Krawiec, Szepsel 348
Krawiec, Szlomka 348
Krawiec, Szywach 349
Krawiec, Wigder 348
Krawiec, Wol 346
Krayzer, Shendlaya Berk. 384
Krayzman, Duvid Volevich 376
Krayzman, Itsko 372
Krayzman, Manya 789
Kreger, Becky 581
Kreger, Jack 581
Kreimer, Nekha 386
Kreisler, Doris 598
Kreisler, Philip 597, 598
Kreisler, Rose 598
Kreisler, Stanley 598
Kreitman, Bluma 472
Kreitman, Leib 473
Kreitman, Moshko 472
Kreitshmer, David 606
Kreizman, Manya 303
Kreizman, Shmil 303
Kremen, Busya 751
Kreminetsky 303
Kreychman, Zus Leyzorovich 366
Kreychmer, Ioyna Erikhimovich 374
Kreychmer, Mordko Berkovich 374
Kreyman, Ester 379
Kreyman, Gersko 365
Kreyman, Itsko Gershkovich 368
Kreymarman, Ovshiya Meerovich 374
Kreymer, Moshko Aronovich 372
Kreymer, Zeyda 386
Kreymerman, Gitlya 383
Kreyna, Kelman 351
Kreyzman, Itsko 352
Kreyzman, Luzer 130
Krichinsky, Joshua Morris 610
Krieger, Chia 591
Krieger, Jack 591
Krieger, Sam 585
Krieger, Samuel 591
Kriger, Leyba 372
Krigsgaber, Ios-Ber Umer. 362
Krilerdska 751
Krimens, Yossel 637
Krimer, Zeyda 371
Krimnuz, Abramko Nusinovich 376
Krimnuz, Yankel-Moyshe Nusinovich 376
Krisher, Mortko 352
Krishtal family 759
Krishtal, Khaika 714
Krishtal, Zile 759
Krishtul, Myer 751
Krisman, T. 379
Krit, Berko 751
Kritsshteyn, G. 488
Kritsshteyn, Gershko Iosev 365
Krivoshel, Klara 788
Krivoshey 752
Krochak, Khil 750
Krochak, Mef 750
Krokhmalnik, Shoil 751
Kronberg 566
Krotman, Enya Nukh. 383
Kruhtenk, Leyba 346
Krukin, Anna 595
Krupko, Yasha 787
Krupko, Zenya 787
Krupky, Myer 593
Krupnik, Benjamin 565
Krupnik, Elias 565
Krupnik, Leyzor Shmul. 367, 379
Krupnik, Meylikh Itskovich 368
Krut, Berko Pinkhas. 385
Krut, Itsko Pinkhas. 381
Krut, Khana 303
Krut, Leyba Falikov 370
Krut, Pin Iosevich 370
Krutiy, Ios Abramovich 374
Krutiy, Ovshiya Abramovich 374
Krutt, J. 562
Krys, Ios 179
Krysyszyn, Ios 348
Kubrik family 758
Kuhn 566
Kumer, Shimon 366
Kupchick, E. 562
Kupchick, R. 562
Kupchick, S. 562
Kupchick, Y. 562
Kuper, E. 510
Kuperberg, Izrail Berkovich 363
Kuperman 505

Kupershlok, Froim 694, 760
Kupershmid, Ayzik Shulimovich 375
Kupershmid, Ira Shmulevich 366
Kupershmidt, Duv. Yank. 378
Kupershmidt, Shmul 762
Kupershmidt, Yudel 762
Kupershteyn, Abramko 372
Kupershteyn, Froim 366
Kupets family 763
Kupets, Nusin Mendelevich 359, 363, 375
Kupets, Zus Nusinovich 374
Kuphoff 566
Kupiec, Szmelko 347
Kupikes, Shmul 179
Kupit, Mari 763
Kupit, Meir 740, 763
Kupit, Moshe 763
Kupshik 519
Kupstov family 489
photograph 489
Kupstov, Aaron 202, 488, 522
photograph 489
Kupstov, Yetta 489
photograph 489
Kupstow, Eva 566
Kuptsov 681
Kuptsov, Aron Zeylikovich 365
Kuptsov, Itsko Aronov 370, 385
Kuptsov, Manya 758
Kuptsov, Sonya 758
Kuptsov, Srul 758
Kuptsov, Teysya 758
Kuptsow, Albert 566
Kuptsow, Anna 566, 568
Kuptsow, David 566, 568
Kuptsow, Eva 568
Kuptsow, Fannie 566, 568
Kuptsow, Hyman 566, 568
Kuptsow, Joseph 569
Kuptsow, Mollie 566, 568
Kuptsow, Nathan 566, 568
Kuptsow, Sol 566
Kuptsow, Solomon 568
Kuptzof, Fanna 572
Kuptzoff 572
Kupzoff, Nathan 572
Kuris 781, 814
Kuris, Berko Leyzorovich 372
Kurtsman 354, 358
Kurtsman, Abram 758
Kurtsman, Borukh Alter. 383
Kurtsman, Esfir Yakovlevna 305
Kurtsman, Ester 379
Kurtsman, Gershko 179
Kurtsman, Iosia 351
Kurtsman, Ishia 758
Kurtsman, Izrail Yakovlov 305
Kurtsman, Khaim 351
Kurtsman, Khantsya Shmul. 378
Kurtsman, Leib 179
Kurtsman, Leya Moshk. 383
Kurtsman, Leyb 758
Kurtsman, Leyba Ovshiev. 367, 378
Kurtsman, Mendel 378, 630
Kurtsman, Mordko 107
Kurtsman, Mordko Ovshievich 367
Kurtsman, Moshko Mordkovich 367
Kurtsman, Moysha Leib 351
Kurtsman, Nukhil 438
Kurtsman, Peysakh 367
Kurtsman, Peysakh Gershkovich 366, 380
Kurtsman, Rakhil Yakovna 305
Kurtsman, S. R. 387
Kurtsman, Sender 108, 368
Kurtsman, Shaya 367
Kurtsman, Shendl 758
Kurtsman, Shlema 368
Kurtsman, Shmuel 492, 493
Kurtsman, Shmul 368
Kurtsman, Srul 179
Kurtsman, Sura Moshk. 380
Kurtsman, Udko 179
Kurtsman, Vol 178
Kurtsman, Wolf 597
Kurtsman, Yasher 368
Kurtsman, Yudel 572
Kurtsmin, Srul 352
Kurtz, Irving 604
Kurtzman 569
Kurtzman, Benjamin 557, 558, 560
Kurtzman, Bernard 564
Kurtzman, David H. 550, 642
photograph 550
Kurtzman, Dora 566, 572, 582
Kurtzman, Edna 560
Kurtzman, Eva 566, 569
Kurtzman, Florence 560
Kurtzman, H.A. 572
Kurtzman, Hanna Wolson 550
Kurtzman, Hava 572
Kurtzman, Isadore 566
Kurtzman, Israel 566
Kurtzman, Julius 568, 572
Kurtzman, Max 572
Kurtzman, Moshe 550
Kurtzman, Nathan 564
Kurtzman, Rebecca 557, 558
Kurtzman, Robert 560
Kurtzman, Sam 566, 567, 569, 572
Kurtzman, Samuel 564, 576
Kurtzman, Yetta 564
Kurtzman, Yudel 572, 575
Kusher 509
Kusher, Anne 606
Kusher, Henny 606
Kushner, Gashilel Avyerovich 374
Kushner, Gershko 367
Kushner, Liebe 589
Kushner, Sara 554
Kushner, Velvel 554
Kushnir, Aizik 386
Kushnir, Itsko 352
Kushnir, Shmul 371
Kusnierz, Iawel 348
Kusnierz, Icko 348
Kusnierz, Ruwen 349
Kusnierz, Srol 349
Kusnierz, Zaywel 349
Kusznierka, Szaycha 347
Kusznierz, Iankiel 347
Kutar, M. 524
Kutover, Rabbi Gershon 451
Kutzlofsky, Louis 566
Kutzman, H. 600
Kuz, Khait 179
Kuzenogiy, Alexander 775
Kuzminer, Rukhlya Iovel. 383
Kvasha, Borukh Abramovich 353
Kvasha, I. 357
Kvasha, L. 357
Kvasha, Leib Duvidovich 353
Kvasha, Piza Pinkhasovna 152
Kvasha, Polina Isakovna 152
Kvasha, V. 357
Kvasha, Vladimir Naumovich 152
Kvasho, Ios Volkovich 370
Kventsel, Musya 732
Kvica, Mella 758
Kvuris, Gershko 352
Kytsman, Meer 179

L

Labirova, Gudy 178
Lachman 349
Lakhman, Itsek Meer- Yankelevich 375
Lakhterman, Abram Mordko-Leybovich 375
Lakhterman, Rukhlya Abr. 383
Lakhterman, Shmul Mordko-Leybovich 375
Lances, Israel 585, 586
Lances, Samuel 589
Lances, Sarah 589
Land, Pesya Khaim. 385
Landa rabbinical family 106, 168
Landa, Froim 371
Landa, Isaak 359
Landa, Leyba Elevich 371, 384
Landa, M. 488
Landa, Rabbi Benjamin of Letichev 106, 359, 387
Landa, Rabbi Issachar Dov-Ber haLevi 81, 106, 114, 167
Landa, Yosef 106, 107
Landau 606
Landau, Rabbi Ezekiel 451
Lande, Aizik 751
Landman, Breina 593
Landman, Max 563
Landsman, Benjamin 600
Landsman, Eva 561
Landsman, Max 561
Landsman, Rachel 598
Langer, Anna 562
Langer, H. 562
Langerman, Elizabeta Borisovna 151
Langerman, Fima 774
Langerman, H. 572
Langerman, Larisa Efrimovna 151
Langerman, Usher Evseevich 151
Langman, Shlema Ios. 387
Langman, T. 596
Langman, Tsvi 596
Lansky, Meyer 475, 476
Lansman, Alka 758
Lansman, Nellya 758
Lantsman, Shmil 751
Lapitzky, Eliahu 794
Lapshun, Isaak Davidovich 153
Lapshun, Riba Davidovna 153
Lapson, Julia 561
Lapson, Nathan 561
Laskin 606
Laskin, Anna 601
Laskin, Bella 603
Laskin, Benny 601, 603, 605
Laskin, Borukh *141*
Laskin, Itsko Abramovich 375
Laskin, Norma 604
Laskin, Shimon 742, 764
Laskin, Sura 742
Laskin, W. 603
Laskin, William 604
Laskin, Yankel 742
Laster, Maria 674, 675
Latman, C. 562
Latman, Frida 753
Latman, Leyzer Abr. 385
Latman, S. 562
Latman, Zemvel 753
Latner, Shmas 751
Latsshun, Gitlya 380
Lattman, Dr. Jacob 582
Lattman, Max 555
Lattman, Miriam 555
Lattman, Yetta 582
Laviner, Shlioma 352
Laytman, Frida 763
Laytman, Zaynvid 763
Lazebnik, Fiszel 348
Lazebnik, Shimon 351
Lazebnik, Wol 348
Lazerson, Esther 604
Lazerson, Morris 604
Lebow, Kitty 579
Lebra, Khaya 351
Lechechevoi, Idka 179
Lechterman, Chaiah 605
Lechterman, Muti-Tsirles 605
Lederman, Lena 582
Leder, Pinkhas 563
Lederman 586
Lederman, Abraham 588
Lederman, Fanya 762
Lederman, Frima 761
Lederman, Louis 582
Lederman, Maika 762
Lederman, Mollie 586
Lederman, Morris 582
Lederman, Rae 582
Lederman, Rebecca 601
Lederman, Ruvin 473
Lederman, Sarra 761
Lederman, Tabel 762
Lederman, William 582
Lederman, Zusya 762
Lees, Juleis 572
Leff, H. 572
Lefin, Mendel 173, 174, 292-293, 295, 421, 425
Lehr, Nat 585, 590

Lehr, Sarah 590
Leib, Rabbi of Medzhibozh 105
Leibenzon, Leizer 356
Leibovich, Srul 357
Leiderman, Berl Leibovna 306
Leiderman, Rivka Leibovna 305
Leifer, J. 600
Leifer, Moshe 554
Leiferman, Gersh Pinkosovich 757
photograph 757
Leifner, Bertha 555
Leifner, Morris 555
Leikhman, Moshko 472
Lekht, Mordko 649
Lekhtman, Avrum Yolevich 371
Lekhtmann 751
Lekhtser, Ios Berkovich 368
Lekman, Khasya Moshk. 381
Lekman, Meer 372
Lelpner, Lena 555
Lemelekhis, Mordko 368
Lemish, Nus 351
Lenderman, Iosia 468
Lenerman, Shulim 170
Lenetsky, B. 600
Lenferman, Itsko 468
Lepoff 572
Leptin, Moshka 179
Lerer family 630
Lerman, Gisia 742, 764
Lerman, Marcus 596, 597
Lerman, Rose 596, 597
Lerner 572
Lerner, Avner Shlemovich 376
Lerner, Berko Borukhovich 366
Lerner, Dr. George 557
Lerner, Frank 579
Lerner, Herman 579
Lerner, Hyman 566
Lerner, Itsko 356, 372
Lerner, Jennie 579
Lerner, Khaim 372
Lerner, Laura 604
Lerner, Lenya 789
Lerner, Manya 761
Lerner, Moshko Leybovich 372
Lerner, Moyshe 788
Lerner, Nakhman Srulevich 366
Lerner, Roma 761
Lerner, Sara 789
Lerner, Sarah 566
Lerner, Shmul 372
Lerner, Sonya Faivelovna 306
Lerner, Srul 303
Lerner, Volko Srulevich 372, 381
Lerner, Yankel Mendelevich 375
Lesser, Sam 606
Letel, Moshka 179
Letyn, Moszko 349
Lev, Yankel 371, 385
Leve, Dora 569
Leve, Jacob 582
Leve, Nus 569
Leve, Rose 582
Levenstein, Abraham 582
Levenstein, Cecelia 582
Levenstein, Fannie 588
Levenstein, Schaia 588
Levi Yitshak, Rabbi of Berdichev 72, 85
Levin 569
Levin, Boris 303, 673, 674, 678, 700, 765
family 701
photograph 700
Levin, Chana Heshel 606
Levin, Freda 566
Levin, Froim 372
Levin, Gersh Abramovich 368, 378
Levin, I. 566
Levin, Jack 566
Levin, Joseph 566, 569
Levin, Kava 468
Levin, L. I. 378
Levin, Max 566, 569, 572
Levin, Pauline 595
Levin, Rebecca 566, 569
Levin, Ruvin 700
Levin, S. 378
Levin, Sam 572, 575
Levin, Samuel 595
Levin, Sarah 566
Levin, Sophia 700
Levine, Celia 557
Levine, Sam 557
Levinshteyn, Volf Khaimovich 353
Levinsohn 403
Levinson, Barry 610
Levinson, Betty xxiii, 393
Levinson, George 557
Levinthal, David 566
Levintub, Ikhel Yankelevich 371
Levis, Becky 566
Levis, Mary 566
Levishteyn, Gershko 179
Levits, Itskhak 107
Levy, Betty 557
Levy, Joseph 557, 558
Levy, Martin 557
Leyba the baker 33
Leyba the tailor 33
Leybenzon, Shmul-Ios Nukhimovich 368
Leybka the schoolteacher 33
Leybka, Rabbi 347
Leybkowicz, Iankiel 346
Leybnerniter, Mortka 351
Leybovich, Maiorko 372
Leybovich, Moshko Khaim 352
Leybowicz, Ela 118, 449
Leybowicz, Ios 449
Leybowicz, Mikhel 35
Leybowicz, Peysach 348
Leybowicz, Szmuylo 346
Leybzon, Aron 368
Leybzon, Srul Zelm. 379
Leybzon, Sura Zelm. 379
Leyci, son of Nakhman 33
Leyderman, Abram Shmulevich 372
Leyderman, Basya Usher. 381
Leyderman, Berko Shmulevich 372
Leyferman, Pinkhas Azrilevich 371
Leyferman, Yankel Itskovich 372
Leys, Zeylik Itk. 381
Leyzor the winemaker 33
Leyzorowicz, Hershko 35
Leyzorowicz, Shmuylo 35
Leznerer, Liber 365
Leznover family 758
Liberberg, David 588
Libergman, Gersh Leizorovich 468
Liberman 18, 491
Liberman, Leyba 368
Liberman, Mortko 352
Liberman, Srul 179
Liberzon, Ios Liberovich 366
Librant, Itsek 751
Lichtenstein, Charles 604
Lichtman, Anna 582
Lichtman, Eva 558
Lichtman, Jacob 557, 558
Lichtman, Max 582
Lieberberg, Tillie 586
Lieberburg, Lillian 581
Lieberman, Anna 562
Lieberman, B. 562
Lieberman, Dr. David 579
Lieberman, F. 562
Lieberman, Fannie 588
Lieberman, Harris 589
Lieberman, I. 577
Lieberman, Isidor 562
Lieberman, Jack 563
Lieberman, Louis 562
Lieberman, Miriam 562, 579
Lieberman, N. 562
Lieberman, Sarah 562
Lieberman, Stanley 561
Lieberman, Sylvia 563
Liebersohn, Solomon 598
Lieberson, Rachel 598
Lieberson, Rebecca 598
Lieberzohn, Solomon 597
Liebman, Frank 579
Liebman, Harry 557, 558
Liebman, Sadi 579
Liebman, Samuel 579
Lieybowicz, Nota 449
Lifshits, Ben-Zion 572, 576
Lifshits, Leah 364
Lifshits, Yuliy 807
Like, Evelyn 598
Like, Harry 598
Like, Lena 598
Like, Lenora 598
Likhttser, Khayka Itsk. 380
Limanowicz, Mortko 35
Limits, Itskhak 108
Linetski, Yitzkhok Yoel 293
Lipets, Shmil 750
Lipman, Meir 563
Lipschitz, Benjamin 567
Lipshits, Ben Zion 566
Lipshitz, Samuel 569
Lipshutz, Benjamin 569
Lipshutz, Cecelia 568
Lipshutz, Dr. Samuel 572
Lipshutz, Rebecca 589
Lipshutz, Rose 569
Lisiy, Abr. Duv. 383
Lisiy, Abram Moshkovich 365
Lisiy, Favel Duvidovich 375
Lisker, Ikhel Mendelevich 375
Lisker, Yankel Khaimovich 371
Liskin, Velvel 606
Liss, Hyman 572
Liss, Sol 582
Lisso, Rukhlya Itsk. 385
Litenberg, Moshko 472
Litenetsky, Faitel 386
Litinsky, N.W. 274
Litkovetskiy 752
Litmanowicz, Icko 347
Litvak, Fridel 372
Litvak, Itska 356
Litvak, Leya Simkh. 385
Litvin 572
Litvin, Philip 572
Litvinetskiy Yankel 368
Litwin, Isko 348
Livka, Togot 351
Livshits, Ariya 372
Livshits, D. M. 381
Livshits, Leyzer Shoel. 381
Livshits, Mordko Shoilevich 366, 381
Livshits, Moyshe 789
Livshits, Nyunya 788
Livshits, Oyzer 366
Livshits, Polya 789
Livshits, Shupl Khaimovich 366
Lkenis, Sol 178
Loeb, Lillian 572
Loeb, Rabbi Aryeh of Shpole 72, 74, 85
Lonerman, Shulim 130
Lopatin, Charles 579
Lopatin, Jerome 581
Lopatin, Leyzor Gershonovich 365
Lopats, Anna 593
Lorber, Mariasa 588
Lorber, Max 588
Loshak, Liza Shlemovna 152
Lubask 566
Lubman, Moshko 179, 368
Lucynski, Kielman 449
Luczynski, Naftoli 346
Ludmir, Sora 316
Lukashevich 196
Lukashevich, A.M. 295
Lukatcher 509
Lukin, Benjamin xxiii, 38, 92, 96, 124, 133, 148, 445, 479, 522, 523, 656, 657, 745, 770, 771
Luksenberg, Aizik 563
Luksenberg, Tsvi 563
Lumish, Max 561, 567
Lumish, Mollie 564
Lumish, Morris 560
Lumish, Rose 560
Lumish, Ruth 561
Lumish, Sarah 560
Lunsk, Harry 566
Lunsk, Tillie 566

Luria, Isaac 51
Lutsky, Morris 593
Lutsky, Rosie 586
Lutsky, William 586, 593
Lutzky, Rosie 593
Luxenberg, Beckie 564
Luxenberg, Golda 564
Luxenberg, Harry 564
Luxenberg, Isidore 564
Lykashevich, A.M. 357
Lyolinetskiy, Boris Semenovich 152
Lyolineyskaya, Sheyntsya Pinkhisovna 152
Lyolka, Duvid Ovshievich 368

M

Macker, Chaim 559
Macktas, Bessie 564
Macktas, Morris 564
Maggid of Mezerich 53, 57, 72, 74, 76, 242, 616
  song 242
Magid 557
Magid, Louis 557
Magid, Moshko Mordkovich 368
Magid, Rubin 557
Magidson, Esther 560
Magit, Bertha 558
Magits, Duv. Akivov. 380
Magits, Pesya Shoel. 380
Magnes, Rabbi Judah L. 547
Mahler, Raphael 472
Maier Gershkovich, Rabbi of Derazhnia 105
Maimonides 282
Majorko 346
Majorkow, Rwen 347
Majoryszyn, Kilimnik 350
Mak, Meyer 303
Makhler, M. 752
Makogan, Khaim 437
Makogon 358
Makogon, Aron Peysakhovich 377
Makogon, Ayzik 368
Makogon, Es Moshkovich 365
Makogon, Khaim Leybovich 368
Makogon, Khaim Shmulevich 368
Makogon, Yankel Peysakhovich 365
Makolowitz, Nacha 593
Makoriya, Srul Volkovich 372
Malage, Khaim 293
Malakh, Khaim ben Solomon 48, 110, 116
Malamid, Moshko 352
Malamud. See also *Melamed, Melamud*
Malamud, Abram Ber 179
Malamud, Esfir Abramovna 305
Malamud, Iser Abramovich 305
Malamud, Joseph 596
Malamud, Leib 179
Malamud, Leyba 372
Malamud, Malvina Abramovna 305
Malamud, Moshko Yankelevich 372
Malamud, Necha 568
Malamud, Rose 598
Malamud, Samuel 598
Malamud, Simkha 372
Malamud, Tsipoyra Moshk. 383
Malamud, Yankel 372
Malemad, Isaac 572
Malis, Volko 396, 404
Malivin, P. 751
Malkiman 358
Malkiman family 759
Malkiman, Abram Isaak 201
Malkiman, Abram Volfovich 368
Malkiman, Aron 107, 629
Malkiman, Aron Alterovich 359, 362, 365, 380
Malkiman, Berko 372
Malkiman, Berl 762
Malkiman, El Aronovich 376, 387
Malkiman, Eliahu 628
Malkiman, Gerts Abramovich 372
Malkiman, Igor xxiii, 656, 766, 768, 771
Malkiman, Ioil Ar. 378
Malkiman, Ios 178
Malkiman, Israel 762
Malkiman, J. 562
Malkiman, Jocheved 298, 628
Malkiman, Khaya Burshteyn 650, 671, 700, 768
Malkiman, Nukhim Aronovich 368, 378
Malkiman, R. 562
Malkiman, Rabbi Yuil Aronovich of Letichev 109
Malkiman, Rivka 762
Malkiman, S. 562
Malkiman, Tayma Yosefomna 151
Malkiman, Y. 562
Malkiman, Zhenya 789
Malkin, Fannie 597
Malkin, Freda 597
Malkin, Julius 597
Malkin, Sarah 597
Malkin, Vladimir 655, 761, 766, 771
Malkis, Tevol 372
Mallen, Celia 582
Mallen, Harry 582
Malon, Gitel 605
Malvich, Vol 351
Malvich, Yankel Voliovich 129
Malvitch, Noil Enkel 178
Manashko, Abramko 33
Manashko, Ikhil 33
Manashkovich, Srul 356
Manasternego, Majorko 346
Manaszka 347
Manaszko 346
Mandel, Baba Naftul. 379
Mandel, Eva 582
Mandel, Froim Yankelevich 152
Mandel, Gershko Gershkovich 372
Mandel, Liber Ios. 384
Mandel, Moshe 510
Mandel, R. 752
Mandel, Shulim Yankelevich 152
Mandel, Solomon 582
Mandel, Tsila 303, 787, 788, 790
Mandel, Yankel Duvidovich 372
Mandelblit, Meyer 606
Mandell, M. 572
Manevich, Yankel 170
Mankevil, Shmuel 637
Mankovetsky 399
Mankovetsky, Yefrem 316, 416, 656, 766
Manstremy, Leyzir 449
Manzon, Volko 372
Marants, Berko 396
Marants, Ios 410
Marantz, Jack 572
Marantz, Yankel Nutovich 363, 368
Maranz, Rabbi Shmuel of Medzhibozh 109
Marcus, Meyer 557
Marcus, Sol 604
Marder, Khaim-Itsek Moshkovich 376
Marek, Peysakh 237, 279
Margoliot, Rabbi Meir 451
Margolioth, Frumet 114
Margolis family 764
Margolis, Abraham 572
Margolis, Frank 582
Margolis, L. 595
Margolis, Max 582, 587
Margolis, Rabbi Yikhiel Mikhel 111
Margolis, Rebecca 582
Margolis, Rose 582
Margulies, Philip 565
Margulis, Khana Nukh. 384
Margulis, Maryam 379
Margulis, Meer 368
Marinoff, Morris 566
Marinoff, Sylvia 566
Mark, Anita 561
Mark, Paul 561
Markizon, Froim 371
Markizon, Srul Leybovich 371
Markowicz, Mozsko 449
Marnoff, Morris 568
Marnoff, Sylvia 568
Marnowitchy, Sam 577
Marshall, Ida Bobick 592
Marsitshizaver 606
Martin, Sylvia 600
Marx, I. 560
Maryanchik, Meer Ioynovich 359, 363, 366, 382
Mashatskis, Buna 761
Mashatskis, Shaya 761
Mashatskis, Yosef 761
Mashberg, Mottel 598
Mashberg, Rose 598
Mashkit, Izya 788
Mashkit, Polya 788, 789
Mashtaler, L. 752
Masors, Esther 566, 570
Matles, Abraham 566
Matles, Al 566
Matsikh, Gershkovich 372
Matuk, Israel 572
Mausser, Robert 557
Maydannik, Leybka 349
Maydel, Abram 372
Mayerowitz, Morris 569
Mayrovitz, M. 572
Mazel 358
Mazover, Froim 372
Mazover, Ilish 382
Mazover, Moshko Shevel. 382
Mazover, Sara 787, 789
Medlowicz, Duwid 35
Mednick, Velvel 596
Mednik, Yankel 776
  photograph 777
Medvedovskiy, Beyla Shylimovna 151
Medvedovskiy, Yuriy Ionovich 151
Medzhibozhskaya, Beyla Pinkhas. 383
Meerovich, Borukh 383
Meerovich, Duvid 352
Meerovich, Itska 357
Meerovich, Leyba 130, 383
Meerovich, Meer 352
Meerovich, Moshko Itskovich 368
Meiberg, Michael xxiii, 171, 208, 212, 313, 315, 445, 446, 478, 480, 521, 522
Meidanik, Phil 605
Meir, Rabbi of Konstantynow 105
Meir, Rabbi of Letichev 108
Meishman, Harry 572
Meister, Isaac 555
Meister, Lena 555
Mekhelzon, Itsko 368
Melamed. See also *Malamud, Melamud*
Melamed, I. 572
Melamed, Isaac 572
Melamed, L. 244
Melamed, Neche 572
Melamed, Rabbi Pinchas ben Israel of Mikhalpol 109
Melamid, Pinkas 376
Melamud 751. See also *Malamud, Melamed*
Melamud, Gershko 179
Melamud, Iser Mendelevich 375
Melamud, Itsek 751
Melamud, Izrail Efremovich 152
Melamud, Kisil Shoyvelevich 375
Melamud, Leizer 554
Melamud, Mekhlya 554
Melamud, Olya 751
Meller, Zurikh Gershkovich 366, 384
Menachem Mendel, Rabbi of Kotzk 72
Mendelevich, Benyomon Abovich 368, 379
Mendelevich, Nusim 387
Mendelewitz, Dr. Jacob 554
Mendelewitz, Fanny 554
Mendeliovich, Aba 179
Mendeliovich, Duvid 352
Mendelowitz, Gussie 561
Mendelssohn, Moses 51, 290
Mendelzon, Mendel 352
Mendelzon, Mordko 368
Mendoks, Yakov 761
Menrowitz, Morris 586
Merants, Yank. Nut. 378
Merlin, Max 567
Mermon, Azril Nukhimovich 372
Mershon, Nukh. Azril. 381
Meshilekhis, Pesya Benyom. 379
Meshon, H. 600
Meshon, S/Sgt. Martin 600
Meshuris, Bertha 582
Messing, Joseph 600
Mestman, Dvosya Shmul. 383
Meszel, Tenze 349
Met, Shlomo 761

Metavits, Yankel 637
Mettler, B. 562
Meurowitz, Morris 593
Meurowitz, Osie 593
Meyer, Bessie 598
Meyer, Louis 162, 196, 302
Meyer, Yitzkhak 637
Meyerhoff, David 582
Meyeroff, Harry 579
Meyeroff, Ruth 579
Meyerowicz, Wol 35
Meyerowitz, Baruch 597
Meyerowitz, Bella 600
Meyerowitz, Bessie 598
Meyerowitz, Ida 558
Meyerowitz, Joseph 599
Meyerowitz, Rose 557
Meyers, Ida 586
Meyers, Moshe Khaim 637
Meyers, Samuel 588
Meylakh, Gershko Yankelevich 375
Meylman, Itsko 376
Meylman, Ovshiya 376
Michelson, Aron 757
Michelson, Bluma 757
Michelson, Celia 673, 783, 815
Michelson, Khaim 757
Michelson, Pinkhas 673, 757, 758, 766, 783, 815
Michelson, Sheindl 757
Michelson, Velvel 757, 783
Middleberg 568
Mihalevich, Belya 758
Mihalevich, Leva 758
Mikhalskiy, Ios. Ios. 385
Mikhalzon, Aron 637
Mikhalzon, Lippe 637
Mikhalzon, Yankel 637
Mikhel from Hungary 33
Mikhelevich, Leyzer Leyvievich 368
Mikhelevich, Shimshon Leybovich 368
Mikhelzun, Ios 351
Mikle, Kleinera 702
Mikovetskiy, Leyb 751
Miler, Sheva Moshkov 305
Milis, Itsko Mordk. 384
Milis, Rukhlya Berk. 384
Miller, Eddie xxiii, 382
Miller, Harry 582
Miller, Ida 599
Miller, J. 572
Miller, Samuel M. 560
Miller, Sarah 582, 601
Millis, Avrum 751
Millis, Bennie 593
Millis, Elya 695, 760
Millis, Froike 687, 690, 751, 760
Millis, Khaym 751
Millis, Tsalik 751
Millis, Zelda 751
Milman, Abramko 472
Milman, Duvid 473
Milman, Srul Moshkovich 367
Milman, Y. 572
Milshteyn 399, 752
Milshteyn, Abramko 376
Milshteyn, Aron Abramov 305
Milshteyn, Khaya 752
Milshteyn, Mordko Leybovich 375
Milshteyn, Moshko 752
Milshteyn, Nuta Mordk. 384
Milshteyn, Roza Abramovna 306
Milshteyn, Zus Leyviovich 375
Milzon, Matvey Yakovlevich 151
Milzon, Sara Zakhrovna 151
Miner, Lena 582
Miner, Samuel M. 582
Minkhis, Ios 179
Minnerman, Israel 593
Minnerman, Nathan 589, 593
Minnerman, Nora 588
Minor, Rabbi of Letichev 109, 124, 337
Minor, Rabbi Yosef Khaim 310
Minor, Yitzhak 310
Minory the capmaker 33
Mints, Ios Mendelevich 372
Mintz, Jacob 555
Mintz, Nekhma 554
Mintz, Rebecca 555
Mintz, Sam 554
Mintzes, Abraham 577
Mirelson, Aron 636
Mirlis, Itsko Mordekovich 368
Mirlis, Khaim 751
Miropolskaya, Etla Idelovna 305
Miropolskaya, Feiga Idelevna 305
Miropolskaya, Khana Idelevna 305
Mishenzhenik, Nuta 683
Mishkart, Volko 368
Mishkat, Mollie 582
Mishkat, Moshko 368
Mishkat, Samuel 582
Mishkin, Rebecca 564
Mishkin, Samuel 564
Mishnit, Sam 577
Mistman, Yukel 473
Misures, Pessie 601
Mite, Avrum 751
Mitelman family 764
Miterstein, Avigdor 563
Miterstein, Mary 564
Miterstein, Rebecca 564
Miterstein, Victor 564
Mittman, Sam 557
Moikherman, Lina 751
Moishe Khaim Ephraim, Rabbi of Sudilkov 161, 168, 172
Moishe, Zocender 702
Moishele. See *Heshel, Rabbi Moses*
Moizman, Louis 586
Mok, Gershko Itkovich 368
Mok, Ios Shmulevich 368
Mok, Moshko Shmulevich 368
Mokh, Itsko 179
Molin, Anna 582
Molin, Harry 582
Momentiva, Buka 751
Momentiva, Volko 751
Monasterny, Leyzer 119
Monastersky, Reuben 585, 590
Monastersky, Zelda 590
Mondshein, Fannie 555
Monosoff, Hary 603
Monzon, Gershko 368
Moorash, Sadie 561
Mop, Sheyndl 757
Mop, Shlil 757
Moran, Benjamin 595
Moran, Eva 595
Mordechai, Rabbi of Neshchiz 72
Mordkovich, Duvid Iosevich 371, 385
Mordkovich, Khayka 751
Mordkowitz, Isidor 559
Mordkowitz, Louis 559, 589
Morduchowicz, Newach 118
Morenis, Yosef 303
Moreynis, Dvoyra Itsk. 385
Moreynis, Shmul Duv. 385
Morgulis, Berko Lipovich 354
Morgulis, Gershko 107
Morgulis, Ios Lipovich 354
Morgulis, Itsko 179, 368
Morgulis, Khaim Itskovich 365
Morgulis, Mendel Duvidovich 365
Morgulis, Naum 610
Morgulis, Yankel 368
Morgulisova, Raitsia 354
Morgults, Berk 351
Morgults, Lipa 351
Morrison, Anne 592
Morrison, S. 585
Morrison, Samuel 592
Mortkovich, Shaya 351
Mortkovich, Shimon 351
Mortkowicz, Shloma 35
Moschitsky, Mae 557
Mosenkis, Rukhlya Benyam. 364, 385
Mosenzhnik, Ios 108
Moser, E. 554
Moshe Khaim Ephraim, Rabbi of Sudilkov 73, 74, 75, 106, 110
signature 75
Moshe Leib, Rabbi of Sassov 72
Moshitsky, Louis 582
Moshitsky, Nettie 582
Moshkit, Gershko 368
Moshko the baker 33
Moshko the butcher 33
Moshko, son of Yankel 33
Moshkovich family 758
Moshkovich, Volka 356
Moshkowicz, Aron 35
Moshkowicz, Mikhel 35
Moshkowicz, Shrul 35
Moshkowicz, Zeylik 35
Moskowicz, Josef 118
Moskowitz, H. 572
Moskowitz, Sarah 600
Moszkowicz, Gdal 347
Moszkowicz, Lieyzor 449
Moszkowicz, Symcha Bien 449
Motal, son of El 33
Motis, Avrum 368
Motkovski, Aron 357
Mottel, Bunia 686
Moykher-Sforim, Mendele 293
Moyzman, Aron 352
Mozaver 399
Mozaver, Abraham 636
Mozaver, Nakhum 636
Mozaver, Nukhim 399
Mozaver, Rivka 636
Mozinker, Berko Gershkovich 375
Mozniker, Shmul Khaimovich 375
Munblat, Leyva Berkovich 375
Munblat, Tsil Leyb. 383
Munblat, Yankel-Ios Leybiovich 375
Munik, Mendel 762
Munik, Shmuel 762
Muniow, Tewia 348
Munkart, Alter 352
Munkart, Mikhel 352
Munkart, Yankel 352
Munman, Sarah 599
Muskatblit, Aron 371
Muskatblit, Sura Alter. 385
Muterperil, Rabbi Asher Zelig ben Shloim of Mikhalpol 109
Muzykant, Berko 349
Mychal 346
Mychelowicz, Litman 349
Myerowitz 572
Myers, Oscar 588
Myers, Peter xxiii, 162, 196, 302
Myers, Sarah 588
Myerson, Louis 572
Myrilo, Manya Peysevna 153
Mytkouski, Peysach 350

N

Nachum, Rabbi of Chernobyl 72
Nadler, Robert 566
Naerman, Aron Yakovlevich 152
Naerman, Duvid Moshkovich 376
Naerman, Sura Shlemovna 152
Naftali, Rabbi of Ropshitz 72
Naiman, Isaac 563
Nakhlas, Lena 789
Nakhlas, Sema 789
Nakhman, Rabbi of Bratslav 73, 74, 85-86, 161, 191, 192, 197, 242, 291, 292, 616, 706
Nakhman, Rabbi of Horedenka 171
Nakhum the baker 688, 760
Narman, Aba Leybovich 375
Nash, Irving 597
Nass, Celia 597
Nass, Esther 596
Nass, Isaac 596
Nass, Louis 588
Nass, Rebecca 586
Nass, Rose 588
Nass, Samuel 588, 597
Nass, Yoshua 596
Nasses, Eva 603
Nasses, William 603, 604
Natanzon, Hirsch 515
Natanzon, Khaim 753
Natanzon, Zusya 515
Natchpolsky, Minnie 557, 558

Natchpolsky, Morris 557, 558
Natenzon, Itsko Khaimov 375
Natenzon, Khaim Alterovich 375
Nathan, Rabbi of Nemirov 86
Nathanson, Beckie 603
Nathanson, Bernard 592
Nathanson, Isidore 603, 604
Nathanson, Mollie 603, 604
Nathanson, S. 603
Nathanson, Zisi 601
Navizhenniy, Yankel Khaskelevich 375
Navreikh, Alter 351
Nebrat, Mikhail Iosifovich 153
Nebrat, Rakhil Yakovlevna 153
Nedvos, Zamnios 621
Needleman, Dora 562
Needleman, Sam 562
Nekhtman, M. 751
Nemchinitser, Ayzik 371
Nemerofsky, Ida 562
Nemerofsky, N. 562
Neremberg 566
Neremberg, Harry 566
Nerenberg, Elizabeth 568
Nerenberg, Harry 568
Neses, Nusin 352
Neshelshteyn, Noekh Shliomovich 367
Nesin, Gershko Berkovich 375
Nesin, Nuta Volevich 375
Nesin, Yankel Berkovich 375
Nesis, Aharon 630
Nesis, Eedle 806
Nesis, Khava 630, 631
Nesis, Khuna Yank. 384
Nesis, Mordko Vigdor. 383
Nesis, Moshko Nutovich 375
Nesis, Velvel 630
Nesis, Zev 626, 631
Nesler, Dora 184
photograph 184
Nesler, Lena 184
Nesses, Benjamin 604
Nesses, Ida 604
Nesses, Israel 604
Nesses, Jacob 604
Nesses, Norman 603
Nesses, Sarah 604
Neutuch, Elias 558
Neutuch, Jack 557
Neutuch, Rae 557
Nevakhovich, Judah Leib 290, 421
Nevreykh, Yankel 352
Newman, Esther 579
Newman, Isaac 564
Newman, Louis 579
Neyman, Itsko 368
Neyman, Khaim 751
Neyter, Benyomin Mordkovich 375
Niemiec, Mos 347
Niesmaczny, Majorko 346
Niger, Sh. 547
Nimelshteyn, Baba 381
Nirenberg 572
Nirenberg, Dora 586
Nirenberg, Volko 395, 397
Nirnberg, Dora 593
Nirnberg, Sam 593
Nisel, Mendel Ikhelevich 375
Nisetsman, Kh. 357
Nisim, Avi 605, 606
Nisim, Villi 606
Nisinson, Don 579
Nizner, Yodko 352
Norshover, F. 562
Norsolis, Shulim 129
Nosvetski, Leib 208
Notka 347
Notkowicz, Leybka 346
Notowicz, Lieyba 449
Notowicz, Zeylik 346
Nudel, Fanya 386, 762, 789
Nudel, Kuna 762
Nudel, Oyzer 788, 789, 790
Nudel, Sara 788
Nudel, Sonya 787, 788, 789, 790
Nudelman, Abrasha 759
Nudelman, Brukhe 706, 714, 716, 719, 759
Nudelman, Dvoira Abramovna Zilberman 705, 759
Nudelman, Efroim Leibovich 705, 706, 712, 714, 715, 716, 759
Nudelman, Froim Leybovich 368
Nudelman, Joseph 706, 726
Nudelman, Khaim Litny 351
Nudelman, Leib 179, 706, 709
Nudelman, Luba 725
Nudelman, Moishe 706, 711, 717, 759
Nudelman, Perl 759
Nudelman, Sonya 759
Nudelman, Yodko 371
Nudelman, Yoina 706, 759
Nudleman, Sarah 562
Nudyas, Srul 352
Nus, Ios Duvidovich 372
Nusim, Aharon 605
Nusis, Shlomo 601
Nutka, Foler 351
Nuzava, Pola 303
Nuzman, Leiba 351
Nyson, son of Yankel 33

O

Ofrekhter, Srul Vigdovich 375
Ogle, Cheryl 557
Ognisty, Icko 456
Oigenzight 671
Oikhbarg, Itsko 179
Okaly, Mordha 350
Okht, Gershko Maniov. 362
Okon, Shmul Shimonovich 371
Okranik, Cillia 564
Oksengorin, Boris 759
Oksengorin, Bronia 759
Oksengorin, David 759
Oksengorin, Getsl Gersh-Berkovich 368
Oksengorin, Nesiy 759
Oksman, Abram Mordkovich 376
Oksman, Gershko Sumerovich 376
Oksman, Gitl 761
Oksman, Itsko 472
Oksman, Itsko Gershkovich 376
Oksman, Moshe 472
Oksman, Moshko Itskovich 376
Oksman, Motl 761
Oksman, Sara 761
Oksman, Shimon 366
Oksman, Yitskhak 470, 471
Okuliszyn, Heuszyi 346
Okup, Avrum 751
Okup, Leybesh 751
Okup, Meer 751
Olanofsky, Jacob 555
Olenofsky, Rebecca 554
Olenofsky, Sam 554
Olshever, Fannie 592
Olycka, Abrambowa 346
Omansky, I. 562
Omensky, Max 561
Omensky, Sarah 561
Onists, Zelman 473
Opolsky, Samuel 600
Oratovskiy, Khaim 179
Orenstein, Ella 561
Orenstein, Frieda 561
Orenstein, Harry 561
Orenstein, Joseph 564
Orenstein, Yosef 563
Orentlikh, Ikhil Moshkovich 375
Orentlikh, Moshko Moshkovich 375
Orinshteyn, San 404
Orlovskaya, Roz 358
Ornstein, Pauline 564
Oronowitz, Albert 566
Oroshnik, Munya 603
Oscher, Lina 599
Oscher, Max 597, 599
Oshrin, Anna 586
Oshrin, H. 585
Oshrin, Max 586
Oshrin, Meyer 579
Oshrin, Rebecca 579
Oshrin, Ruth 579
Osnis, Shoel 107
Osseck, Sarah 603
Osternack, Jacob 572
Osterneck, Isadore 572
Osterneck, S. 572
Ostracher 399
Ostrakh, Itsko 480
Ostrakh, Leyzer 636
Ostrakh, Moshko 404
Ostrakh, Moshko Srulevich 479
Ostrakh, Srul 397
Ostrayh, Berel 636
Ostrovsky, Zus 107
Ostrozhetskiy, Zus Gershkovich 365
Otenzikht, Isaak Moyseevich 371
Otto, Samuel 572
Owshiyowicz, Srul 35
Owshiyowicz, Yudka 35
Oykerman, Klara 303
Oykerman, Moshko Itskovich 372
Oystacher family 198, 475, 477
. See also *Stacher*
photograph 198
Oystacher, Ios 365
Oystacher, Isaac 475, 477, 574
photograph 477
Oystacher, Leyb 751
Oystacher, Mayka 757
Oystacher, Sarah 475, 477, 574
photograph 477
Oystacher, Shulim Iosevich 365

P

Pachuk, L. 488
Palatnik, Abram Moshkovich 377
Palsh, Ruvim 179
Palti, Meer-Leyba Nusinov 368
Paltiy, Gersh Abramovich 363, 365, 378, 380
Palty, Bessie 560
Paperman 399
Pargaminnik, Abramko 350
Pargaminnik, Mordha 347
Parmet, Anne 581
Parmet, Charles 581
Parmet, David 588
Parmet, Elka 582
Parmet, Gussie 582
Parmet, Harry 579
Parmet, Isidore 582
Parmet, Joseph 582
Parmet, Max 582
Parmet, Meyer 581
Parmet, Myron 581
Parmet, Rose 582
Parmet, Sadie 581, 589
Parmett, Sadie 593
Parmot, Fannie 579
Parnes, Abraham 597
Parnes, Abramko Mikhelevich 377
Parnes, Ios-Pinkas Mikhelevich 377
Parnes, Joseph 597
Parnes, Moishe Aronov 305
Parnes, Polya 787, 789
Parnes, W. 572
Parnes, Yetta 597
Parness, Bessie 569
Parness, William 567, 569
Paser, Moshko 480
Passales, Bertha 582
Passales, Eva 582
Passales, Sam 582
Passer, Ios 397
Pasternak, Yankel-Gersh Berovich 365
Pastman, Ida 566
Pastman, Ida Seidman 568
Pastman, Jennie 569
Pastman, Joseph 566, 569, 572
Patai, Raphael 189, 209
Patashnik, Genya 303
Patchen, Adolph 564
Patchen, Sarah 564
Paul, Isidore 597
Paul, Mike 600
Paul, Miriam 600
Paull, Bessie 566, 569
Paull, Isadore 569

Peaceman, Abe 572
Pearl, Dora 603
Pearl, Fay 603, 604
Pearl, N. 606
Pearl, Naftali 601
Pearl, Sam 603
Pearlman, Abraham 572
Pearlman, Rachel 572
Pechuk, Gitlya Shulim 385
Pechuk, Leyba 362
Pechuk, Moshko Leyb. 359, 387
Peck, Isaac 573
Peck, Milton 557
Peck, Morris 557, 558
Peck, Ruth Schwartz 557, 558
Peisoty, Esther 533, 536, 546
Peisoty, Isaac 546
Peisoty, Isaak 441, 517
  photograph 441
Peisoty, Masya 546
Peisoty, Yosale 531
Peler, Shmul Benyaminov 368
Pelspur, Khaim 396
Pelzman, Benjamin 561
Pendler, Mordko Shlemovich 371
Pendler, Motel 371
Pendler, Yokheved Duv. 378
Penner Sam 561
Penner, Eve 561
Peper 573
Peperman, Sara 566, 570
Perelman, Berko 352
Perelman, Itsko 356
Perelman, Yankel 352
Perelmikher, Abr. Khaim. 359
Perelmiter 505
Perelmiter family 758
Perelmiter, Abram 107
Perelmiter, Abrashko 179
Perelmiter, Elya Ios 397
Perelmiter, Gershon Duvidovich 359, 365, 378, 380
Perelmiter, Geshel Khaimovich 365
Perelmiter, Ios Srulevich 365, 378
Perelmiter, Khaim 146, 488
Perelmiter, L. 107
Perelmiter, Mortko-Leib Berkovich 354
Perelmiter, N. 201
Perelmiter, Nusil Berkovich 365
Perelmiter, Shimon Aronovich 375
Perelmiter, Shlioma Mortkovich 354
Perelmiter, Srul Menashkovich 368
Perelmiter, Tsipa 759
Peres, Simkha Moshkovich 375
Peretz, Y.L. 237, 741
Pergament 681, 774
Pergament, Dude 751
Pergament, Freida 757
Pergament, Gershko Elevich 368
Pergament, Grisha 757
Pergament, Ios Gershkovich 368
Pergament, Isaak Elevich 151, 505
Pergament, Itsik-Meer 757
Pergament, Krisya 757
Pergament, Manya 757
Pergament, Nakhman 757
Pergament, Nyunya 751
Perl, Joseph 295, 471, 472
Perlman, Dora 564
Perlman, Harry 564
Perlmuter 358
Perlow rabbinical family 112
Perlow, Pearl 114
Pervin 399
Pervin, Israel 636
Pervin, Khaim 399, 636
Pervin, Nakhmin 397
Pesark, Herman 561
Pesark, Jennie 561
Pesark, Julia 560
Pesark, Rose 560
Pesel, Srul Ios 352
Pesotta, Rose 38, 80, 86, 121, 181, 197, 202, 208, 210, 211, 232, 233, 235, 256, 279, 286, 289, 314, 323, 326, 332, 389, 422, 437, 440, 444, 446, 498, 517, 522, 523, 524, 531, 533, 611, 612, 625, 634
  biography 546
  photograph 546
Petrashiver, Kiva Abramovich 375
Petrashner, Sara Duvidovna 305
Petreshier, Mendel 764
Petrisheiv, Abramko 352
Petrishiev, Khaskel 352
Petrov 399
Petshok, Leibish 621
Peysachowicz, Ios 349
Peysatich family 758
Peysatiy, Itsko Duvidovich 372. See also *Isaak Peisoty*
Peysatiy, Khuna Leybovich 372, 382
Peysatiy, Zus Zus. 382
Peysatya, Taibel 788, 790
Pfeffer, Mollie 557
Piekarka, Iosycha 348
Piekarka, Ostrozka 349
Piekarka, Zlotka 350
Piekarz, Aron 349
Piekarz, Iewna 349
Piekarz, M. 68, 70, 120
Piekarz, Majorko 348
Piekarz, Srol 347
Piernikarka, Leybicha 348
Piesko, Gershko 179
Pikavsky, Tsvi ben Nusin 507
Pilat, Khana Shimov. 379
Pilat, Noekh 368
Piltch, Aaron 597
Pimsler, Louis 604
Pinchas, Rabbi of Koretz 72
Pinczuk, Herszko 349
Pinczuk, Iankiel 349
Pinczuk, Moszko 347
Pinczuk, Wol 350
Pinelas, Barnett 592
Pineles, Anna 582
Pineles, Philip 582
Pinerov, Shmuel 563
Ping, Irving 606
Piniles, Hyman 588
Pinilis, Leya Abram. 379
Pinis, Duvid 368
Pinis, Ios 179
Pinkhas the honey vendor 686, 760
Pinkhasel. See *Heshel, Rabbi Pinkhas*
Pinnelas, Benjamin 593
Pinnelas, Hannah 590
Pinnelas, Harry 588
Pinnelas, Isidore 585, 590
Pinnelas, Jacob 593
Pinnelas, Malka Leah 588
Pinski, Iankiel 346
Pirem, Meer Iosifovich 371
Piser, Leyba 372
Pishkiman, Makhlya Abram. 379
Pismennik, Shulim Gershkovich 472
Pismennik, Sura 472
Pizik, Moshe 327, 328
Plam, Annette 566, 570
Plam, Maurice 566, 570
Plasser, Dora 577
Plasser, Esther 579
Plasser, Israel 579
Plasser, Morris 577
Platker, Feyga Srul 385
Plesser, Besya 762
Plesser, Leib 356
Plotnik, Yankel Gershkovich 372
Pochtar, Malka Ios. 384
Podliska, Yankel 352
Podlubnego, Hewszyja 349
Podlubnego, Szmoylicha 349
Podolsky, Charles 573
Pogorsky, David 597
Pogorsky, Esther 597
Polaczek, Ruwen 350
Polak 350
Polak, Dawidko 350
Polansky, Harry 555
Polansky, Sylvia 606
Polansky, Yakov 563
Polansky, Yetta 555
Polenzer, Pesya Shaev. 381
Poliakov, Shmuel 334
Polianker, Hershel 698, 767
Polinske, Abraham 604
Polinske, Sarah 604
Polinski, Maurice 604
Polinsky 603
Polishuk, Beyla Abr. 384
Polishuk, Borukh 411
Polishuk, Charles 555
Polishuk, Rachel 554
Polishuk, Rose 555
Polishuk, Yekheel 554
Politseyer, Moshe 327
Pollack, Benjamin 582
Pollack, Falik 589, 593
Pollack, Herbert 591
Pollack, Meyer 591
Pollack, Moshe 437
Pollack, Rachel 589
Pollack, Rose 591
Polman, Mordko 473
Polonski, Moszko 346
Polovoy, Elias J. 582
Polovoy, Sarah 582
Polsky, Abraham 603
Polsky, Anna 603
Poludeny 681
Polyak, Abram Borukhovich 368
Polyak, Avrum 386
Polyak, Golda Mendel. 384
Polyak, Ikhil Dakhmanovich 368
Polyak, Ikhil Shmulevich 365
Polyak, Nukhim 372
Polyak, Shika 787
Polyak, Shmul 351
Polyak, Sima 788, 790
Polyak, Yankel Moshkovich 371
Pomerantz, Max 568, 569, 573, 575
Pomerantz, Sophie 566, 569
Poplansky, Mollie 597
Poplansky, Saul 597
Popokh, Leonid xxiii, 279, 480, 801, 815
Popokh, Raisa 279
Poporoff, Yetta 588
Portnaya, Pesya Isakovna 151
Portnoy, Aron 351
Portnoy, Gershko 368
Portnoy, Khaskel 352
Portnoy, Moshko Mordkovich 377
Portnoy, Naftula 351
Portnoy, Ruvim Lvovich 152
Portnoy, Yukel 351
Postoff, Dina 581
Potashnik, Genya 788, 789
Potashnik, Gershko 366
Potashnik, Gershko Nusinovich 372
Potashnik, Mira 788, 789
Potashnik, Zenya 788
Potechin, Joseph 577
Potechin, Manus 577
Potechin, Rabbi of Medzhibozh 109
Powell, Anna 599
Powell, Isidore 599
Poysner, Yankel 781, 814
Poyzner, Mekhel 751
Poyzner, Mendel Shmulevich 371
Prebelsky 509
Pregerson, Anita 610
Pregerson, Berne 793
Pregerson, Henia Yota 114
Pregerson, Judge Harry 207, 210, 610, 793, 815
Preizer, Irving 557
Presel, Roza Iosevna 305
Presel, Ios 375, 384
Primelas, Jacob 586
Pritilov, P. 750
Privep, D. 357
Prizlover, Yosef 641
Proctor 611
Proctor, Max 557
Proctor, Thomas 558
Pronilowski, Mendel 347
Psakhis, Duvid Itskovich 367
Pugach, Volko Nusevich 372, 382

Pugatch, F. 562
Pugatch, G. 562
Pugatch, M. 562
Pugatch, Sheimas 560
Pukas, Gersh Itskovich 466, 467
Pukas, Rysia 467
Puler, Ber Khaimovich 511
Puler, Berko Khaimovich 368
Pulier family 520
photograph 520
Pulier, Benjamin 208, 458, 479, 504, 520, 523, 524, 627, 642, 656
photograph 520, 643
Pulier, Emanuel 108, 208, 298, 316, 458, 479, 504, 519, 523, 524, 627, 634, 643
photograph 520
Pulier, M. 201
Pulier, Samuel 185, 458-460, 498, 499, 520
photograph 459, 520
Pulier, Sarah Gershenzwit 184, 378, 520
photograph 185, 520
Pulier, Suzanne xxiii, 124, 208, 316, 360, 361, 459, 479, 520, 523, 524, 634, 643, 656
Pundik, Shmul Aronovich 366, 381
Purem, Meyer 686, 760
Purim, Mef 750
Purkes, Rabbi David 57, 69, 70, 347
Purkow. See *Purkes*

Q

Queen, Charles 582

R

Rabbi Israel ben Eliezar. See *Baal Shem Tov*
Raber, Meir 563
Rabin, Abrashka 437
Rabinovich 358
Rabinovich, Duvid 352
Rabinovich, Froim 352
Rabinovich, Leiba 107
Rabinovich, Leya Borukhovich 362
Rabinovich, Makhman 563
Rabinovich, S. 573
Rabinovich, Sh. 488
Rabinovich, Shulim Shliomovich 368, 378
Rabinovich, Sosya Berk. 385
Rabinovich, Volko Mosk. 381
Rabinovitz, Israel 566
Rabinovitz, Rabbi Joshua Heshel of Monastrich 106
Rabinovitz, Rabbi Yitshak Yoel of Zinkov 106
Rabinowich 573
Rabinowicz, Nysanel 347
Rabinowitch, Sara 573
Rabinowitz 569
Rabinowitz, Esther 564
Rabinowitz, Gussie Aronowitz 591
Rabinowitz, Isador 566, 569
Rabinowitz, Julia 564
Rabinowitz, Morris 566, 569
Rabinowitz, Nachman 564
Rabinowitz, Naomi 566
Rabinowitz, Nathan 559, 593
Rabinowitz, Sam 589
Rabinowitz, Samuel 593
Rabinowitz, Sarah 569
Rabinshteyn, Khaim Volev. 359, 364, 382
Rabinshteyn, Rabbi Mikhel of Zinkov 106, 130
Rabinshteyn, Shama Abramkovich 377
Raboy, Yankel Motelevich 375
Rachmilow, Szlomka 350
Rachmilow, Zeylik 350
Rackow, Anna 579
Rackow, Haim 579
Radbel, Peysakh Gelelevich 372
Radbil, Ita Yank. 381
Radbil, Sura-Brana 381
Radbil, Yasha 789
Raditsky, Rabbi Yosef 211
Radorov, Pinye 689, 760
Rafalovich, Khaika Motevna 305
Rafulovich, Zus Motevich 375
Raik, Jack 579
Raik, Jean 579
Raitsis, Ikhil Moshkov 305
Rakhlis 179
Rakhlis, Borukh Gershkovich 354
Rakhlis, Gershka 351
Rakhlis, Ios Leibovich 354
Rakhlis, Mortko 352
Rakhlis, Shlioma Berkovich 365
Ranish, Leyba 372
Rapa, Rabbi Abraham Menakem Kohen 113
Rapa, Rabbi Gershon Kohen 113
Rapa, Rabbi Simcha Katz 113
Rapa, Rabbi Yacov Moshe Kohen 113
Rapoport 519
Rapoport - Bick rabbinical family 110-115, 802
family tree 114
graves in Medzhibozh 114
Rapoport family xxiii, 671, 678, 758, 775
photograph 775
Rapoport rabbinical family 110, 299, 608
. See also *Rapoport - Bick rabbinical family*
family crest 110
lineage 113
Rapoport, Abraham 606
Rapoport, Abraham Joshua Heshel 115, 547, 608, 610
Rapoport, Adel 599
Rapoport, Avraham 601, 606
Rapoport, Betty 678
Rapoport, Esther 599
Rapoport, Froim 759
Rapoport, Gitel 554
Rapoport, Hershel 606
Rapoport, Hyman 599
Rapoport, Ioyna Moshkovich 365
Rapoport, Itsko Etovich 354
Rapoport, Joseph 555
Rapoport, Leib 776
photograph 776
Rapoport, Leonid xxii, 122, 210, 211, 235, 315, 316, 445, 446, 478, 480, 521, 657, 670, 673, 678, 680, 758, 766, 768, 771, 774, 775, 776, 793, 814, 815
photograph 774, 775
Rapoport, Moshe 554
Rapoport, Moshka 494, 495
Rapoport, Nakhman Moshkovich 365
Rapoport, Pavel 678, 775, 793
photograph 775
Rapoport, Pessia 110, 113, 114
Rapoport, Pessya 610
Rapoport, Polina 298, 678, 680, 775, 776
photograph 775
Rapoport, Rabbi Arieh Leib 113
Rapoport, Rabbi Dov Berish 106, 110-111, 114, 167, 168, 797
Rapoport, Rabbi Eli haKohen of Zinkov 115
Rapoport, Rabbi Khaim (II) 114
Rapoport, Rabbi Khaim ben Dov Berish 111
Rapoport, Rabbi Khaim haKohen 50, 110, 113, 115, 797
Rapoport, Rabbi Meir (II) 114
Rapoport, Rabbi Meir haKohen 113
Rapoport, Rabbi Moses Jeremiah Katz 113
Rapoport, Rabbi Nakhman 113
Rapoport, Rabbi Simkha haKohen 113
Rapoport, Rabbi Tsvi Arieh 111, 113, 114, 167, 168
Rapoport, Rachel 606
Rapoport, Rukhel 630
Rapoport, Shama Lakhmanov 129
Rapoport, Shneyer 522
Rapoport, Shoel 107
Rapoport, Shoel Abramovich 368
Rapoport, Shoel Shmulevich 375
Rapoport, Sonia 555
Rapoport, Tillie 599
Rapoport, Tsivya Avner. 383
Rapoport, Yakhtsa 678
Rapoport, Yakhtsya Shmul. 378
Rapoport, Zeyda Shmulevich 375
Rapoport, Zvi Arieh 797
Rappaport, Abraham 569
Rappaport, Rose 569
Rappaport, Shlomo. See *An-sky, Shlomo*
Rappoport, Dr. Sam 573
Rappopport, Y. Sh. 408
Rashi 85, 88, 209, 281
Rasken, A. 573
Raskin, Julius 561
Raskin, Millie 561
Rathler, Isadore 569
Ratner, Borukh Tsudikovich 365, 368
Ratner, Gindlya Shmul. 378
Ratner, Khaim 368
Ratner, Khuna 352
Ratner, Moshko 352
Ratner, Shlioma Tsudikovich 371
Ratner, Tsudik Borukhovich 365
Ratner, Yakov 505
Rattner, Ella 603
Rattner, Meyer 603
Ratzia the blind one 689
Ravid, Carmel xxiii, 634
Ravvin, Chr. 622
Raydun family 758
Raykhman, Avrum 751
Raysher, Rabbi Meir Shmuel 108
Raytsis, Ios Itskovich 375
Raytsis, Kopel Erikhimovich 375
Rechtman, Abraham 121, 157, 161, 162, 171, 187, 188, 204, 209, 235, 278, 448, 478
photograph 161
Reduinsk, Iankiel 349
Redvenitser, Reyzell 751
Refulovich, Reful Motevich 375
Reiderman, Vol Iankelovich 467
Reidman, Masha 605
Reidman, Yakov 605
Reifman, Mordko 107
Reinstein, Dora 581
Reinstein, Esther 582
Reinstein, Nathan 579
Reinstein, Sam 581
Reipis, Alter 179
Reisman, Annie 564
Reisman, Celia 561
Reisman, Esther 564
Reisman, Israel 563
Reisman, Morris 564
Reisman, Paul 561
Reisman, Rose 561, 564
Reisman, Samuel 561, 564
Reisman, Yisroel 563
Reizengurt, Aizik 397
Reizengurt, Leib Aizik 416
Reizheyer, Sonya 303
Reizheyer, Srul 303
Rekhelman, Ayzin 352
Rekhtman, Moyshe 674, 703, 765, 766, 768, 769
Rekhtman, Perets 472
Relfond, Bunya 751
Reses, Bessie 569
Reses, Harry 566, 567, 568, 569
Reses, Hershel 573
Reses, Joseph 566
Reses, Molly 569
Reses, Pearl 566
Reses, Samuel 568
Reses, Tessie 566, 568
Resnick, Ida 581
Resnick, Tobias 581
Revutsky, Abraham 505, 523
Reydman, Dvora 740
Reydman, Gershko Moshkovich 375
Reydman, Menashe 740
Reydman, Moshe Khaim 621
Reydman, Mot Gersh. 383
Reydman, Shifra 732, 765
Reydman, Tcharne 740
Reynman, Srul Ioynovich 375
Reyter, Sasha 789
Reyter, Zoya 788
Reyzelman, Leyzer 170
Rezelman 751
Reznick, David 761
Reznik family 758
Reznik, Leibish 351
Reznik, Volvko 179
Reznik, Zeilik Voliovich 467
Ribel, Zhenya 303
Richer, Florence 564
Richer, Harry 564
Richer, Rubin 564
Richter, M. 600

Richter, Sadie 600
Ridelman, Gershko 170
Rifchun 399
Rifman, Aron 437
Rigrod, Becky 557, 603
Rigrod, Jack 557
Rigrod, Jacob 601, 603
Rikels, Leyzor Iosevich 375
Rikels, Shulim Iosevich 375
Rimer, B. 562
Rimer, Meyer 562
Rimer, Shmul 352
Risis, Avrum Khaimovich 368
Risis, Froim 368
Risis, Gershko Froim. 379
Risiss, Abrum Froim. 378
Ritu, Fishboim 702
Riveliss, Gittla 564
Rivl, Genya 788, 789
Riznik, Ios Aronovich 375
Riznik, Yorko 368
Rizun, Shlema 368
Roberts, N. 562
Robins, M. A. 573
Robinson, Sylvia 581
Rochlin, Abramko 349
Rochlis, Bella 562
Rochlis, F. 562
Rodnichier, Froim 179
Roglia, Dinah 636
Roife, Hersh Yechiel 744
Roife, Shmuel 740, 744, 763
Roife, Yekhiel 764
Roikhman, Abrashko 179
Roikhman, Nus 179
Roikhman, Shayo 458
Roitenbarg, Volko 479
Roitman, Barukh 473
Roitman, Leib 472
Roitman, Lipa 761
Roitman, Shloim 473
Roitman, Srul 170
Roizen, Rivka Moshevna 305
Roizenberg, Fishel 472
Roizenblit 358
Roizenblit, Avraham 518
Roizes, Khaim 740, 744
Roizman family 760
Rokeach, Rabbi Shalom of Belz 72
Rokhman family xxiii
Rokhman, Yitskhak 208
Rokhtsiman, Yank. Yudk. 379
Rollin. See also *Rukhlin*
Rollin, Betty xxiii, 360, 361, 610
Rollin, Paul 649
Rollin, Phillip 588
Romberg, Rachel 294
Ronichnik, Zindel Vigdorov 365
Ronikberg, Itsko Duv. 381
Ronimekh, Vigdor 108
Ronin, Abram Yosefich 152
Ronina 759
Ronina, Basya Solomoniya 152
Ronina, Lena 151
  photograph 151
Ronis, David 752
Ronishnik, Ayzik Alter. 379
Ronn, J. Michoel xxiii, 122, 123, 124, 206, 207, 210, 211, 314, 389, 417, 444, 445, 478, 480, 522, 523, 524, 634
Roseman 573
Rosen, A. 562
Rosen, Abraham 582
Rosen, Jacob 573
Rosen, Julius 561
Rosen, Max 566, 573
Rosen, Minnie 561
Rosen, Morris 562, 565
Rosen, Reyzya Simkhovna 362
Rosen, Rose 582
Rosen, Samuel 573
Rosen, Sophie 561
Rosenbaum, David 579
Rosenbaum, Paul 579
Rosenbaum, Pauline 579
Rosenberg, Anna 582
Rosenberg, Benjamin 582
Rosenberg, Charles 582
Rosenberg, Frieda 582
Rosenberg, Sr. Yank. 363
Rosenblat, Yakov 521
Rosenblit, Ruvin Iosevich 366
Rosenblum, Lena 581
Rosenbluth, Philip 601, 603
Rosenbluth, Sarah 603
Rosenfeld, A. 562
Rosenfeld, H. 562
Rosenstein, Antoinette 592
Rosenthal, Hyman 603
Rosenthal, Lena 603
Rosenthal, W. 562
Rosenzweig, Benjamin 561
Rosenzweig, Dvora 596
Rosenzweig, Isaac 596
Rosenzweig, Lillian 561
Rosenzweig, Louis 564
Rosman, Moshe 39, 53, 56, 58, 116, 117, 121, 208, 211, 388, 389, 444, 478, 479, 480
Rosoff 573
Rosofsky 562
Rosofsky, Rebecca 562
Rostoff, Jacob C. 593
Rotberg, Bentsion 621
Rothbard, Israel 601
Rothburd, Ann 604
Rothburd, Irvin 604
Rothbund, Ita 603
Rothburd, Nathan 604
Rothburd, Sam 604
Rothman, Benjamin 599
Rothman, Isaac 564
Rothman, Israel 599
Rothman, Jacob 599
Rothman, Manya 599
Rothman, Nettie 599
Rothman, Rose 593
Rothman, Sam 585
Rotman, Shirley 599
Rotshteyn, Leyba Nusin. 359
Rott, Commander Ben 427
Rovinsky, Ida 564
Rovner, David 585
Rovner, Deborah 588
Rovner, Pincus 586, 588
Royf, Shabsa Arievich 368
Royfman, Abram 365
Royfman, Mordko Shmulev 365, 378
Roykhman, Khaikel Nakhmanovich 368
Royselboy, Feyga 751
Roysenboym, Simkha Moshkovich 366
Roytbard, Alter Nesanelevich 375
Roytbard, Chana 606
Roytbard, Israel 606
Roytbard, Milton 606
Roytbard, Moshe 606
Roytbarg, San Leyb-Tsalevich 375
Roytberg, Moisey 732
Roytburd, Israel 142, 296
Roytburd, Ita Ovshiev. 383
Roytenburd, Ar. Duv. 381
Royter, Aron Fishel 352
Royter, Meer 352
Roytman, El Gersh-Leybovich 375
Roytman, Mendel 381
Roytman, Shelma Mordkovich 377, 386
Roytshteyn, Abram 762
Roytshteyn, Boris 762
Royz, Moshko 377
Royzbarg, Bentsion Ioyzekovich 377
Royzbarg, Moshko Gershonovich 377
Royzboym, Khana Khunev. 384
Royzen, Feyga Meer. 383
Royzen, Shmul Berkovich 377, 387
Royzenberg, I.. 357
Royzenblat, Shmerel, Berkovich 377
Royzenblit, Borukh Yankelevich 375
Royzenblit, Khaim-Shlioma Srulevich 371
Royzenblit, Shmul Volkovich 375
Royzenblit, Yodko Yankelevich 368
Royzenblit, Zus Borukhovich 375
Royzenblits 357
Royzenboym, Gershon Nisanovich 377
Royzenboym, Shimon Gdalevich 377
Royzenfeld, Khaim Sanevich 375
Royzengurt, Leyba Ayzikov 130
Royzentul, El Ruvinovich 375
Royzentul, Shmul Mendelevich 372
Royzentul, Yankel Moshkovich 375
Royzman, Abramko 377
Royzman, Duvid Nutovich 368
Royzman, M. 751
Royzman, Mot Nutovich 368
Royzman, Ovshiya Abramovich 377
Royzman, Pinkhas Nusinovich 365, 368
Rozen family 764
Rozen, Azril Moshk. 359
Rozenberg 380
Rozenberg, Daniel 354
Rozenberg, Duvid 397
Rozenberg, Kaz. 359
Rozenberg, Leyba Yankelevich 371
Rozenberg, Leybish 380
Rozenberg, Mordechai Yankel 364, 371
Rozenberg, Srul Yankelevich 365, 384
Rozenberg, Velvel 741
Rozenberg, Yankel Leyzerovich 362, 371, 385
Rozenblat, Yakov 433
Rozenblig, Udko 179
Rozenblit 354
Rozenblit, Abram 732
Rozenblit, Duvid Shaevich 359, 363, 364, 366, 383
Rozenblit, Ios Leibov 305
Rozenblit, Ios Shaevich 359, 363, 366, 383
Rozenblit, Ita Menash. 379
Rozenblit, Khaim 178, 351
Rozenblit, Ruvin Ios. 382
Rozenblit, Sara Leibovna 306
Rozenblit, Shlema 397
Rozenblit, Volko 404
Rozenblit, Yakov Leibov 306
Rozenblit, Yosef haLevi 621
Rozenboym, Khaim Simkh. 382
Rozenboym, Moshko 356
Rozenboym, Moshko Simkh. 382
Rozenboym, Simkha 381
Rozenman, Nuta 352
Rozenshtein, Freida 472
Rozental, Reuven 605, 627, 630, 631
Rozental, Shimon 606
Rozental, Y. 108
Rozentul, Beila 356
Rozentul, Est. 364
Rozentul, Leia 356
Rozentul, Moishe 179, 458
Rozentul, Moshko Itskovich 354
Rozentul, Srul Moshkovich 354
Rozentul, Vigdor Usherov 305
Rozentul, Yekel 208
Rozhichner, Abish 396
Rubenstein, Murray 113, 124
Rubin 573
Rubin, Anna 582
Rubin, Bella 561
Rubin, Fannie 588
Rubin, H. 600
Rubin, Hyman 599
Rubin, I. 599
Rubin, Ida 599
Rubin, Irving 561
Rubin, Israel 589, 593
Rubin, Joseph 582
Rubin, Max 579, 593
Rubin, Morris 600
Rubin, Rebecca 579
Rubin, Srul-Ar. 382
Rubinovits, Aharon 311
Rubinovits, Rabbi Yisrael Tsvi haLevi 311
Rubinovits, Yakov 311
Rubinshteyn 354
Rubinshteyn, Abrashka 354
Rubinshteyn, Alter Mend. 384
Rubinshteyn, Aron Monatovich 354
Rubinshteyn, Ios Shliomovich 368
Rubinshteyn, Khaim 372
Rubinshteyn, Khaim Abramovich 368
Rubinshteyn, Khaim-Slioma Duvidovich 354, 357

Rubinshteyn, M. 289
Rubinshteyn, Munya 762
Rubinshteyn, Naftal 107
Rubinshteyn, Nakhman 107
Rubinshteyn, Nakhman Abramovich 377
Rubinshteyn, Shama. 387
Rubinshteyn, Shlema Abr. 368, 387
Rubinshteyn, Shlomo 107
Rubinshteyn, Tsirl 764
Rubinshteyn, Yasha 789
Rubinshteynova, Khana 354
Rubinstein 606
Rubinstein, Celia 603
Rubinstein, Harry 579
Rubinstein, Jacob 600
Rubinstein, Jennie 599
Rubinstein, Joseph 557, 604
Rubinstein, Morris 557, 599
Rubinstein, Sidney 604
Rubinstein, Stella 604
Rubman, Yakov 649
Ruboym, Ovshiy Shamovich 371
Ruchelman, Eliezer 596
Ruchelman, Fred 597
Ruchelman, George 597
Ruchelman, Gershon 596
Ruchelman, Kreine 596, 597
Ruchelman, Louis 597
Ruchelman, Sarah 597
Rud rabbinical family 109
Rud, Rabbi Menachem Nuchim ben Chaim of Zinkov 109
Rud, Yosef 611
Rudbarg, Zus 366
Rudberg, Mordko Mordkovich 366
Rudensberg 649
Rudy, Herszko 348
Rukhelman, Ikhel Froimovich 375
Rukhelman, Ikhel Yankelevich 375
Rukhelman, Yankel Froimovich 377
Rukhlevich, Duvid Itskovich 367
Rukhlevich, Duvid Shaevich 362
Rukhlin. See also *Rollin*
Rukhlin family 649
photograph 649
Rukhlin, Faytel 368
Rukhlin, Gersko Froimovich 365, 380
Rukhlin, I. 108
Rukhlin, Ios Froim. 380
Rukhlin, Ios Khaimovich 368
Rukhlin, Khaim 610, 649
Rukhlin, Khaim Gershkovich 368
Rukhlin, Rivka 649
Rukhlin, Rivke Cohen 610
Rukhlin, Ruth 649
Rukhlin, Velvel 649
Rukhlin, Volko 368
Rukhlin/Rollin family 610
Rukhlinova, Etli 354
Rukhlis, Fanya 762
Rukhlis, Idel 762
Rukhlis, Ikhel Fishelevich 368
Rukhlis, Ios 368
Rukhlis, Khaika 762
Rukhlis, Leibish Iankelevich 354
Rukhlis, Nema 762
Rukhlis, Viktor 762
Rukhlis, Volf Gershk. 378
Rukhlis, Yosel 762
Rukhlyak, Mikhel Geynikhovich 375
Rukhtsman, Yankel Yodkovich 368
Rumanick, Isaac 564
Rund, Zebulon 626
Runin, Dvorye 214, 229, 277
Runin, Nina Silverman 374
Runin, Sam 374
Russler, Nikki 611
Rutberg, Bentsion Leyzorovich 366, 383
Ruvin, son of Shaya 33
Ruvin, son of Yankel 33
Ruvinshteyn, Froim Ayzikovich 371
Ruvinshteyn, Ikhel Mordkovich 375
Ruvinshteyn, Khaim Volevich 366
Ruvinshteyn, Moshko 371
Ruvinshteyn, Moyshe 751
Ruzin, Abram Volkovich 371
Rymarz, Ben 348
Ryzhy, Khaim 397
Rzeznicka, Leybkowa 350
Rzeznik, Awrus 346
Rzeznik, Ios 348
Rzeznik, Leybka 347
Rzeznik, Leyzor 348
Rzeznik, Majorko 348
Rzeznik, Zelman 347

S

Sabbatai Tsvi 29, 46-48, 49, 116
portrait 47
Sach, Nathan 589
Sachs, Jacob 559
Sachs, Philip 582
Sadgora Dynasty. See *Friedman rabbinical family*
Sadigurskiy, Berko Mordkovich 375
Sadik, Ios Shovelevich 366
Sadikov, Itsko Ios. 383
Sadikova, Sarra Leib. 363
Sadikova, Sura Leyz. 383
Safir, Levi 637
Safir, Sholom 637
Safir, Volf 397
Safyan, Duvid 411
Sagan, Srul 437
Sak, Celia 564
Salant, Harry 603
Saldwich, Lena 586
Salitern, Nakhman-Volf Leibovich 354
Saliternik, Beryl 630
Saliternik, Dov 631
Saliternik, Menachem 605
Saliternik, Moishe 744
Saliternik, Pessi 605
Saliternik, Pessie 606
Saliternik, Pini 601
Saliternik, Shimon 630
Saliternnikova, Pesia 357
Salitrennik 358
Salitrennik, Peisakh 354
Salitrennik, Pinkhas Nakhmanovich 354
Salitrennik, Shlioma Nakhmanovich 354, 356
Salitrennikov, Nakhman 357
Salitrinick, Dena 579
Saltsman, Mordekhai 601
Saltzman, Alter 589
Saltzman, Benjamin 604
Saltzman, Bertha 604
Saltzman, Frank 597
Saltzman, Gussie 603
Saltzman, Isaac 585, 592
Saltzman, Joseph 592
Saltzman, Rebecca 604
Saltzman, Rose 592
Saltzman, Sam 604
Saltzman, Shirley 597
Salzman, Keila 588
Sander, Isaac 555
Sander, Sarah 555
Sanderovitz, Rose 593
Sandler, Benya 758
Sandler, Bluma 758
Sandler, Eosif 758
Sandler, Frank 586, 590
Sandler, Fryko Zeylikovich 368
Sandler, Gershko 368
Sandler, Grisha 758
Sandler, Gus 554
Sandler, Khaika 758
Sandler, Minnie 554
Sandler, Molly 590
Sandler, Naum 505
Sandler, Rebekka 757
Sandler, Rose 581, 590
Sandler, Sofia 758
Sandler, Sol 581
Sandler, Tillie 555
Sandler, William 555
Sandler, Zahavi 757
Sangelshtein, Moshka 351
Saporov, S. 573
Sapozhnik, Motia 351
Sapozhnikov, Boris Davidovich 152
Sapozhnikov, Mikhail Davidovich 152
Sarah bas Tovim 282
Saronker, Shmuel 641
Sas, Z. 357
Saschin, Borukh 397
Saschin, G. 357
Saschin, Simkha 404, 479
Saschin, Srul 404, 480
Sass, Etl 759
Sass, Manya 759
Sass, Shlomo 759
Satin, Morris 566
Satsin, Ios. Srul. 378
Savanin, Dima 767
Savouray, Israel 195, 207
Saxon, Acey 437
Saxon, Rolf 804, 815
Saxon, Stephen xxiii, 446, 606
Scadorowitz, Ida 592
Schaeffer, Betty 603
Schamis, Gussie 555
Schamis, Sam 555
Schandelman, Harry 564
Schary the tailor 33
Scharyin, Abramko 346
Schechtman, Aharon 563
Schecter, Hilda 603
Schectman, Harry 564
Schectman, Malke 555
Schectman, Menashe 554, 555
Schectman, Miriam 554, 555
Schectman, Morris 555
Schectman, Sarah 564
Schein, Rose 557
Schendelson, Celia 555
Schendelson, Joseph 555
Schenker, Eva 564
Schenker, Pincus 564
Schiff, Jacob H. 547
Schilay, Ben 603
Schilay, Pola 603
Schiller, Benjamin 604
Schiller, Pauline 604
Schimmel, Nathan 597
Schimmel, Rubin 597
Schizis, Aron 751
Schleifer, Basya 642
Schmergel, Esther 561
Schmergel, Joseph 561
Schmergel, Mollie 561
Schmuckler, Dora 579
Schmuckler, Joseph 579
Schneider, Benjamin 596
Schneider, Bertha 582
Schneider, Betty 597
Schneider, David 582
Schneider, Harry 579
Schneider, Jacob 596
Schneider, Minnie 579
Schneider, Sam 597
Schneider, Sarah 596
Schoichet, Jacob 555
Schoichet, Paula 555
Scholem, Gershom 116, 117, 120
Schorr, Barnett 588
Schorr, Lena 588
Schrage, Nathan 561
Schrage, Sarah 561
Schultz, Fannie 557, 558
Schuman, Anna 599
Schumer, Bernard 565
Schustak, Irving 586
Schustak, Lena 589
Schustek, Irving 593
Schustek, Samuel 589, 593
Schutman, Sol 597
Schwam, Morris 581
Schwartz 568
Schwartz, Abe 604, 606
Schwartz, Anna 603
Schwartz, Anne 558
Schwartz, Barish 569
Schwartz, Basha 805, 806
Schwartz, Benjamin 567
Schwartz, Boris 573, 575
Schwartz, Bruce 569

Schwartz, Carl 573
Schwartz, Carla 597
Schwartz, Chaika 557
Schwartz, Clara 599, 604
Schwartz, David 557, 558, 566, 569, 573
Schwartz, Dr. Louis 604
Schwartz, Dr. Morris 604
Schwartz, Dr. Samuel 569, 573
Schwartz, E. 573
Schwartz, Edith 566
Schwartz, Eliahu 596
Schwartz, Fannie 569
Schwartz, Goldie 566, 569
Schwartz, Harry 597
Schwartz, Herb 606
Schwartz, Herman 567
Schwartz, Hyman 567
Schwartz, Ida 557, 558, 582, 597, 604
Schwartz, Isadore 567
Schwartz, J.J. 606
Schwartz, Jennie 603
Schwartz, Joseph 593
Schwartz, Khaiah 596
Schwartz, L. 606
Schwartz, Laura 604
Schwartz, Lazar 805, 806
Schwartz, Max 557, 597, 599, 604
Schwartz, Minnie 604
Schwartz, Morris 557, 558, 599, 604
Schwartz, Nettie 604
Schwartz, Rebecca 597
Schwartz, S. 573
Schwartz, Sally 569
Schwartz, Samuel 567, 568
Schwartz, Sarah 569, 604
Schwartz, Sima 568
Schwartz, Sofie 567
Schwartz, Sol 597
Schwartz,Ronya 599
Schwartzman, Hyman 603
Schwartzman, Jennie 603
Schwartzman, Solomon 579
Schwerhiz, Harry A. 574
Sckuler, Aaron 564
Sckuler, Dora 564
Sechan, Kalman 179
Sedell, B. 585
Sedell, Barnet 588
Sedell, Barnett. See *Sedulsky, Berel*
Sedell, Joseph 585
Sedell, Philip 591
Sedell, Phillip 446
Sedell, Rebecca 586
Sedulsky, Berel 441
Seedman, Ray 557, 558
Seeley, B. 601
Segal family 758
Segal, Abramko 351
Segal, Avraham 605
Segal, Baba Khunov. 383
Segal, Berko Beniam. 385
Segal, Breina Shleyer 605
Segal, Gersh Zusev. 383
Segal, Girsh 621
Segal, Max 567
Segal, Meshulum Zusya haLevi 621
Segal, Tsvi Hirsch 621
Segal, Zus Mikhelevich 375
Segel, Max 574
Segel, S. 574
Seiden, Kate 591
Seidman 553
Seidman, Anne 568
Seidman, B. 574
Seidman, Benjamin 567, 569
Seidman, David 567
Seidman, Douglas xxiii, 184, 208, 316
Seidman, Edith 564
Seidman, Fannie 567, 568
Seidman, Harry 567, 568, 574
Seidman, Joseph 569, 574
Seidman, L. 574
Seidman, Minnie 569
Seidman, Nathan 569
Seidman, Rebecca 567, 569
Seidman, S. 574
Seidman, Samuel 564, 565, 579
Seidman, Sarah 569
Seidman, Yetta 579
Seifer, Esther 592
Sekuler, Roza 787, 788, 789
Selee, Ben 606
Selfner, Israel 537, 538
Seligman, Lena 603, 604
Seligman, Louis 603, 604
Selin, Louis 561
Selskiy 380
Senderovich, A. 752
Senderovich, Boris xxiii, 788, 790
Senderovich, Khana 762
Senderovich, Lina 762
Senderovich, Mindel 762
Senderovich, Peysakh 372
Senderovich, Srulik 762
Senderovich, Zhena 303
Senderovich, Zlata 762
Sendler, Aron 368
Seniavsky, Itsek 351
Serbin, Borukh 366
Serebrei, Leibish Ziskilovich 354, 356
Serebrei, Ziskil Mendelovich 354
Serebrier, Frima Nukh. 385
Serebrier, Moshe Pinkhasovich 371, 385
Serebrier, Pinkhas Froimovich 365
Serebrier, Sheyva Berk. 385
Seroker, Itsko Duvid Yankelevich 377
Setlow, Aaron 564
Sevi Hirsh, the Baal Shem's scribe, and parchment-maker 66
Sforim, Mendel Mokher 631
Shaevich, Ovshiy Borukh. 371, 386
Shaffer, Carolyn 595
Shaffer, Chaim 597
Shaffer, Richard 595
Shafirman, Ios 397
Shafirovich, Khaim-Itsek Yankelevich 377
Shafman, Ikhil Itskov 305
Shafran, Enya Itsk. 383
Shain, Zloto 751
Shaiovich, Shap 179
Shakhmir, Pinya 671
photograph 671
Shalita, Itsko Aronov 305
Shalita, Khaskel Aronov 305
Shamas, Benjamin 569
Shames, Alexander 562
Shames, Benjamin 567
Shames, David 562, 567
Shames, Gussie 554
Shames, Israel 554
Shames, Joseph 567
Shames, Lena 555
Shames, Minnie 562
Shames, Sam 555
Shamestes, Eliya 761
Shamestes, Leib 761
Shamestes, Peysi 761
Shamestes, Shmekha 761
Shamestes, Yakov 761
Shamestev, Moyshe 751
Shamestev, Peysya 751
Shamis, Gershko Moshkovich 373
Shamis, Ioyzin 373
Shamis, Srul 179
Shamis, Sura Moshk. 378
Shamis, Yankel Gershkovich 377
Shamus, Ben 567
Shamus, Dasya 762
Shamus, Etel 762
Shamus, Leib 762
Shamus, Sarah 569
Shamys, Moshko 179
Shandelman, Rose 569
Shandelman, Usher 569
Shankman 569
Shankman, Clara 567, 569
Shansky 516
Shantzis, Cedalie 589
Shapi, Sylvia 606
Shapira, Dora Morona 305
Shapira, Feiga 763
Shapira, Itsko 373
Shapira, Kelman Iosevich 363, 371
Shapira, Leibish-Meilakh Itskovich 354
Shapira, Meer-Gersh 373, 381
Shapira, Modko Shliomovich 376
Shapira, Mortko Leibovich 354
Shapira, Rabbi Pinkhas of Korets 76
Shapira, Rabbi Tzvi Elimelech of Dinov 72
Shapira, Riva 179
Shapiro family 708, 710, 717, 759
Shapiro, Abe 574
Shapiro, Aron 397
Shapiro, Becky 606
Shapiro, Bessie 565
Shapiro, Charles 557
Shapiro, Frank 557
Shapiro, Hillel 581
Shapiro, Leah 593
Shapiro, Leya 383
Shapiro, Liza 732
Shapiro, M. 752
Shapiro, Moishe 689, 760
Shapiro, Nathan 557
Shapiro, Riba Mordkhovna 151
Shapiro, Sam 557
Shapiro, Shlomo 631
Shapiro, Simon 468
Shapiro, Sonia 581
Shapiro, Sveta 732
Shapirova, Dina 357
Shapirova, Iokheved 354
Shapirovich, Itsak 764
Shaposhnik, Elta 753
Shapura, Ikhsel 751
Shar, Ios Sruliovich 354
Shar, Yankel 179
Sharf, Abraham 567, 574, 575
Sharf, Brana 574
Sharf, Isaac 567, 574, 576
Sharf, Rose 567
Sharff, David 582
Sharff, Rose 582
Sharman, Annie 589
Sharmock, Fannie 592
Sharnock, Hyman 588
Shatkhen, Shmul Zelmanovich 369
Shatkhen, Zelman Shmulevich 369
Shats, Moshe 563
Shatsgon, Mirele 636
Shatsman, Aizik Duvidovich 354
Shatsman, Gershko Alterov 366, 382
Shatsman, Ios Govshievich 373
Shatsman, Itsko Fishelevich 377
Shatsman, Moshe 636
Shatsman, Shimon 399, 636
Shatsman, Shmil 788, 789
Shatsman, Shmul Itskovich 377
Shatzman, Miriam 555
Shavell, Anna 599
Shavell, Louis 599
Shaya the baker 33
Shayn, Azik Mikhel. 362
Shaynkestel, P. 357
Shcherb, Khaim Yankelevich 377
Shcherba, Froim Nukhimov 130
Shcherba, Ios 130
Shcherber, Iosevich 369
Sheck, Rabbi Hillel 761
Shedler, Abram 751
Shedler, Yashe 689, 760
Shedler, Yisrael 689, 690, 760
Sheer, Charles 600
Sheer, Khaim Mordkovich 376
Sheerman, Ios Moshkovich 376
Shefel, El Gdal. 381
Shefel, El Shlemov 365
Shefel, Manus Shlemovich 369
Shefel, Sh. 488
Shefel, Shlema Berkovich 359, 362, 365
Sheffler, W. 599
Sheindelman, Eliahu 563
Sheindelson, Usher Leib 107
Sheinfeld, Aron Moishov 305
Shekhman, Shneer 352
Shekhtman, Ios Volevich 367
Shekhtman, Khaya Abr. 384
Shekhtman, Nukhim Shimonovich 377

Shekhtman, Vol 352
Shekhvits, M. 751
Shekman, Pinkhas 563
Sheldon, David 563
Sheldon, Joseph 561
Sheldon, Sarah 563
Sheldren, Shmul 179
Shenberg, Berko Iosevich 371
Shendelman, A. 574
Shendelman, Asher Leib 574
Shenderovskiy 493
Shenkdava, Eydelyima 178, 179
Shenkelman, Abraham 606
Shenkelman, Aharon 630
Shenkelman, Avraham 630
Shenker family 764
Shenker, Eliezer 563
Shenker, Isidor 562
Shenker, Luzer Naftulovich 373
Shenker, Morris 563
Shenker, Moshko 107, 373
Shenker, Rachel 562
Shenker, Rose 563
Shepsyuk, Grisha 787
Shepsyuk, Srul 787
Sher, Khaim Zelmanov 306
Sher, Riba Ididiuna 152
Sherb, Malya 752
Shereshna, Israel 641
Sheriff, H. 562
Sheriff, Joseph 561
Sheriff, Rose 561
Sherman, Celia 569
Sherman, David 581
Sherman, Eva 581
Sherman, Fishel Peysakhovich 365, 385
Sherman, Frank 567
Sherman, Frima 603
Sherman, H. 562
Sherman, Ida 606
Sherman, Itsko Benyomenovich 376
Sherman, Lena 581
Sherman, Meer Yodkovich 371
Sherman, Mendel Shneerovich 371
Sherman, Morris 588
Sherman, Pesakh 642
Sherman, Philip 603
Sherman, R. 562
Sherman, Sadie 597
Sherman, Shloyme 751
Sherman, Yudko Fishelez 366, 385
Sherr, Bluma 589
Sherr, Israel 588
Shershna, Ester 642
Sheydelman, Mot Moshkovich 369
Sheynberg, E. 488
Sheyndelman, Itsko 351
Sheynfeld, Gershko Yankelevich 376
Sheynker, Shulim 789
Sheynker, Srul Moshkovich 369
Sheynman, Moyshe-Srul 369
Sheynman, Nison Aronovich 376
Shiffrin, J. 574
Shifman, Raisa Samoylovna 152
Shifrin, Doshekov 574
Shifrin, Jacob 567, 569, 574
Shifrin, Joseph 574, 575
Shifrin, Nathan 569, 574
Shifrin, Rachael 569
Shifrin, Sophie 567, 569
Shikhman, Abr. Moshk. 381
Shikhman, Abram Mordkovich 367
Shillee, Ben 606
Shinder, E. E. 151
Shinder, Ovshiy Fatelevich 376
Shinder, Yoshua 107
Shinderman, Khaya Abramovna 305
Shinderman, Srul Yankel-Gershkovich 376
Shinderman, Yudka 351
Shirbarg, Moshko 365
Shirman, Shmul 179
Shitenman, Abram-Shlioma Mendelevich 377
Shkalinayda, G. 282
Shkolar, Abraham 641
Shkolnik, Mendel 684
Shkolur, Aharon 311
Shkolur, Simkha Gershon 311
Shkolyar, Shlema Khaimovich 152
Shlachikha, Zisla 179
Shlayman, Ikhel Yankelevich 376
Shlimen, Srul Elevich 373
Shlomovitz, Zalman 188
Shlomowicz, Leyba 35
Shlomowicz, Yos 35
Shlumis, Eidel 762
Shlumis, Khana 762
Shlumis, Khaskel 762
Shlumis, Sara 762
Shlyak, Genya 788, 789, 790
Shlyak, Khaim Abramovich 373
Shlyak, Sima 789
Shlyak, Zeyna 787
Shmeis, Abraham 678
Shmelkis, Yehoshua 637
Shmeruk, Chone 65, 70, 120, 478
Shmid, Shaya 351
Shmidt, Moshko Leybovich 369
Shmilkovich, Aron 356
Shmit 606
Shmuel Shmelke, Rabbi of Nikolsburg 72
Shmuel, stepson of the Baal Shem 66, 67
Shmuie, son of Ios 33
Shmukler, Abramko Moshkovich 377
Shmukler, Aizek 752
Shmukler, Azril Leybovich 376
Shmukler, Dvoyra Mendel. 385
Shmukler, Kopel-ber Duvidovich 472
Shmukler, Volko 522
Shmul the winemaker 33
Shmulevich 651
Shmulevitch family 633
Shmulko, son of Itsko 33
Shmunio, son of the rabbi 33
Shmunis, Gershom 794
Shmuylowicz, Hershko 35
Shnaiderman, Volka 179
Shnayder, Ikhil 373
Shnayder, Isaak Shaevich 152
Shnayderman family 763
Shneider, Avraham 596
Shneider, Betty 596
Shneider, Dvora 596
Shneider, Khaim 596
Shneyderman 399
Shneyderman, Feyga 753
Shneyfer, Yankel Sheyvakhovich 371
Shoekhet, Mekhel 557
Shokhet, Avraham 388
Shokhet, Khaikel 388
Shokhet, Shlomo 388
Shokhet, Shmuel 388
Shokhet, Shulem 388
Shokhet, Yitskhak 388
Shokhetman, Liza 787
Shokhetman, Meer 352
Shokhetman, Moshko 352
Sholom Aleichem 284, 285, 337, 389, 547, 802
photograph 337
Shor, Dovid 621
Shor, Duv. Shlem. 383
Shor, Duvid Shamshonovich 376
Shor, Gershko Zelmanovich 376
Shor, Khaim Grig. 383
Shor, Moshko Shlem. 369, 383
Shor, Shlema Mendel. 383
Shor, Shmaya 626, 631
Shor, Shmul Ikhevich 151
Shor, Shmul Shlemovich 376, 383
Shor, Simkha 630
Shor, Slema Mendelevich 366
Shor, Srul Zelmanov 305
Shor, Sveta 774
Shor, Zelman 352
Shore, Esther 595
Shore, Mollie 582
Shore, Sam 579
Shotkovich, Khaskel 751
Shoykhed, Volko Abramovich 371
Shoykhet, Abrum 687, 760, 789
Shoykhet, Azril Godevich 376
Shoykhet, Itsko Khaim. 373, 382
Shoykhet, Khaim 763
Shoykhet, Leyb 751
Shoykhet, Moshe 740, 763
Shoykhet, Psakhiya Godevich 376
Shoykhet, Yitskhak 686, 687, 760
Shoykhetman, Borya 789
Shoykhit, Boris Ilich 369
Shoykhtman, Itsko-Zelko 369
Shoymerman, Menya Pinkhas. 382
Shpak, Khaim 351
Shpaner, Bentsion 751
Shpaner, Itsko Srulevich 371
Shpaner, Srul 751
Shpeilter, Sarah 606
Shperkan 358
Shpikman, Aron 179
Shpirkan, Yak. Arkad. 359
Shpirt, Leonid xxiii, 521, 522
Shpitaler, Borukh 385
Shpiterman, Khaim 473
Shpitsberg, Ayzik Yank. 383
Shpitsberg, El Khaimovich 373
Shpitsberg, Khaim Elev. 382
Shpitsburg, Yankel Zurikhovich 376
Shpituler, Rivka Borukh. 386
Shportilo, El. Lukiyan. 383
Shpringel, Aizyk-Moishe Shalovich 354
Shpringel, Rukhlya Shliom. 381
Shraga Feivel, Rabbi of Gritza 72
Shraga, Mikhel Moshkovich 373
Shraybman, Khaim Pinkhas. 386
Shraybman, Rukhlya 383
Shraydman, Itsko Leybovich 376
Shreefter, Mary 592
Shreiber, Sammy 606
Shreibman, Ella 603
Shreibman, Rabbi Yisrael of Derazhnia 188, 191
Shroiner, Beila 472
Shroiner, Usher 472
Shtamberg, Zelman Mikhelevich 376
Shtapel, Aron 678
Shtapel, Ola 678
Shteinbuk, Gersh Aronov 305
Shteinman, Moshko 472
Shteinvas, Yoshua 630
Shtekhman, Avrum 751
Shtekhman, Khaskel Zeylekovich 376
Shtekhman, Mikhel Khaskelevich 376
Shtelvaser, Sender 472
Shtemberg, Ovshiya Moshkovich 365
Shterberg, Samuil Lazerovich 151
Shterberg, Viktorna Samulovich 151
Shterengas, Abram Gershkovich 371
Shterengas, Gersh Srulevich 371
Shtern, Itsya 683, 684
Shtern, Maks 788
Shternshis, Anna 656
Shterntal, Batya 630
Shterntas, Gersh God. 385
Shteyn family 758
Shteyn, Avrum 687, 751, 760
Shteyn, Dodik 789
Shteyn, Froim 151
Shteyn, Ruven D. 151
Shteynbarg, Duvid Yankelevich 373
Shteynbarg, Khaskel Moshkovich 371
Shteynbarg, Shmul Bentsionovich 369
Shteynbaum, Tovah 605
Shteynbaum, Yoshua 605
Shteynberg, G. L. 382
Shteynberg, Monashe Yankelevich 373
Shteynberg, Ovshiy Moshk. 385
Shteynberg, Samuil Ruvinovich 756
photograph 757
Shteynberg, Shika 751
Shteynberg, Yasha 789
Shteynbok, Alter Abramovich 376
Shteynbok, Aron Abramovich 376
Shteyngold, Mikhel Pinkhasovich 354
Shteynvas, Tsal Shaevich 376
Shtifelman, Itsko Borukhovich 467
Shtik, Duvid 386
Shtik, Enya 386
Shtilerman, Abram 369
Shtilerman, Atya 758
Shtilerman, Boris 677, 758
Shtilerman, Hershel 681, 759

Shtilerman, Ruzya Semenovna 151
Shtilerman, Semen Abramovich 151
Shtipelman, Duvid Yokelevich 377
Shtipelman, Vol 352
Shtipelman, Yankel Moshkovich 377
Shtivel, Yankel 751
Shtivelman family 758
Shtivelman, Abrashko 179
Shtivelman, Aiga 179
Shtivelman, Itsek 351
Shtivelman, Itsko-Zil 369
Shtivelman, Khaim-Srul 369
Shtivelman, Khaskel Alterovich 369
Shtivelman, Shloima Mordkovich 369
Shtivelman, Zil 351
Shtromberg, Gershko Ayzikovich 369
Shtromberg, Itsko Shmulevich 376
Shtromberg, Mikhel 369
Shtuk, Dovid 762
Shtuk, Khana 762
Shtuk, Ruven 762
Shtul, Berko 750
Shtul, Borukh 750
Shtul, Shika 751
Shtulbaum, Srul Gershkovich 369
Shtulbaum, Y. 562
Shtulboym, Ikh. 488
Shtulboym, Ikhil Khaimovich 365
Shtulboym, Kh. 488
Shtulboym, Khaim 351
Shtulboym, Leya Khaimovna 151
Shtulboym, S. 488
Shubkesel, Itsko 352
Shuk, Mikhal 636
Shuk, Tsvi 637
Shulman 403
Shulman, Abraham 597, 599
Shulman, Benjamin 597
Shulman, David 604
Shulman, Dora 604
Shulman, Fanny 599
Shulman, Harry 597
Shulman, Jack 604
Shulman, Jennie 603
Shulman, Yetta 604
Shunblat, Moshka 437
Shunderman family 763
Shunderman, Avrohum 763
Shuper, Baba Shabs. 382
Shuri, Froim 351
Shuster, Fania 677
Shuster, Ios Berkovich 373
Shuster, Shmul Yankelevich 369
Shuster, Shura 107
Shusterman 473
Shusterman, I. A. 382
Shustik, Lena 593
Shvaiger, R.V. 364
Shvarts family 758, 764
Shvarts, Aron 753
Shvarts, Ayzik Yankelevich 367
Shvarts, Berko Gersh. 383
Shvarts, El Adam. 365, 378
Shvarts, Feyga 383
Shvarts, Iovel Moshkovich 376
Shvarts, Ioyna Itskovich 376
Shvarts, Ita 753
Shvarts, Khaike 637
Shvarts, Moishe 637
Shvarts, Moshko 352
Shvarts, Ovshiya Nukhmovich 367, 380
Shvarts, Shika 303
Shvarts, Yakov Ovsheyev 305
Shvartsbard, Sholom 501, 541, 543, 634
photograph 634
Shvartsbarg, Peysakh 369
Shvartsberg, Gershko 352
Shvartsbroit family 758
Shvartsbroit, Borukh 179
Shvartsburd, Abram Shoylovich 377
Shvartsburd, Ios Skharievich 377
Shvartsburg, Duvid Zeylkovich 376
Shvartser, Shika 788, 789, 790
Shvartsman 196, 200, 358, 445
Shvartsman, A. 357
Shvartsman, Aron 359
Shvartsman, Eliezar 630
Shvartsman, Fayvel Iosevich 371, 385
Shvartsman, Fishel 649
Shvartsman, G. 357
Shvartsman, Gershko Iosevich 376
Shvartsman, Ios. Leib. 384
Shvartsman, Israel 521, 605, 630
Shvartsman, Ita Shlem. 362
Shvartsman, Itya, 359
Shvartsman, Khaya-Yofe 362
Shvartsman, L. 357
Shvartsman, Leyb 180
Shvartsman, Leybi 385
Shvartsman, M. 201, 357
Shvartsman, Mordko Itskovich 354
Shvartsman, Ovshiy 359
Shvartsman, Peisakh Duvidovich 354
Shvartsman, Rabbi Yosef Leybovich of Medzhibozh 109
Shvartsman, Shimon Iosevich 376
Shvartsman, Shlema Gershk. 359
Shvartsman, Shmuel 470, 471, 473
Shvartsman, Srul 369
Shvets, Moshko 395, 397
Shveytzer family 645
Shvidko, Srul 369
Shvitko, Tsilya 787, 788, 789, 790
Shyevitch, Eliya 761
Shymon, son of Itsko 33
Sidon, Minikha Mendelevich 371
Siedman, S. 562
Siegal, Charles 653
Siegal, M. 524
Siegel, Alex 579
Siegel, Benjamin 561, 597
Siegel, Benjamin "Bugsy" 475, 476, 481
photograph 475
Siegel, Bertha 579
Siegel, Chaim 597
Siegel, Charles. See *Zinshteyn, Ekheel*
Siegel, Dov 596
Siegel, Edith 562
Siegel, Esther 596, 597
Siegel, I. 562
Siegel, Ida 561
Siegel, Jennie Goldstein 475
Siegel, Khaim 596
Siegel, Khiah 596
Siegel, Max 475, 558
Siegel, Rose 562
Siegel, Sonia 557, 558
Sigal, Aizik Duvid. 379
Sigal, Berko 356
Sigal, Berko Benyomenov 371
Sigal, Brukha 789
Sigal, Dora 303
Sigal, Duvid Yankelevich 365, 378
Sigal, Gersh 375
Sigal, Gershko Volkovich 362, 365
Sigal, Ios 373
Sigal, Leyzor Naftulovich 371
Sigal, Mendel Mordkovich 373
Sigal, Menya Gersh. 384
Sigal, Motel 762
Sigal, Mottel 689, 690, 760
Sigal, N. 357
Sigal, Oyzer 351
Sigal, Shlema Simkh. 384
Sigal, Simkha 371
Sigal, Srul Gilelevich 368
Sigal, Yankel 371
Sigalman, Lea 762
Sigalman, Leba 762
Sigelman, Leva 386
Sigelman, Manya 386
Sigelman, Srul 386
Silberg, Hyman 569
Siling, Leanard 574
Silver, Ben 574
Silver, Chaim A. 597
Silver, Esther 604, 605
Silver, H. 574
Silver, Hyman 604
Silver, Khana 382
Silver, Rachel 565
Silver, Shloim 565
Silverman 553, 568, 574, 607. See also *Zilberman*
Silverman family 374
Silverman, Aaron 593
Silverman, Abraham 603
Silverman, Anna 374, 569, 604
Silverman, Anna Ostacher 567, 568
Silverman, Archibald 551
Silverman, Aron 589
Silverman, B. 586
Silverman, Beckie 590
Silverman, Berko 579
Silverman, Chantsa 603
Silverman, Charles 551
Silverman, David 567, 569, 576
Silverman, George 214, 374
Silverman, Goldie 567, 568
Silverman, H. 568
Silverman, Harry 567
Silverman, Hinda 603
Silverman, Ida 604
Silverman, Jack 601, 603
Silverman, Jacob 604
Silverman, Joseph 574
Silverman, Kiva 603
Silverman, L. 600
Silverman, Louis 567, 568, 574
Silverman, Mary 603, 604
Silverman, Max 551, 597, 599, 604
Silverman, Meyer 588
Silverman, Morris 568, 574, 576
Silverman, Nina 214
Silverman, Pauline 579
Silverman, Robert 604
Silverman, Rose 606
Silverman, Sam 604
Silverman, Selig 593
Silverman, Sheindel 586
Silverman, Sidney D. 604
Silverman, Sima Plotka 551
Silverman, Stephen xxiii, 389, 477, 480, 481, 612, 793, 815
Silverman, Sylvia 599
Silverstein, Hyman 579
Silverstein, Ida 579
Silverstein, Mollie 567, 569
Silverstein, Morris 567, 569
Sima Chisha, wife of R. Borukh of Medzhibozh 73
Sima, Peysya Moshkovich 375
Simelson, Nathan 574
Simes, Abraham 597
Simes, Beatrice 597
Simes, Jacob 597
Simes, Leon 597
Simes, Liza 789
Simes, Sarah 597
Simes, Yitzkhak 515
Siminovker, Dvoyre 751
Simis, Yankel Itskovich 365
Simon, Abraham 581
Simon, Celia 557, 558
Simon, Esther 581
Simon, Samuel 557, 558
Simons, Louis 574
Sinderovitz, Jacob 588
Singer family xxiii, 485, 610
Singer, Altar (Freyda) 193, 194, 210
Singer, Annette Zimmerman 210, 314, 611, 814
Singer, Chana Giller 185, 193, 194, 207
Singer, Dora 382
Singer, Ida 579
Singer, Israel 193, 207, 289, 485, 527
Singer, Leib 437
Singer, Louis 574
Singer, Minnie 610
Sipelstein, Becky 581
Sipelstein, Dave 593
Sipelstein, David 581
Sirata, A. 567
Sirata, R. 562
Sirkes, Rabbi Joel 20, 21, 38, 44-45, 52, 116, 130, 133, 290, 419, 453
Sirkes, Rabbi Judah Leib 45
Sirkes, Rabbi Samuel Tsvi 45
Sirkis, Israel Joseph 293

Sirof, J. 562
Sirof, L. 562
Sirota 510
Sirota, Khaim 515, 563
Sirota, Leyba Gershkovich 377
Sirota, Leyba Senderovich 365
Sirota, Mishe 515
Sirota, Moshko Shneerovich 377
Sirota, Shneer Mordkovich 377
Sirota, Zev 563
Sisis, Barnett 593
Sisis, Charles 589, 593
Sitchkornik, Peyse 100
Sitelman, Benjamin 596, 597
Sitelman, Rose 597
Siviah 574
Skantorovskaya, Breina Mordukhaevaya 455
Sklarz, Ios 348
Skliar, Ios 395, 397
Sklyarevskiy, Shmul Yankelevich 368
Sklyarevskiy, Yankel Iosevich 366
Skner, Natan 563, 565
Skner, Rebecca 565
Skolnick, Abraham 597
Skolnik, Avrum 492
Slavis, Eva 582
Slavis, Gerald 581
Slavis, Isidore 582
Slavis, Morris 582
Slavis, Natalie 581
Slavis, Sam 579
Slavis, Sarah 582
Slavutskaya, Enya Leyb. 384
Slepaya, Fira 789
Slepoy, Duvid Ruvinovich 373
Slepoy, Srul 789
Slepy, Icko 350
Slepy, Todros 349
Slezinger, Fima 789
Slobodianski, Khaim Yankel Mikhel 762
Slobodinsky, Bernard 585
Slobodinsky, Frida 590
Slobodinsky, Morris 590
Slutsky, Dovid 181
Small, Meyer 597
Smith, Anna 560
Smith, David 560
Smith, Max 599
Smith, Morris 599
Smolek, Israel 597
Smolek, Jean 599
Smolek, Sam 599
Smolenskin 403
Smolik, Abraham 597, 599
Smolik, Sarah 599
Smolok, Frieda 599
Smolok, Harry 599
Smolok, Sam 599
Smolok, Sarah 599
Snitfker, Rose 582
Snitifker, E. 752
Snitifker, M. 752
Snitivaker, Feivel 761
Snitivaker, Moshe 761
Snitivker, Aron 352
Snitkin, Ben 555
Snitkin, Rebecca 555
Snyder, Sarah 574
Sobel, Celia 567, 568
Sobelman, Laura 561
Sobelman, Martin 561
Sobelman, Samuel 565
Sobelman, Sarah 565
Sobol, Yankel 394
Socoloff, Minnie 565
Sodak, Abramko 352
Soifer, Israel 585
Soifer, L. 620
Sokoloff, Morris 565
Sokolow, Eliahu 554
Sokolow, Feige 554
Sokolow, Gussie 554, 555
Sokolow, Issy 555
Sokolyanskiy, Lev Abramovich 153
Solney, Sarah 555
Solomon, Dr. 728
Solomon, Esna 596
Solomon, Khaim 596
Solomon, Lou 596
Solomon, Louis 597
Solomon, Sonia 597
Solomon, Sophie 596
Soltoff 574
Soltonoff, Jennie 569
Somikh, Kh. 385
Somin, Khaskel Shmulevich 371
Somin, Rivka Ios. 385
Sonets, Srul 179
Sonich, Shulim 385
Sonich, Solom. 362
Sonin, Sol. 364
Sorkman, Sarah 593
Sorlie, Louis 597
Soroker, Itsko Yank. 387
Soshchin, Ios Srulevich 368
Soshchin, Yankel Gershkovich 371
Soshteyn, Yossel 637
Sosinker, Beila 641
Sosinker, Lea 641
Soskin, Moshko Usherov 371
Sotskher, Ios 505
Soybelman, Misha 789
Soydelman, Shulim Aron. 378
Soyfer, Berko Yankelevich 377
Soyfer, Volkoy Zusevich 375
Speal, Martin 597
Speal, Rose 597
Spector 303
Spector, Adel 303
Spector, Anna 590
Spector, Dorothy 592
Spector, Isidore 585, 590
Spector, Louis 590
Spector, Natie 591
Spector, Sam 585, 590
Spector, Sara 600
Spector, Sarah 590
Spector, Sheva 590
Speelter, Sam 606
Spektar, Rabbi Wolf of Mikhalpol 106, 130
Spektor, Gershko Ovshievich 368
Spektor, M. 295
Spektor, Vol 473
Spiegel, Bob 606
Spiegel, Shirley 606
Spilerman, N. 601
Spira, Rabbi Israel of Bluzhov 727-728, 770
Spivack, Charles 567
Spivack, Dorothy 567
Spivack, Leo 581
Spivak, Abram 473
Spivak, Feiga 467
Spivak, Gersh Leib Moshkovich 466, 467
Spivak, Rose 582
Spivak, Sam 582
Srayginblat, Sanko Abramovich 354
Srolow, Chaim 350
Srolow, Iankiel 350
Srolowicz, Leyzor 449
Srulevich, Aron 356
Sruliovich 351
Sruliovich, Gershko 352
Sruliovich, Moshka 352
Sruliovich, Zelman 130
Srulya, Faimberg 702
Stacher, Joseph "Doc" 475-477
photograph 475
Stackman, Jacob 588
Stampfer, Shaul 41, 70, 118, 313
Starostis, Rivka 637
Stasir, Yankel 751
Statsher, Isaac 574
Statsher, Sarah 574
Stavnitser, Abram Pinkhasovich 371
Stawnicki, Froim 350
Stawnicki, Majorko 347
Steckman, Jennie 588
Steel, Dawn 610
Stefel, David 582
Stefel, Morris 579
Stein. See also *Zinshteyn*
Stein, Abe 567
Stein, Albert 557
Stein, Annette 599
Stein, Beatrice 558
Stein, Bernard xxiii, 398
Stein, Clara Bleyvas 557, 558
Stein, Frima 534
Stein, H. 606
Stein, Joseph 597, 604. See *Zinshteyn, Yosef*
Stein, Major Bernard 557
Stein, Mollie 567
Stein, Morris 558
Stein, Rose 604
Stein, Roselle W. 655
Steinback, Nechama 565
Steinberg, Annie 592
Steinberg, Harry 590
Steinberg, R. 586
Steinberg, Rachael 592
Steiner, Janet 561
Steiner, Lena 561
Steiner, Rachel 561
Steinfeld, Julius 557
Steingard, Gary 581
Stepelman, Isidore 597
Stepelman, Sylvia 597
Stepenskay, Atya 757
Stepenskay, Khana 757
Stepenskiy, Isaak Shmulevich 368
Stern, Harry 604
Stern, Ida 604
Sternberg, Ethel 565
Sternberg, Isidore 565
Sternberg, Israel 624
Sternberg, Louis 565
Sternberg, Sam 565
Sternberg, Yehuda 624
Sternberg, Yeshua 563
Steynborg, Duv. 364
Stiebel, David 604
Stiebel, Esther 604
Stiebel, Fannie 604
Stierman, Joseph 590
Stierman, May 590
Stierman, Walter 590
Stievelbrand, Minnie 603
Stillwater, David 599
Stipelman, Ann 596, 597
Stipelman, Isidore 596
Stipelman, Mordechai 596
Stipelman, Rose 596
Stipelman, Yechiel 597
Stipelman, Yekheel 596
Stirnman, Joe 585
Stoler, Leybe 764
Stoller, Shmuel 183
Stolowitz, Becky 582
Stolowitz, George 579
Stolowitz, Morris 582
Stolowitz, Sally (nee Levy) 582
Stolyar, Ida 750
Storch, Ida 278
Stremberg, Sam 586
Strianik family 764
Strikavsky, Moshe 563
Stromberg, Louis 592
Stromberg, Rachel 589, 592
Stromberg, Samuel 592
Stromburg, Anna 603
Stromburg, Harry 603
Stromvaser, Golda 472
Stromvaser, Zurikh 472
Stroz, Iudka 348
Suckel, Benjamin 565
Suckel, Ruchel 565
Sudak, Shimon Alterovich 375
Sudilkovskiy, Shfioma 352
Sugarman, Sophia 600
Sukhoy, Duvid 351
Sumis, Yankel 108
Sunshine, Bella 561
Sunshine, Rubin 561
Suris, Berko Froimovich 368
Suris, Naftala Mordkovich 463, 464
Suris, Yodko Ioynovich 373
Sus, Khaim 809
Sussman, Ida 555

Sussman, Louis 555
Sussman, Sarah 555
Sutter, Allan 560
Sutter, Rita 560
Svigal, Gitya 179
Svima, Khaim 351
Sweet, Gertrude 581
Sweet, Morris 581
Swift 569
Szapowal, Abramko 349
Szapowalnik, Ios 347
Szayazyszyn, Szloma 449
Szayczyszyn, Szlomka 347
Szcerbaty, Iankiel 346
Szczupak 346
Szklarz, Ios 347
Szklarz, Peysach 348
Szkolniczka, Orinicha 347
Szkolniczka, Szymchowa 347
Szkolnik, Leybka 349
Szkolnik, Zyskiel 349
Szmuklerz, Berko 346, 349
Szmuklerz, Froim 348
Szmuklerz, Herszko 348
Szmuklerz, Majorko 349
Szmuklerz, Mendel 347
Szmuklerz, Nachman 349
Szmuklerz, Szymon 348
Szmulowicz, Nyson 350
Szmuylowicz, Iankiel 350
Szwiec, Berko 349
Szwiec, Herszko 348
Szwiec, Wolo 348
Szynkarz, Boruch 350
Szynkarz, Giec 346
Szynkarz, Notka 349

T

Tabac, Sam 568
Tabachnik, Abram 368
Tabachnik, Itsko 368
Tabachnik, Moshko 368
Taback, Yetta 574
Tabak, Abraham 567, 568
Tabak, Abram 368
Tabak, Goldie 568
Tabak, Hyman 568
Tabak, Ios 438
Tabak, Ios Zeylikovich 368
Tabak, Jos. 568
Tabak, Lillian 567, 568
Tabak, Sam 567
Tabak, Shimon 351
Tabak, Srul-Leyb Ruvinovich 375
Tabak, Yetta 568
Tabak, Yodko Ruvinovich 375
Tabak, Zeilik 351
Tabakh, Sasha 789, 790
Taflya, Itsko Srulevich 377
Taksman, Aron Duvidovich 371
Tandetnik, Berko 346
Tandetnik, Inkiel 346
Tandetnik, Leyzor 350
Tandetnik, Moszko 349
Tanenbaum, N. 605
Tansky, Celia 600
Taporofsky, Kalman 586
Tarla, Ges 351
Tarlo, Shulim Mordkovich 371
Tarnopolski, Oron 350
Tarshish, Yochved bat-Rachel 298
Tarsish, Sara xxiii, 170, 314, 480
Tartakovskiy, Mordko 373
Tator, James 567
Taub, Rabbi Yechezkel, of Kozmir 72
Taub, Rabbi Yitzchal Eizik of Kalev 72
Tayger, Alter 352
Teaberg, Nathan 595
Techter, David 574
Techter, Sarah 574
Tehor, Galiyon 201
Teich, Dr. Meir 697, 767
Teiman, Itsko Zelman 364
Teitelbaum, N. 606
Teitelbaum, Rabbi Moshe of Ujhel 72
Telpner, Abram Mendelevich 373
Telpner, Mendel 373
Tempkin, Katie 599
Tendler, Anna 603
Tenenboym, Iser Monashkovich 375
Tenser, Hymie 652
Tentser, M. 357
Tentserman, Gersh Leyzer. 381
Tentserman, Rabbi Gersh Leyzorovich of Derazhnia 109, 201
Tenzer 399
Tenzer family 410, 611, 653
Tenzer, Abrum 396, 480
Tenzer, Aron 762
Tenzer, Ber 464
Tenzer, Borukh 762
Tenzer, David 762
Tenzer, Esther 762
Tenzer, Genya 762
Tenzer, Hyman 762
Tenzer, Ignats 637
Tenzer, Ignatz 762
Tenzer, Iosif Volkovich 404, 464
Tenzer, Jacob 652, 762
Tenzer, Malie 762
Tenzer, Manya 652
photograph 653
Tenzer, Morris 516
Tenzer, Rukhel 464
Tenzer, Sheina bat Yankel 507
Tenzer, Shneur 637
Tenzer, Sholom 762
Tenzer, Sluva 652, 762
Tenzer, Srul 404, 479, 762
Tenzer, Tsiril 399, 637
Tenzer, Velvel 651, 652, 762
Tenzer, Yankel 507, 637, 762
Tenzer, Yeshayahu 637
Tenzer, Yoshua 762
Tenzer, Zalman 611
Tenzerman 303
Tepeka, Gershek 351
Tepelbaum, Celia 582
Teper, Yankel Srulevich 364, 373
Tepermaynster, Duvid Yankelevich 375
Tepermaynster, Mana Yankelevich 375
Tepermaynster, Volko Yankelevich 375
Tepermeister, Itsik Duvidov 305
Tepermeister, Sara Duvidovna 305
Tepf, Khaya Abr. 382
Tepner, Berko 352
Tepner, Mikhel 352
Tepner, Ruvin 352
Tepper, Ann 555
Tepper, Eliahu 554
Tepper, Jacob 554, 555
Tepper, Peter 394
Terpus, Meer 751
Tessler, Elaine 582
Tessler, Ida 555
Tessler, Morris 582
Tessler, Sadie 582
Teyman, Itsko Zelmanovich 375, 383
Thune, Harry 604
Tikhman, Abram 752
Tikhman, Etlya Yankelevna 305
Tikhman, Ita 752
Tikhman, Luba 673, 766, 771, 803
Tikhman, Manya 753
Tikhman, Ruvin Volevich 375
Tikhman, Srul Volevich 375
Tikhman, Zislya Shlemovna 305
Tisch, Shivka 303
Tish, Yasha 787
Tishelman, Gerts 352
Tishelman, Ruvin 352
Tkach, Fira 762
Tkach, Khaim 762, 789
Tkach, Klara Moyseevna 153
Tkach, Naum 762
Tnai, Yekhiel 764
Toback, David 320, 388
Toback, Joseph 574, 575
Tobias, Irving 555
Tobias, Paul 582
Tobias, Rae 582
Tobis, Jacob 588
Tofstupall, William 595
Toiberman, Itsko 179
Toitur, Abrashko 179
Tokar, Volko 179
Tokarz, Leyzor 347
Tolchinskaya, Sosya Alter 382
Toperofsky, Esther 586
Toporoff, Hirsh 563, 565
Toporoff, Rose 565
Toporoff, Samuel 588
Toporofsky, Isidor 559
Toporofsky, Rebecca 589
Toporofsky, Sesse 589
Toporosky, Kalmen 593
Toporosky, Sesse 593
Toporovskaia, Vittia 355
Toporovsky, Esther 593
Tovba, Feyga 351
Tovbis, Duvid 368
Tovbis, Gilel Moshkovich 368
Tovbis, Mindlya 378
Tovbis, Pinkhas 368
Tovbis, Volko 107
Tovbis, Volko Pinkhasovich 365
Toyter family 758
Toyter, Es Abramovich 368
Toyter, Khaskel Itskovich 368
Toyter, Kisil-Leyba 368
Trachtenberg family xxiii, 608
Trachtenberg, Alan 609
Trachtenberg, Beyla Grubshteyn 234, 258, 359, 363, 378
photograph 377
Trachtenberg, Fannie 606
Trachtenberg, Hyman 124, 608, 656
Trachtenberg, Ida 567, 568
Trachtenberg, Ilya 258, 296, 608
photograph 296
Trachtenberg, Isaac 582
Trachtenberg, Itsik 608
Trachtenberg, Millie 377
Trachtenberg, Moshe 608
Trachtenberg, Oscar 610
Trachtenberg, P. 574
Trachtenberg, Philip 567, 568
Trachtenberg, Rebecca 608
Trachtenberg, Sarah 582
Trachtenberg, Sosya Rapoport 608
Trachtenberg, Stephen 610
Trachtenberg, Yussel 608
Trager, Moshko Iosevich 371
Traiberman, Eidya Zeidovna 305
Traiberman, Sosya Zeidovna 305
Trakhtenberg, Ios Geynikhovich 368
Trakhtenberg, Joseph 107
Trakhtenberg, Moshko Iosevich 375, 383, 386
Trakhtenberg, Nakhman 107
Trambain 603
Trayger, Idel 751
Treinkman, Meyer 597, 599
Treinkman, Moses 597, 599
Treinkman, Tessie 599
Treinkman, Zena 599
Treitman, Duvid 473
Tretiak, Isaac 589, 593
Tretiak, Moses 593
Tretiak, Rachel 593
Tretyak, Betya 757
Tretyak, D. 680
Tretyak, David Srulevich 151
Tretyak, Duvid Ios. 368, 378
Tretyak, Eosif 757
Tretyak, Evgenia xxii, 208, 677, 680, 757, 801
Tretyak, Iosif 107, 494, 495
Tretyak, Khayka 757
Tretyak, Meniha 757
Tretyak, Mola 757
Tretyak, Shlioma Iosevich 368
Tretyak, Shlomo 522
Tretyak, Srul 757
Treyger, Beyrish Srulevich 375
Treyger, Moshko Birishovich 375
Triderman, Shmul Moshkovich 467
Triger, Iankel 207
Trolman 562
Trolman, I. 562

Trolman, N. 562
Trotsky, Leon 634
Trub, Anna 565
Trub, Jacob 565
Trub, Joseph 565
Trub, Morris Nathan 565
Trup, Yakov 563
Tsarinskiy, Moshko Mordkovich 376
Tsatska, Naftula Volevich 377
Tsedulka, Eosif 758
Tsedulka, Pesya 758
Tselman, Berko Gershkovich 371
Tselman, Berko Moshkov 371
Tselniker 358
Tselniker, Idel 750
Tselniker, Tema Gershk. 362
Tselniker, Y. 357
Tselniker, Yakov 295
Tsidilkiver, Isoskher-Srul Berkovich 354
Tsidulk, Leib 179
Tsidulka, Malka Moshk. 381
Tsidulka, Mendel 369, 713, 714, *716*, 768
Tsif, Rabbi 639
Tsifelshteyn, Sholom 761
Tsifelshteyn, Yakov 761
Tsifris, Esther 761
Tsifris, Israel 761
Tsigan, Shmul Volov 376
Tsigelshteyn 649
Tsikinavker, Srul 351
Tsiler, Etel 751
Tsiler, Itsek 751
Tsimelzon, Duvid 356
Tsimelzon, Khane 751
Tsimelzon, V. 357
Tsimerman, Abram-Gersh Ezrovich 376
Tsimerman, Itsko Aronovich 371
Tsimerman, Khaim 552
Tsimerman, Minda Rokhman 552
Tsimmerman. See also *Zimmerman*
Tsimmerman, Etl 761
Tsimmerman, Fanya 761
Tsimmerman, Itsik 761
Tsimmerman, Kos 386, 761
Tsimmerman, Manya 778
Tsimmerman, Polya 788, 789
Tsimmerman, Shimon 761
Tsimmerman, Yenta 761
Tsin, Abram 365
Tsinberg, E.I. 363
Tsinberg, Simkha 621
Tsinberg, Simkha Leyzorovich 366
Tsiner, Nukhim Aronovich 371
Tsinermans, Aron-Zeylik 376
Tsingif, Leyb 751
Tsingiser, Berko Leybov 371
Tsinman, Ios Moshkovich 377
Tsinman, Itsko Moshkovich 377
Tsinman, Nivel 751
Tsinman, Ovshiy Khaimovich 371
Tsinman, Yitzkhak 515
Tsinshier, Volko 751
Tsipelshteyn, Boris 371
Tsipelshteyn, M. 751
Tsipelshteyn, Yankel 751
Tsiperman, Charna Davidovna 153
Tsipris, Srul Gdalevich 371
Tsirulnik, Pyotr Yevseevich 151, 197, 774, 775
Tsubichkis, Dvoyra Gershk. 379
Tsudechkis, Volko 369
Tsudichkis 358
Tsudichkis, Froim 369, 378
Tsudichkis, Tsudik Borukhovich 362, 365
Tsudichkis, Volko 378
Tsudychkin, Tsudyk 179
Tsukerman Family 373
Tsukerman, Aba 761
Tsukerman, B. Kh. 746
Tsukerman, Basya 761
Tsukerman, Borukh Yokelevich 373
Tsukerman, Duvid Srulevich 369
Tsukerman, Isaak 761
Tsukerman, Itsek-Meer 366
Tsukerman, Khaim Leyb-Mordkov 364, 371
Tsukerman, Khaim Mordk. 384, 385
Tsukerman, Leybish Srulevich 371
Tsukerman, Mar.-Sura Abov. 359
Tsukerman, Nukhim Abovich 377
Tsukerman, Pesya Khaskel. 362, 364
Tsukerman, Reyzl 373
Tsukerman, Shaya 761
Tsukerman, Shmil 751
Tsukerman, Sorke 373
Tsukerman, Tsilia 373
Tsukerman, Tsina 762
Tsupnis, Mirele 740, 744, 764
Tsupnis, Rokhel 764
Tsygan, Jane 655, 777, 814
Tsymelzon, Abram 356
Tsymelzon, Berko Ishniovich 356, 357
Tsymelzun, Geftiia Gershkovich 354
Tubis, Pearl 565
Tuchman, Velvel 741
Tucker, Clara 603
Tucker, H. 605, 606
Tucker, Harry 574
Tucker, Hyman 603
Tucker, Sylvia 574
Tufstupall, Rebecca 595
Tulchinskiy, Shefel 357, 362
Turker, Harris 582
Turker, Lotte 582
Turtletaub, Anita xxiii, 122, 208, 214, 278, 279, 280, 314, 315, 446, 478, 612, 656
Tuvia, Rabbi of Ostova 76
Tvin, Modrye 179
Twersky rabbinical family 112
Twersky, Rabbi Mordekhai of Korishtchov 93

U

Uberfeld, Gelil Ayzikovich 368
Uchitelniy, Gdal Nakhmanovich 375
Uchitelniy, Nakhman Gdalevich 375
Udel 73, 74-75, 76, 161, 162, 243
Uderman, Sh. 357
Uderman, Shaya 368
Udler, Aron Duvidovich 365
Udler, Aron Yankelevich 371
Udler, Basya Ar.-Duv. 385
Udler, Mordko Ar.-Duv. 385
Uhnz, Paul 567
Uhr 574
Ulinetskiy, Bents. Mordk. 385
Ullman, Margaret 557
Ulman, Froim Ikkil. 379
Umanskiy, Itsko 368
Ungar, Bella 114
Upsher, Isaac 637
Upsher, Itsik 637
Usherovich, Iankel 357
Ushitskaya, Anya 761
Ushitskaya, Anyota 789
Ushitskaya, Brana 761
Ushitskaya, Chaike 778
Ushitskaya, Etya 788, 789
Ushitskaya, Iola 761
Ushitskaya, Khaya 761
Ushitskaya, Sara 778
Ushitskaya, Sonya 761
Ushitskaya, Sosya 761
Ushitskaya, Yeva 761
Ushitskaya, Zhenya 778
Ushitskiy, Bentsion Mordkovich 371
Ushitsky, Fridel 778
Ushitsky, Moshe 761
Ushitsky, Riven 761
Ushitsky, Shmaya 761
Ushitsky, Shmuel 761
Uzbarg, Itsko Meerovich 375
Uzifov family 758

V

Vagner, Lina 751
Vaiderman, Vol Itskovich 354
Vainer, Ioyzin 352
Vainer, Shulem 649
Vainshteyn, Eved 750
Vainshtok, Shlema Moshkovich 387
Vaintrub, Moishe 750
Vaintsberg, Dr. 180, 484
Vaisberg, Shimon 461
Vaisman, Iosif 750
Vakeman, Meilakh 179
Vakhman 473
Vaks, Roza xxiii, 398, 416, 524, 648, 653, 656, 671
Vakshtey, Shlema 372
Vald, Abraham 563
Vald, Yakov 563
Valdman, Ios Yankelevich 376
Valitsky, Dovid ben Khaim 507
Vanberg, Simkha Froimovich 377
Vartsman family 630
Vascherman, Ios 357
Vaserbarg, Yankel Itskovich 373
Vaserman, Abram-Shimon Shakhnovich 373
Vaserman, Duvid Shakhnovich 374
Vaserman, Etel 761
Vaserman, Ios 357
Vaserman, Khana Abr. 384
Vaserman, Leyba Shakhnovich 374
Vaserman, Meni 761
Vaserman, Peysakh Srulevich 366
Vaserman, Shakhna 352
Vaserman, Yeshua 563
Vasilke, Avroham 743
Vatover, Berko 367
Vatover, Yankel 107
Vatover, Yankel Berkovich 365
Vayfan, Goran 751
Vaynbarg, Shlema Iosevich 367
Vaynberg 553
Vaynberg, Bluma 637
Vaynberg, Gavriel 637
Vaynberg, Gavril 547
Vaynberg, Leyba Mikheliov 129
Vaynberg, Meyer 397
Vaynberg, Rivka Safir 547
Vaynblat, Dvora 763
Vaynblat, Hershel 763
Vaynblat, Mshko 367
Vaynblat, Yehudis 674, 738, 763, 771 photograph 742
Vayner, Aron Ruvinovich 367
Vayner, Avrum 751
Vayner, Ioyna 367
Vayner, Khaim 751
Vayner, Shmil 751
Vayner, Shulim 372
Vayner, Yudko Shmulevich 367
Vaynerman, Moshko 367
Vaynerman, Srul Mendelevich 373
Vaynlaz, Leiba Fishilovich 354, 357
Vaynliz, Abram Leibovich 354, 357
Vaynlizova, Sosia 354
Vaynshteyn, Benyamin 352
Vaynshteyn, Duvid 649
Vaynshteyn, Dvoyra 381
Vaynshteyn, Froim 372
Vaynshteyn, Izya 789
Vaynshteyn, Meer Khaimovich 369
Vaynshteyn, Raiza bat Khaim 507
Vaynshteyn, Yankel Leyzorovich 373
Vaynshtok. See also *Weinstock*
Vaynshtok family xxiii
Vaynshtok, David 393, 401, 416, 461, 522 photograph 393
Vaynshtok, Galla 416
Vaynshtok, Ios 461
Vaynshtok, Ios Shmulevich 364, 379
Vaynshtok, Khaim 461
Vaynshtok, Kiva 461
Vaynshtok, Leah 461
Vaynshtok, Moisey Ios. 378
Vaynshtok, Ovsher 461
Vaynshtok, Rivka 635
Vaynshtok, Velvel 189
Vayntrub, Itsik 762
Vayntrub, Khaim-Idel Ios-Usherovich 374
Vayntrub, Pesya Zats 762
Vayntrub, Zakhar Pinkhas. 385
Vayntrub, Zaybel Khaimov 365
Vayser, Berko Oinovich 365
Vayser, Borukh Volfovich 366
Vayser, Itsko Volfovich 366
Vayser, Shimon 366
Vayserman, Moshko Yankelevich 367
Vaysfeld, Yankel 369

Vaysleyb, Azril Abr. 381
Vaysman, Esra Froimovich 366
Vaysman, Etel 751
Vaysman, Ios Alterovich 369
Vaysman, Leba Itskovich 369
Vaysman, R. 752
Vaysman, Shmerko 366
Vaytman, Duv. 379
Veidman, D. 357
Veiger, Bella 554
Veigman, Khaim 563
Veinberg, Gavril 480
Veisman, Menakhem 626
Veisman, Mendel 630, 631
Veitsbukh, Sh. 437
Veitser, Duvid Nisanovich 354, 356
Veitser, Frima bat Avraham 507
Veitser, M. 357
Veitsman, Shmerko 178
Veitsman, Yankel 107
Vekselman, Chaiah 605
Vekselman, Israel 605, 630
Vekselman, Khaim-Ber Shmulevich 367
Veksler, Gilel Khaimovich 365, 378
Veksler, Khaim 107
Veksler, Khaim Scharievich 364
Veksler, Mikhel Ovsheivich 374
Velgal, Ios Shlemov 304
Velgitch 774
Veretnik, Toyviy Itskovich 369
Verina, Volko 179
Vernow 568
Vertsman 358
Vertsman, Ahavah 605
Vertsman, B. 518
Vertsman, Baba Zusev. 359
Vertsman, Batya 605
Vertsman, Eynis Mordk. 374, 383
Vertsman, Hanach 605
Vertsman, Hershel 605
Vertsman, Morah 605
Vertsman, Mordekhai 621
Vertsman, Mordko Gersh. 366, 383
Vertsman, Yakov Moshe 621
Vertsman, Yankel-Moyshe Mordkov 366
Vertsman, Yosef 605
Vertsman, Zev 605
Veruman, Mordko Gersh. 380
Verzhbitskiy, K. 380
Veseliy, Leyzor Itskovich 367
Veys, Rabbi Joseph of Medzhibozh 106, 201
Veys, Yitskhak 180
Veytsblit, Itsko 372
Veytsblit, Malka Khaim. 381
Veytser, Moshko 369
Veytsman, Avrum 369
Veytsman, Yankel Evelevich 364
Veytsman, Yankel Iosevich 367
Veytsman, Yankel Mordkovich 367
Vhiman, J. 574
Vieger, Motel 554
Viener, Moishe 687, 688, 760
Vigderovich, Etya Moshkov 304
Vigderovich, Gersh Ikhilov 304
Vigderovich, Khaika Ikhilevna 304
Vigderovich, Mendel Moshkov 304
Vigdorovich, Itsko Shmulevich 373
Vigler, Israel 554
Vigler, Khaika 554
Vilk, Volko Shmulevich 362, 369
Vilna Gaon 51, 74, 103, 616, 619
Vilshtein, Leib Perets 472
Viltsis, Alter 179
Vinberg, Rebeka 629
Viner, Moshko 208
Vinokur 744
Vinokur, Abramko 352
Vinokur, Anne 606
Vinokur, Basia 740
Vinokur, Beyla 380
Vinokur, Miriam 610
Vinokur, Slava 740
Vinover, Leyba 170
Vitels, Shmul Leyb 359
Vitis, Beyla Gerts. 383
Vodovoz, Beba 757
Vodovoz, Khayka 757
Vodovoz, Mani 742
Vodovoz, Mordko Iosevich 374
Vodovoz, Reyza 753, 763
Vodovoz, Shmil 757
Vodovoz, Yankle 763
Vodovoz, Yussel 742, 763
Vogel, George 582
Voldman, Froim 372
Volfbeyn, Abram Iosevich 374
Volfbeyn, Alter 753
Volfbeyn, Golda 753
Volfbeyn, Itsko Iosevich 374, 383
Volfbeyn, Sarra 753
Volfbeyn, Yankel Shaevich 373
Volfenzon, Zelik 472
Voliovich, Gershko 369
Volk, Aron 108
Volkevits, Khayke 637
Volkovinek, Gdal 179
Volnovich, Gdal 356
Volokh, Enya Iosevna 305
Voloshin, Itsko 179
Voloshin, Kelman 351
Voloshin, Lipa 372
Voloshin, Shlmul and Khaika 32, 33
Volowitz, Harry 593
Volzon, Borukh Shmulevich 367, 378
Voytchisin, G. 282
Vugman, Gershko Geynikhovich 374
Vul, Moshko Gershkovich 377
Vulakh, Ios Meerovich 366
Vuler, Khaim Moshk. 383
Vuler, Leizer 763
Vuler, Moshko Mendelevich 374, 383
Vulikh, Shmul 352
Vulikhman, Shmil 473
Vurshtatman, Ide-Mordka Ios. 359

W

Wachs, Morris 124
Wachs, Tillie 557
Wachsman, Edith Rappoport 180
Wagner, Albert 557
Wagner, Dorothy 557
Wahl, Gussie Weintraub 559
Waksman, Rachel 554
Waksman, Shlomo 554
Wakstein, Adele 557, 559
Wakstein, Harry 557, 559
Wald, Abraham 565
Wald, Benjamin 565
Wald, Celia 565
Wald, Fannie 562
Wald, Ida 565
Wald, Jack 562
Waldman, Morris D. 545
Wall, Albert 557
Wall, Jerry 599
Wallach, Minnie 603
Wallach, Sam 603
Walman, Heshel (Cantor) 597
Wangel 562
Wangel, Joseph 561
Wangel, Minnie 562
Wangel, Rose 561
Warburg, Felix 541, 547, 548, 612
Waserstein, Gertrude 604
Waserstein, Harry 604
Waserstein, Irving 604
Wasserman, Ann 596
Wasserman, Annie 597
Wasserman, Harry 596, 597
Wasserman, Hershel 605, 606
Wasserman, Isidore 563, 565
Wasserman, Jennie 577
Watkin, Isaac 559
Waxenberg, Ella 579
Waxenberg, Morris 577
Waxman, Anna 582
Waxman, Isidore 582
Weber 574
Weber, Harry 565
Weber, Katie 586
Weber, Minucha 565
Weber, Samuel 588
Wechsler, Lena 593
Wechsler, Malka 593
Wechsler, Malke 593
Wechsler, Rose 593
Weigman, Anna 565
Weigman, Hyman 565
Weigman, Ida 565
Wein, Frank 576
Wein, William 569, 576
Weinberg 553
Weinberg, Harry 556, 557
Weinberg, Max 596, 597
Weinberg, Morris 547, 548, 557
photograph 547
Weinberg, Yetta 596, 597
Weiner, Becky 567, 570
Weiner, Benjamin 567, 569, 574
Weiner, Eva 569
Weiner, Gershen 567
Weiner, Gershon 570
Weiner, Gertie 554, 555, 556
Weiner, Harry 562
Weiner, Irene 569
Weiner, L. 574
Weiner, Louis 567, 569
Weiner, Max 559, 560, 565, 567
Weiner, Miriam 603
Weiner, Mollie 567, 569
Weiner, Morris 567, 569
Weiner, Moshe 554
Weiner, Ralph 603
Weiner, Ruben 582
Weiner, Samuel 582
Weiner, Sonia 562
Weiner, Sylvia 582
Weiners, Abe 574
Weinraub, L. 574
Weinreb, Betty Zimmerman 185, 526, 529, 530
Weinreich, Beatrice Silverman xxiii, 214, 229, 278, 280, 313, 374
Weinreich, Max 238
Weinryb, Bernard 16, 38, 39, 40, 41, 444
Weinsoff, Dorothy 557, 559
Weinsoff, Louis 557, 559
Weinstein, Bella 588
Weinstein, Benjamin 589
Weinstein, Ethel 593
Weinstein, Joseph 588
Weinstein, Lena 588
Weinstein, Philip 565
Weinstock. See also *Vaynshtok*
Weinstock family 210
Weinstock, Ben xxi, xxii, xxiii, 7, 40, 123, 138, 173, 237, 281, 317, 389, 390, 391, 398, 409, 411, 447, 479, 480, 483, 496, 523, 525, 555, 602, 612, 613, 615, 633, 642, 661, 748, 754, 762, 764, 766, 768, 770, 773, 792, 793
photograph xx
Weinstock, Benjamin 565
Weinstock, Borris 409, 416, 496, 497, 556, 557
photograph 409, 496
Weinstock, David Ezekiel 534, 557
Weinstock, Galla Zinshteyn 534
Weinstock, Isaac 557, 635-639
photograph 638
Weinstock, Julius 416
Weinstock, Leon 557
Weinstock, Munie 557
Weinstock, Rachel 209
Weinstock, Rae 557
Weinstock, Solomon 557
Weinstock, William 556, 557
Weintraub, Gussie 557
Weisberg, Rebecca 595
Weisberg, William 595
Weiser, Kalman 612
Weissberg, Berish 606
Weissberg, Frieda 606
Weissberg, Shlomo 605
Weissman, Bertha 582
Weissman, Feiga 579
Weissman, Hyman 563
Weissman, Isidore 582
Weissman, Joseph 554, 555, 579
Weissman, Kate 554, 555
Weissman, Sarah 563

Weitzman, Isaac 559
Weitzman, I.. 562
Weitzman, S. 562
Weizmann, Dr. Chaim 544, 546
Wengier, Leybka 350
Wernow, Nathan 568
Wernow, Tamie Silverman 567
Wernow, Tanya 568
Wertepnie, Szmylo 347
Wertepny, Herszko 346
Wertepny, Szaja 346
Wexler family 370
Wexler, Aaron 370
Wexler, Brana 370
Wexler, Fagie 370
Wexler, Ida 589
Wexler, Israel 370
Wexler, Lazar 370
Wexler, Libby 370
Wexler, Louis 593
Wexler, Max 589, 593
Wexler, Rifka 370
Wexler, Robert S. 592
Wexler, Sam 370
Wexler, Theodora K 592
White, Jacob 569
White, Sophia 569
Wiener, Jack 561
Wiener, S. 562
Wiernik, Leybka 350
Wigderczyna, Leybicha 348
Wigdorka, Reyzia 350
Wigman, M. 586
Williams, Oscar 547-549
photograph 549
Winakor, Mollie 583
Winakor, Moses 583
Wine, William 567
Winniczka, Leybicha 349
Winnik, Herszko 349
Winnik, Leybka 350
Winnik, Moszko 348
Winocur, David 555
Winocur, Harry 599
Winocur, Ida 599
Winocur, Israel 597
Winocur, Samuel 599
Winocur, Sarah 599
Winokur, Charles 604
Winokur, David 604
Winokur, Yetta 604
Wise, Rabbi Stephen S. 545
Wittman, Charles 583
Wittman, Clara 577
Wittman, Martin 583
Woldman, Oscar 597
Wolensky, M. 599
Wolf 606
Wolf, Brother 605
Wolf, D.A. 605
Wolf, Frank 574
Wolf, Jacob 567
Wolf, Sarah 574
Wolfbein, Sam 605, 606
Wolfseit 605
Wolfshaut, Leon 604
Wolfshaut, Rose 604
Wolfstein, Hyman 561
Wolinsky, Raize 593
Wolkowick, Louis 595
Woloszyn, Naftoli 348
Woloszyn, Szloma 347
Woloszynka, Szlomowa 346
Wolowicz, Abramko 347
Wolson, Zina Celniker 286, 314, 315, 429, 445
photograph 287
Worth, Louis 557
Worth, Sophie Weinstock 557
Woskoboynik, Szlomka 350
Wugman, Lena 589
Wugman, Meyer 590
Wugman, Sarah 590

Y

Yachness 603
Yaglosh, Movsha Leyb 362
Yakelson, Abraham 563
Yalowitz, Morris 581
Yampolskiy, Gersh Moshkovich 371
Yampolsky 688
Yampolsky, Shmuel 689, 693, 760
Yanivker, Dina Itsk. 386
Yankel the schoolteacher 33
Yankel the winemaker 33
Yankelevich, Moshko Ikhelevich 376
Yankelevich, Nukhum 386
Yankeliovich, Abramko 352
Yankeliovich, Duvid 179, 352
Yankelman, Shlema 373
Yankielowicz, Duwid Yowel 35
Yankielowicz, Moshko 35
Yarmulnick, Morris 583
Yarmulnik, Khana Yankelevna 152
Yarmulnik, Shmil 751
Yaroshevskiy, Srul Itskovich 377
Yashever, Esther 606
Yashirker, Avrum-Gersh 751
Yavits, Gitlya Leib. 378
Yavits, Ios 369
Yavits, Leybish Iosevich 369
Yawitz, Louis 583
Yazin, Leyba 170
Yblochnik, Anna Iosifov 151
Yechiel Michel, Rabbi of Zlotchov 72
Yerebesky 689
Yerebesky family 760
Yitzchak Meir Alter, Rabbi of Ger 72
Yizal, Rabbi Menakhem Manish 167, 168
Yizchak, Rabbi of Vorki 72
Yofeh, Israel of Kopys 53
Yoboshowicz, Abramko 35
Yokhtman, Srul 381
Yolis, Abram Gersh. 371, 385
Yolis, Leyb Gersh. 384
Yolis, Paya Zelman 384
Yoresh, Tindel Baravan 621
Yosepa, Moshe 605
Yosepa, Nachum 605
Yosepa, Yosef 605
Yosevich, Froim Aronovich 372
Yosevich, Meril 751
Yosevur, Shmil 789
Yoshpa family 630
Yoshpa, Menakhem 624
Yoshpa, Nakhum 522, 622, 623, 630, 631
Yoshpa, Yosef 634
Yosim, Borukh 352
Yosim, Leybish Yankelevich 371
Yosiowicz, Berko 35
Yosiowicz, Duwid 35
Yovin, Itsko 352
Yownowicz, Yudko 35
Yoykherman, Leyb 751
Yozefov, Iosi Motelev 365, 379, 387
Yozefov, Khaim Volfovich 369, 379
Yozefov, Motel 369
Yozefov, Volf Mordkovich 369, 387
Yudkowicz, Froim 35
Yudkowicz, Meierko 35
Yulsman, Harry 574
Yulsman, Jack 574
Yurkowsky, Regina 603
Yurkowsky, Solomon 603
Yusem 303
Yusupov, Zev 621

Z

Zabarskiy, Duvid Zayvilevich 367
Zach, Aba Yodkovich 372
Zagraevsky, Slava 800
Zahiczyn, Icko 350
Zahika, Elo 350
Zain, Moshko Khaimovich 370
Zaionchik 358
Zaionchik, Abram Mendelevich 359, 363, 366, 381
Zak, Aron 761
Zak, Benyomen Aronovich 365
Zak, Brana Itsk. 381
Zak, Gershon Iosiovich 354
Zak, Ios 107, 367
Zak, Khaim 642
Zak, Khava 759
Zak, Khava Srul. 363, 379
Zak, Leib 761
Zak, Leyzor 370
Zak, Mindlya Isaakovna 152
Zak, Naftula 354
Zak, Nusin Itskovich 372
Zak, Roza 761
Zak, Shendlya Pinkhas. 385
Zak, Simkha Leybovich 370
Zak, Zus 366
Zak, Zus Aronovich 354
Zakman, Shulim Moshkovich 367
Zakova, Git'l Naftulovna 354
Zaks, Harris 563
Zaks, Yekheskal 563
Zalevsky 399
Zalkman, Beniamin 351
Zalman 119
Zalman, Rabbi Shneur of Liadi 72, 74, 76, 121, 242, 290, 314, 619
disputes with R. Borukh of Medzhibozh 76-79, 619
imprisonment 290, 619
song 242
Zaltsman family 630
Zaltsman, Abramka 351
Zaltsman, Aharon bat Itskhak 507
Zaltsman, Benny 606
Zaltsman, Binyamin Shvimon 178
Zaltsman, Fishel 605, 630
Zaltsman, Itskhak ben Aharon 507
Zaltsman, Moshe 630
Zaltsman, Sam 606
Zaltsman, Srul 351
Zaltsman, Velya Ios. 383
Zaltsman, Yakov 605
Zaltsman, Zeylik 751
Zam, Khaim 761
Zam, Pesya 761
Zamikhovskaya, Sura 759
Zamikhovskaya, Zema 759
Zamikhovskiy, Leyb 759
Zamikhovskiy, Shulim Iosevich 370, 384
Zamochik, Abr. Mendel 363
Zamochnick, Rachael 569
Zamochnik, Duvid 365
Zats, Beniamin 751, 761
Zats, Beryl 761
Zats, Blyuma 789
Zats, Iosif 751
Zats, Israel 761
Zats, Itskhak 761
Zats, Khaim 751
Zats, Khaim Moshkovich 370
Zats, Khana 386
Zats, Khanna 762
Zats, Leyba Itsko 352
Zats, Leybish Gertsovich 374
Zats, Luza 386
Zats, Manya 386, 762
Zats, Nakhman 751
Zats, Pola 778
Zats, Shmul Srulevich 372
Zats, Sura 761
Zats, Usher 762
Zats, Velvel 761
Zats, Volko Moshkovich 370
Zats, Yakov 761
Zats, Yosel 386, 761
Zats, Zesel 761
Zatz, Abraham 577
Zaydel, Abram 367
Zaydenberg, Abrum Shiovich 365
Zaydfeld, Mikhel Ovshievich 372
Zaydman, Khayka 758
Zaydman, Yakov Emanuilovich 151
Zayen, D. 641
Zayenshtik, Shaya 740
Zayndenshteyn, Yankel Shevelev 366
Zayonshik, Esther 605, 606
Zayontsik, Yonah 630
Zbramowicz, Moshko 35
Zbrizhski, Berko 208
Zeerman, Ovshiya Khaimovich 374, 383
Zeff, Jacob 561

Zeff, Rose 561
Zeidman, Beckie 575
Zeidman, Benny 574, 575
Zeidman, Joe 574
Zeidman, Lev 302
Zeidman, Michael Joseph 302
Zeidman, S. 575
Zeidman, Yeshua 563
Zeigerman, Meyer 303
Zekel, Leyzor Moshkovich 374
Zekel, Moshko Leyzorovich 374
Zekherman, Ayzik Moshkovich 374
Zekherman, Ios Moyshe-Duvidovich 374
Zekherman, Moyshe-Duvid Gershkovich 374
Zekhtser, Yankel Zeylikovich 367
Zektser, L. Abr. 363
Zektser, Sh. 752
Zelden, Nathan 575
Zelenenki, Iankiel 348
Zelfand, Gershko 752
Zelig, Rabbi of Letichev 57
Zelikman, Lena 605
Zelikman, Liza 606
Zelikman, Ruchel 605
Zelman, Shlema 367
Zelmanovich, Meylikh 352
Zelmanovich, Srul Borukhovich 467
Zelmanowicz, Aron 346
Zelmanowicz, Leybka 347
Zelmanowicz, Majorko 347
Zelniker, Grisha 701
Zelniker, Rakhil 701
Zeltser, Ezra 386
Zeltser, F. B. 152
Zeltser, Ikhlia 751
Zeltser, Itsko Leybovich 370
Zeltser, Khaim ben Yakov 507
Zeltser, Moshe 515
Zeltser, Raiza bat Mekhel 507
Zeltser, Shaya Itskovich 374
Zeltser, Sheyva 382
Zeltser, Shoil-Leyb Iosevich 372
Zeltser, Yakov ben Tsvi 507
Zeltser, Yankel Leyb. 372, 385
Zeltser, Yekhel 515
Zeman, Bernard 567
Zeman, Edith 567
Zeman, Fannie 604
Zeman, Isidore 604
Zemelzon, El-Moyshe 367
Zevelev, Alex xxiii
Zevelev, Yulia Shvarts xxiii, 416, 799, 803
Zevi, Rabbi, Besht's son 73
Zeydman 553
Zeydman, Yitshak 200, 205, 208
Zeyger, Lev Khaimovich 153
Zeylikman Itsko 374
Zeylikman, Anchel Moshkovich 374
Zeylikman, Bentsion Anchelevich 374
Zeylikman, Duvid Zeylikovich 374, 383
Zeylikman, Gersh Itskovich 374
Zeylikman, Gershko Leyzerovich 374, 383
Zeylikman, Leyba Ios. 383
Zeylikman, Moshko-Bents. A. 380
Zeytsman, Vigdor Itskovich 376
Zeytz, Cantor 639
Zeznev family 758
Zhinoba, Rafael 641
Zhitlovsky, Chaim 547
Zhovna, Lipa 352
Zhurbinskiy, Ikhil-Itsk. Duv. 386
Zhurova, Khana 788
Zibenberg, Ikhel Srulevich 372
Zichroni, Dora xxiii, 130, 170, 180, 186, 195, 208, 209, 210, 288, 314, 327, 430, 437, 469, 480, 523, 524
Zielmanowicz, Lieyba 449
Ziets 570
Ziets, Edward 570
Ziets, Sol 570
Zietz, Ed 567
Zietz, Sal 567
Zif, Yosef 618
Zigelboym, Mordko Lebovich 376
Zilberberg, Enya Menash. 387
Zilberberg, Feyga Z. 387
Zilberberg, Ioel Skharievich 376
Zilberg, Khaim 397
Zilberg, Moshe Khaim Shaevich 404, 407, 464
Zilberman 553, 607. See also *Silverman*
Zilberman family xxiii, 637
Zilberman, Abram 201, 472
Zilberman, Aizek 751
Zilberman, Aron Duvidovich 367
Zilberman, Avrum 367
Zilberman, Dovid 563
Zilberman, Duvid Peysakhovich 365
Zilberman, Mortko Leibovich-Mikhalpol 354
Zilberman, Moshe 563
Zilberman, Moshko 372
Zilberman, Motya 179
Zilberman, Nukhim Duvidovich 367
Zilberman, Perl 759
Zilberman, Rakhmil Duvidovich 367
Zilberman, Rukhlya Nukh. 385
Zilberman, Yoda Leyb 352
Zilberman, Zushya 563
Zilberman-Parness family 210
Zilbermints, Abram 372
Zilbermints, Iankel Peisakovich 354
Zilbermints, Peisakh 354
Zilbermints, Shimon Pinkasovich 377
Zilbermints, Simkha Iankelevich 354
Zilbermints, Volf Mikhelev 305
Zilderman, Abrashko 179
Zildis, Khaim 179
Ziman 606
Zimmerman. See also *Tsimmerman*
Zimmerman family xxiii, 193, *228*, 263, 552
Zimmerman, Ben 326, 552
Zimmerman, Dena Singer 193, 194, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 224, 228, 289, 415, 441, 521, 526, 529, 530, 575, 611, 801
photograph 526
Zimmerman, Dr. Isidore 583
Zimmerman, Esther 592
Zimmerman, Fannie 596, 597
Zimmerman, Ida 583
Zimmerman, Isidore 583
Zimmerman, Joseph 596, 597
Zimmerman, Khaim 327
Zimmerman, Max 552, 583
Zimmerman, Mitya 552, 634, 781
Zimmerman, Morris 327, 441, 526, 527, 528, 530, 552, 575, 781, 801
photograph 552
Zimmerman, Rose 526
Zimmerman, Sam 326, 575
Zimmerman, Stephen xxiii, 552
Zimmerman, Sura Leah 552
Zimmerman, Zecil 527, 530, 575
Ziner, Moishe 688, 760
Zinger, Evelyn 559
Zingesser, Michael 694
Zingman, B. 752
Zinman, Pinkas 376
Zinshtein, Isaac 611
Zinshteyn 553. See also *Stein*
Zinshteyn family xxiii, 410, 777
Zinshteyn, Abraham 516
Zinshteyn, Aron 397, 398, 652, 762
Zinshteyn, Avrum 398, 404, 480
photograph 398
Zinshteyn, Boris 634
Zinshteyn, Ekheel 207, 557, 558, 653
Zinshteyn, Frada 652
Zinshteyn, Fradie 762
Zinshteyn, Frima 637
Zinshteyn, Malie 762
photograph 764
Zinshteyn, Mordekhai 401, 652, 762
Zinshteyn, Moshe 397, 407, 637
Zinshteyn, Moshke 557
Zinshteyn, Mutal 762
Zinshteyn, Nakhman 516, 557, 637
Zinshteyn, Sander 637
Zinshteyn, Srul 397
Zinshteyn, Yosef 197, 206, 207, 211, 410, 416, 417, 437, 516, 524, 556, 557, 558, 639, 655, 656
photograph 640
Zipranitz, Jacob 554
Zipranitz, Reizel 554
Zipres, Reize 583
Zisels, Ariya Usherovich 370
Zisels, Ios Arievich 370
Zisels, Ovshiya Arievich 365
Zisels, Sheyva Ioynov. 385
Ziskeliovich, Ioyna 351
Zisman, Gershko Abramovich 354
Zitser, Leonia 689, 751, 760
Zlobinsky, Moshe 649
Zlochen, Ios Gershkovich 376
Zlochen, Skhariy-Ikhel Gershkovich 376
Zlochen, Srul-Mordko Gershkovich 376
Zlochin, Mendel Mordkovich 376
Zlotchin, Mendel 519
Zlotnick, Michel 449
Zlotnik, Dawidko 346
Zlotnik, Ezdra 346
Zlotnik, Mychel 346
Zmoira, Khuna Leizorovich 354
Zmoira, Moshko Meirovich 354, 356
Zmoira, Shmul Khonovich 354
Zmora, Jennie 583
Zmora, Max 583
Zmora, N. 562
Zola, Abram Volevich 374
Zola, Freida Itskovna 304
Zola, Harry 604
Zola, Harry G. 603
Zola, Itsko Volevich 374
Zola, Mary 603, 604
Zola, Shabbatai 601
Zola, Yankel Volevich 374
Zon, Menya 751
Zone, Edith 583
Zone, Morris 583
Zonis, Abram Leybovich 367, 378
Zuck, Gertrude 592
Zuckerman, Benjamin 567
Zuckerman, Benny 575
Zuckerman, Charles 583
Zuckerman, Chya Leah 588
Zuckerman, Clara 579
Zuckerman, D. 562
Zuckerman, Daniel 579
Zuckerman, Jacob 589, 593
Zuckerman, Jean Barondess 545
Zuckerman, Lena 586, 593
Zuckerman, Louis 593
Zuckerman, S. 562
Zudelman, Duvid 179
Zum, Sunny 606
Zusevich, Leizer 752
Zusiowicz, Duwid 35
Zusman, Benjamin 758
Zusman, Berko 367
Zusman, Duvid 351
Zusman, Leib 179
Zusman, Leyb 758
Zusman, Leybche 351
Zusman, Sura 758
Zussman, Mekhel 655
Zwaniecki, Dawidko 347
Zweig, H. 575
Zwieback, Ed 594
Zwillman, Abner "Longie"


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David Chapin traces his Letichev region roots through his maternal ancestors. David is a geophysicist who operates an instrumentation company in Austin, Texas. He enjoys history, traveling, camping and biking.



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The Road from Letichev presents the history of the area through the eyes of individuals who lived there. The Letichev District (Podolia) of Ukraine was a microcosm of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. It was the home of the Baal Shem Tov and the cradle of the Chasidic movement. This book is, in part, dedicated to the 300th anniversary of his birth.

The book's purpose is to document what was destroyed in the Holocaust. Although the Soviet experience in the Holocaust is relatively rare in modern literature, no understanding of the Holocaust is truly complete without an understanding of what the Nazis took away from the world. Through the testimonials from survivors of the Holocaust we learn new information about the horrors of the Nazi occupation on Soviet soil.

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