

THE CHMIELNICKI POGROMS

AND MASSACRES

GRADUATION THESIS

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER ①

Brief Sketch of the History of the Jews in Poland until 1648.

POLITICAL HISTORY

It is difficult to ascertain with certainty when the first Jewish settlers came to Poland. Some of the historians---both Polish and Jewish---are of the opinion that they came there in very early times. (9th. Century), while others give a much later date (13th. Century). Dubnow holds that the Slav lands on the banks of the Varta and the Vistula, being nearest Western Europe, were bound to attract Jews at a very early period in their capacity as international traders and that these ephemeral visits frequently resulted in permanent settlements in the lands that in the first instance were visited for the purposes of trade.

The first extensive immigration of Jews to Poland occurred ^{rather after} at the time of the First Crusade (1098). Poland and Lithuania were at that period ^{? 1096} the only European countries where the Jews found shelter and consequently ^{what about Spain?} it can be well understood why large numbers of fugitive Jews from the Western fields of carnage fled thither. Similar extensive immigrations of Jews to Poland followed as a result of the Crusades of 1146--1147 and 1196.

During these years the Jews of Poland, on the whole, enjoyed undisturbed peace and prosperity with only every now and then an out break of minor importance against them. Fortunately whenever these discords occurred they were generally suppressed by the nobility of the various principalities. The reason that the nobility and the princess took so keen an interest in their Jewish subjects may be accounted for by the fact that they (the Jews) were indispensable to Poland's needs. Poland Lacked a middle class---its

1. The facts in this chapter are based primarily on a study of Dubnow and of Graetz.

population consisted of nobles and peasants only. The Jews supplied this deficiency in the normal scheme of economic affairs. They acted as the pioneers of trade and finance, engaging in various commercial pursuits. Further, many of them were employed by the monarchs and the nobility in the capacity of agents or tax-farmers and in a few instances even as diplomats and intimate advisors. In this manner the kings and the nobility, many of whom were thriftless and extravagant, found the sober, industrious, and keen-witted Jews invaluable.

During the 13th. Century, however, there was a determined effort to undermine this ideal condition of affairs in which the Jews found themselves. This propaganda of hatred was carried on by the Church, on the one hand, and by the ^{settlers from the German} neighboring states on the other. The ambition of the former² was to obtain converts to Christianity, while the latter in settling in the Polish cities as merchants and tradesmen naturally found in the Jews serious competitors. The best of the Polish rulers, however sought to cope with the situation so as to protect their desirable Jewish subjects. Such a ruler was Boleslav of Kalish. With the consent of the high officials of the state he issued in 1264 a charter which clearly defined the position of the Jewish subjects. This charter subsequently became the corner-stone of Polish-Jewish legislation. In it many privileges were granted to the Jews but, on the other hand some restrictions were enacted. It is, nevertheless, as liberal a document as might have reasonably been expected.

But while the temporal authorities endeavored to regulate the relation of the Jews to the country with at least a semblance of the principle of justice and more especially in accordance with its economic needs, the Church, unmoved by either noble or patriotic reasons but only inspired by a desire for universal supremacy, used its influence towards separating them from the body politic and place them in a position of a despised sect. For

the present the Roman Catholic Church in Poland was yet too weak to carry its policy out on a large and effective scale, and the monarchs were too far sighted and too humanitarian to permit the Church in the execution of such a policy.

Black Death in 1348-50

In the first part of the 14th. Century Jewish immigration to Poland assumed especially large proportions. This was brought about by the massacres following the Black Death which forced a vast number of Jews to seek shelter there. They were gladly welcomed by the then liberal ruler Casimir the Great (1333--1370). He amplified the Charter of Boleslav and "in view of the hostility of the municipalities and the clergy towards the Jews," he insisted particularly on placing the Jewish legal cases under his own jurisdiction and taking them out of the hands of the municipal and ecclesiastical authorities.

In the latter part of the 14th. Century, under the reign of Vladislav Jaghellow (1386--1434), who had been converted from paganism to christianity and who adhered to the new faith with the ardor of a convert and consequently frequently yielded to the influence of the clergy, the Jews suffered their first religious persecution. Riots took place in Posen, Cracow, and several other Jewish centers. The machinations of the clergy were checked somewhat by Casimir IV (1447--1492). He was imbued with the ideas of the humanistic movement then in vogue and renewed the charter granted the Jews by Casimir the Great, the original of which had been destroyed by the fire which devastated Posen in 1447. A similar policy of toleration was pursued by Sigismund I. (1507--1548) during whose reign the Jews experienced the most prosperous period of their stay in Poland so far. In the meantime, however, the Jesuites still continued in their policy of preaching hatred against the Jews and during the reign of Sigismund II. made strong efforts in that direction. Sigismund was not an easy victim to the machinations of the Catholic authorities and endeavored to suppress to the b-

*Due to
Tithing
and
with
Catholics*

*(Doubtless
I, 51)*

1506

best of his ability all accusations against and restrictions limiting the rights of the Jews. The same policy of good will towards the Jews was followed by Stephen Bathory (1575--1586). He guarded them against a number of blood accusations that manifested themselves during his period and bestowed many other benefits upon them. This prosperity of the Jews continued even during the reign of Sigismund III (1587--1632), a zealous Catholic brought up under Jesuit influence. He confirmed to the Jews their ancient privileges, but nevertheless evidenced his bias by a decree that whenever a new synagogue was to be built the permission of the Church must be obtained. Also about this time the Reformation spirit, which had lost much of its novel enthusiasm in Germany, was gaining great strength in Poland, and the spirit of which found favor in the eyes of many of the nobility, many of whom even became Unitarians and were stigmatised by the Church as semi-Judaei. But the position of the Jews in Poland was gradually becoming more and more precarious. The natives entertained hatred against them on account of their usurious extortions; the German settlers on account of their commercial rivalry; the Jesuits on account of their infidelity and of the inspiration by the Jews (as the clergy believed) of the Dissenting sects. But in addition to the above a still greater factor that endangered their position and which proved to be the immediate cause of persecution followed as a result of the "appearance upon the horizon of Jewish history a new power--the semi-barbarous masses of Southern Europe". ①

INNERBARRIERS DURING THE SAME PERIOD.

The peculiar and comparatively favorable position occupied by the Jews in Poland made their social and even civil autonomy both "necessary and possible". Beginning with the 16th. Century and for a period of about

1. See pp. 10-15.

2. With
the
growth
of
the
Jewish
population
(Baron,
I, 103).

two hundred years the Jews were invested with internal self-autonomy which they exercised through a central organization known as the Council of Four Lands. ① The meetings were generally held during the fairs ^{also at Garrowdon} at Lublin. In time the Council came to possess great authority and exercised not only judicial but also administrative and legislative functions as well. Some aspects of the court system are well described by the contemporary chronicler Rabbi Nathan Hanover, of Zaslav, in Volhynia.

^{1777 1788, pillars (establishing) of justice}
The office of the judge in Poland was as it had been in Jerusalem before the destruction of the Temple; a court was established in each town. If people did not like the court in one town they might appeal to the court in the next town, and if this, too, did not suit they went to the High Court. There was one in each province; Ostrog being the superior court for the province of Volhynia and Ukraina andenberg for the province of Russia. ^(various)

^{Parnasim} If two heads of a congregation had a quarrel they went before the Council of Four Lands. The Council held sessions twice a year and consisted of a leader from each congregation and six ^{according to Rabbi's} learned men of Poland. The leaders of the "Arba Arozoth" ^{the heads of congregations} were like the Sanhedrin in the Hall of Columns. They had the right to call any Jew in Poland up for judgment; they made rules and regulations; and meted out punishment in case of offense. The leaders of the Council selected minor judges in order to lighten their work, these were called "Judges of the Provinces". These settled all disputes over money but the difficult cases, such as property rights, etc. had to come before the Council itself. No case brought by a Jew was ever taken before a prince, the king, or a Christian judge. Any Jew doing this would have been ^{punished with much disgrace} treated with contempt because he had asked strangers to be the judges. ②

Also as a result of the favorable circumstances in which the Jews found themselves in Poland and under the inspiration of the Council of the Four Lands the study of the Talmud reached to heights hitherto unprecedented.

1. "Four Lands" i.e. the four parts of Poland: Little Poland, Great Poland, Russia, and Lithuania.

2. 72/30 11 pp 66-67

Russ (as Russia) / really Red Russia

Talmudic schools were opened in all sections of the Country and the highest distinction one could attain was to become a well read and quick-witted Talmudist. Again the same Rabbi Hanover gives us a graphic account of the entire school and Talmudic system then in vogue in Poland. His description will be quoted at length:

Nowhere was there so much knowledge of the Torah among the scattered tribes of Israel, than in Poland. There were schools in each congregation. The leader received a large salary in order to permit him to give his whole time to the Study of the Law. This leader or president never left his house all through the year, except to go from school to the synagogue. He studied day and night. Moreover each congregation supported young students or Bachurim and allowed them a weekly sum to pursue their studies. To each Bachur was assigned at least two lads who received lessons Gemara, Rashi, and Tosafoth. The lads were supported from charity funds. If the congregation numbered fifty Jewish families, there were no less than thirty Bachurim and boys. A Bachur and two boys lived in a family or at least took their meals there. Although the Bachur was supported by the congregation the master of the house gave him his food; the more liberal householders fed the two boys also, making an addition of three persons to the family throughout the year. There was hardly a home in the Polish provinces where the Torah was not studied, either by the master of the house, his son or his son-in-law, or a student who resided with them. Thus they fulfilled the three things mentioned by Rabbi in Tractate Shabbath "He who honers men of learning, raises learned sons; he who holds in high esteem men of learning has learned sons-in-law; and he who does homage to men of learning, is a learned man himself." *Paraph omitted.*

The following was the method of instruction: During the summer the Bachurim and the young students were obliged to study from the month of Iyyar to the fifteenth of Av; in winter, from Heshvan until the fifteenth of Shevat. During these terms they were supposed to be under the direct guidance of the rosh-yeshibah or leader, but outside of these terms they could go for instructions wherever they liked. From Iyyar until Shabbath and from Heshvan until Hanukah they all studiously worked at the Gemara with Rashi and Tosafoth.

The scholars and lads of the community as well as all interested in the study of the Law assembled daily at the Yeshibah, where all the students stood about the president who alone sat. They disputed with one another before he entered, but recited to him after he had arrived and

while all were silent he explained whatever new discovery he had made. After this the "Chiluk" began; that is, the president pointed out a contradiction in the Gemara or the commentaries, many explanations and counter explanations were offered, finally the president gave his explanations and made the matter clear for the students. From the middle of the two scholastic terms until their conclusion the Chillukim were not practised so regularly, the Pesakim and other writings taking their place. Several weeks before the close of the term the president would honor the members of his yeshibah, by inviting them to conduct the scientific disputations on his behalf, though he himself would participate in the discussion in order to exercise the mental faculties of his students.

Each president had an inspector who daily visited the elementary schools, or heders, and saw to it that all the pupils studied and did not run about the streets. Every Thursday the boys had to appear before the superintendent of the Talmud Torah and be examined as to what they had learned. Those failing to give satisfaction or even those who made one mistake were punished with great withches and further shamed before the class. On Friday the pupils appeared before the Rosh -yeshibah himself and were again examined. In this way the boys were disciplined and made to study.

The President was omnipotent and no one dared oppose him. He carried a staff and a strap to chastise evil doers. But he was beloved in spite of this..... ①

Another contemporary ② however takes an opposite view from Rabbi Hanover and in the following scathing terms criticizes the entire system:

The whole instruction at the yeshibah reduces itself to mental mental equilibristics and empty argumentations called hilluk. It is dreadful to contemplate that some venerable rabbi, presiding over a yeshibah, in his desire to discover and communicate to others some new interpretation, should offer a perverted explanation of the Talmud, though he himself and every one else be fully aware that the true meaning is different. Can it be God's will that we sharpen our minds by fallacies and sophistries, spending our time in vain and teaching the listening to do likewise? And all this for the mere ambition for

1 7514b pp 60-64

2 Solomon of Lenichitza (d 1619) in these ~~works~~, ed Lemberg 1865, pp 18b, 61b. Quoted from Dubnow, pp 119--120.

of passing for a great scholar.... I myself have more than once argued with the Talmudic celebrities of our time, showing the need for abolishing the method of pilpul and hilluk, without being able to convince them. This attitude can only be explained by the eagerness of these scholars for honors and rosh-yeshivah posts. These empty quibbles have a particularly pernicious effect on our bachurs, for the reason that the bachur who does not shine in a discussion is looked down upon as incapable, and is practically forced to lay aside his studies, though he might prove to be one of the best, if Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, and the Codes were studied in regular fashion. I myself have known capable young men who, not having distinguished themselves in pilpul, forfeited the respect of their fellow-students, and stopped studying altogether after marriage.

On the whole the writer of this paper agrees with the above and with Graetz in his estimate of the results following the close and exclusive application to the study of the Talmud as it was pursued in Poland during this period. It is really unfortunate that its study was followed to the exclusion practically of all other intellectual pursuits, nor was it even treated with the same philosophical outlook with which the Spanish masters devoted themselves to the same task. "All fruitfulness of the Jewish mind was spent in creating a labyrinth of commentaries and an endless number of super-commentaries, while ingenuity displayed itself in finding various ways out of the self-created maze." While it is true that a great keenness of mind--a keenness that did not always manifest itself in laudable or even honorable fashion--was developed by this sort of study, yet it produced no originality of great value. The very opposite was the case--the one-sided devotion to the Talmud necessarily resulted in a sort of mental stagnation. It is, indeed, a great pity that so much genius as was evidenced during this "golden period of the Talmud" should not have been conducive to produce great original ideas in Jewish thought. And in addition to the Talmud the ^{Rabbinical} Cabala had become entrenched under the protection of Rabbinism and like the study of the Talmud, it too, did not have a great beneficial quickening

influence on Jewish life and thought. There were ofcourse several brilliant luminaries who proved an exception to the rule and whose contributions to Jewish thought and developement are of lasting value. Among these may be mentioned Judah Low ben Bezalel, a devoted student of philosophy and science; David Ganz, author of "Zemach David"; and Lipman Heller.

Thus did Jewish life in Poland, marked by compactness of number and widespread autonomous organization, continue until the middle of the 17th. Century. Here the Jews found comparative peace, opportunity to obtain a livelihood, and unmolested freedom to pursue their studies. But the Jews in Poland were to be rudely shocked, for in 1648 there was to break out a fury of hatred against them which was to make them "speedily realize that they would have to tread the same sorrowful path, strewn with the bodies of martyrs, that had been traversed by their Western European brethren ⁱⁿ the Middle Ages." The story of this great persecution, known as the Chmielnicki, Pogroms and Massacres, is the primary study of this paper and will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

CHAPTER TWOThe Rise of the Cossacks.ORIGIN AND HISTORY

Upon the banks of the lower Dnieper and the north shore of the Black Sea there arose a number of colonies or settlements formed partly by runaway slaves and convicts in quest of freedom, and partly by adventurers from many countries and classes in quest of fortune. These were the ancestors of the Cossack race. The particular territory in which they settled was subject to perpetual incursion by the Tartar hordes which made the Ukraina,^① as the borderland was called, unsafe to dwell in. But gradually as the lot of the serf both in Poland and Moscovy grew more and more intolerable, the peasants---at least the more adventurous of them---threw off the burdensome yoke of the Pans^② and sought a life of ease and pleasure in the free steppe. Obligated, for fear of the Tartars, to go about constantly with arms in their hands, they gradually grew strong enough to raid their raiders, selling the rich booty thus acquired to the merchants of Moscovy and Poland. Moreover, the Turks and the Tartars being natural enemies of Christendom, a war of extermination against them was a sacred duty, so that the Cossacks had the rare satisfaction of obeying their conscience and satisfying their natural inclinations at the same time. Curiously enough, these settlers in the Ukraina borrowed the name, which has stuck to them ever since, from their adversaries. The rank and file of the Tartar soldiery were known as Kazaki^③

1 Ukraina is the Ruthenian word for boundry or border. R. Nisbet Bain, "The First Romans" p 81.

2 Polish nobles.

3 The word "Cossack", in Russian Kazak (with the accent on the last syllable) is derived from the Tartaric. "Cossackdom" says Kostmaroff in his Russian standard book on the Cossack uprising (B. Chel p 5) "is undoubtedly of Tartaric origin and so is the very name Kazak, which in the Tartaric means

or Cossacks and this term came to be applied to all free-dwellers in the Ukraina. ① As time went on the Cossacks rapidly increased and before long they formed a strong and active community. Their daring grew with their numbers, so much so that eventually they came to be a constant annoyance to all their neighbors, both Christian and Mussulman, frequently involving both Poland and Moscovy in dangerous and unnecessary wars with the Ottoman Empire.

The more ardent adventurers among the Cossacks were united into a rather strict primitive military organization and established their camp or syech ② on an island in the Dnieper, to the south of the Porozi, or cataracts and from this circumstance acquired the name of Zaporozians or "dwellers beyond the cataracts". ③ Independent and idle, these Cossack tribes knew but one industry---viz. brigandage. War was their work, pleasure, and recreation, and with every success their courage and independent spirit increased. While the Cossacks, as has been explained were often a menace to the Polish ^{govt} government, whose vassals they were, yet the kings, thinking to make use of these hardened and reckless ^{warriors} for the defense of their eastern frontiers, granted to them a semi-autonomous constitution under a freely elected hetman ④ or chieftain. These latter were known as "registered Cossack Cossacks" and were free of tribute to king and nobles and their only duty was to live on the Russian border near Tartary and to defend the Polish realm against the Tartars. The kings would often endeavor to restrict the

vagrant, free-warrior, rider. Peter Kropotkin (Encyclopedia Britannica 11th. edition, VII: 218) similarly derives the word from Turki Kuzzak, "adventurer, free boater" Dubnow Vol. I, p. 82.

1 "The First Romans" p. 82. 1142, note 2

2 Literally "cutting," i.e. the cutting of a forest. Originally the Cossacks entered these regions as colonists and pioneers. Dubnow, Vol. I, p. 143, note 3,

4 From the German word "hauptman"

Note 3 Missing

the number of "registered Cossacks" but whenever such action followed there was always an outburst of great resentment on the part of the latter and only after three bloody rebellions in the years 1592--1596 did they submit to the Polish dictation, and their registered number was reduced to the original six thousand.⁽¹⁾ Matters were frequently made worse by the Sejm,⁽²⁾ which while forbidding the Cossacks to live upon their neighbors, nevertheless withheld from them their covenanted allowance. Furthermore the Cossacks were for the most part members of the Greek Orthodox Church and consequently there was constant hatred between them and the Jesuits and as the power of the Jesuits increased and with their determination to force the Cossacks into the Roman Catholic Church, there were manifest signs of trouble between the Cossacks and the Poles.

But the greatest cause of irritation was not on the part of the registered Cossacks, mostly Zaporozhians, but rather on the part of the "peasant Cossacks" living in the Ukraina. The colonies in which they lived eventually came under the control of several noble Polish families, chiefly the Polish nobles Wisniowiecki, Potocki, and Koniecpolski. The peasants were treated by the nobles as "the dirt beneath their feet," the lords were the absolute rulers and the peasants their dependent slaves. All historians are in one accord in their description of the unendurable burdens that were placed upon the enslaved South Russian muzhik. "They were used by princes and nobles for all servile occupations; their lives were embittered by all sorts of compulsory labor in clay and tile works, in field and household labors, and in addition they were burdened with excessive taxes."⁽³⁾ A French

1. "The First Romans" p. 85

2. The Polish Diet.

3. 22130 pr p. 7

historian ^① describes their burdens in the following language; "The peasants were compelled to work in the service of their lords and even to furnish their own horses with which to do the work. They were further forced to pay exorbitant tributes of grain and poultry; turkeys, geese, chicks, and hens. Besides they were made to give a tithe of their pigs and sheep, honey and fruit, and every three years their third ox (i.e. one-third of their herd). The lords had absolute power over their lives; and in general the position of these (Cossack Peasants) was worse than that of gally-slaves."

THE COSSACK CONTACT WITH THE JEWS.

But our interests are primarily concentrated on the part the Jews played in this history of the Cossacks: When the Polish nobles settled in the Ukraina, they hired Jews as their trusted agents and managers, leasing to them their estates, mills, inns, rivers, lakes and all other sources of revenue. Under this stimulus the Jewish communities rapidly increased in the Ukraina and Little Russia, and to them was entrusted the privilege of collecting and "even inventing" taxes. Not only were ordinary taxes collected by them, but even the collection of revenues from the Greek Orthodox Church was put into their hands. At every Christening or funeral the peasants had to pay a fee to the Jewish tax-farmer and as a safeguard against evasion the Jewish collectors kept the keys of the churches so that on each wedding or baptism the clergyman was obliged to apply to them for admittance into his own church. But even more humiliating for the peasant-Cossacks, when the lords leased an estate to a Jew, he (the Jew) had absolute power and could

¹Beauplan, "Description d'Ukraina" p. 7.

even administer justice among them. ①

The Polish lords lived extravagantly and as a result were frequently in financial difficulties. The Jewish tax-farmers were thus forced to make exactions from the peasants in order to satisfy the lust and the extravagance of the nobility. Nor must it be imagined that the Jews were always lenient or even scrupulous in the exercise of their privileges. "Slaves to everybody else, they were, no doubt, eager to play the despot over those whom fate had placed under themselves." In their desire for profit they readily helped the nobles in plundering the Cossacks. Hence the position of the Jews in Ukraina and Little Russia became one of extreme danger, because the resentment which their position and conduct excited soon translated itself into acts of vengeance. Often the wise leaders of the "Council of Four Lands" would warn the Jews against these practices, but with little success. And when vengeance finally did overtake the Jews of Poland, it did not restrict itself to the guilty individuals. "All Israel are surety one for the other" was the Rabbinic motto of solidarity. The Cossacks were now to give a new meaning to the maxim. Where single units or individuals offend whole communities were punished." (reference?)

EARLY COSSACK UPRISINGS.

The first Cossack uprising of great importance took place in 1602 under the instigation of the Greek Catholic Pope Nalivaika, who taking the part of his co-religionists said, "How long shall we obey the Poles in silence?" The Cossacks under his leadership thereupon arose against the Polish and conquered the entire province as far as Tchoudnow. When word of the uprising came to the ears of King Sigismund, he sent his entire army against the rebels. The Poles were victorious, Nalivaika was captured alive

and taken for trial to Warsaw. Following this event the Cossacks were still further oppressed and their registered number---those free from tribute to princess and nobles---reduced from thirty thousand to twenty thousand.① Fortunately for the Jews, however, the Cossacks did not exhibit any special animosity towards the Jews in the course of this uprising but complained chiefly of the Polish nobility.

In the subsequent revolt, led by Pavlyuk in 1637, the Jews did not fare so well. The animosity of the Cossacks during this rebellion was especially directed against the Jews. "Let us destroy Israel as far as is in our power to do so," was the cry of the Greek Catholics. But Again the Cossacks were unsuccessful but on their retreat to the Dnieper they destroyed many synagogues and murdered about two hundred Jews in the towns of Perejeslaw, Lachowice, and Lubnie. Again Poland restricted some of the Cossack rights and reduced their registered number to six thousand and placed Polish princes over them in order to ward off a new rebellion. ② The result of those restrictions was to embitter more than ever before the Cossacks against the Poles and the Jews. If only the Jews were properly warned by the rebellions; but they were not and in the year 1648, the year set by the mystics as the era of universal triumph for Israel, there broke an insurrection against them and the Poles, such as even ever persecuted Israel was seldom called upon to witness.

2. Perejaslaw suffered under Chmelnicki

CHAPTER THREE

Starostwo Chigorin

Chmielnicki

In the latter years of the reign of Vladyslaw IV there dwelt in the starosty of Korsun, in Ukraina, a popular Cossack leader by the name of Bogdan Chmielnicki. His father Michael, after serving Poland all his life, was killed in the battle of Tretsortain 1619, leaving to his son Bogdan the village of Subotow, with which the Polish king had rewarded his valor and his fidelity. Bogdan, after learning to read and write, a rare accomplishment in those days, entered the Cossack ranks, was dangerously wounded in one of the battles and taken prisoner. In his two years of captivity in Stambul he found leisure to acquire the rudiments of Turkish and French. *Stambul Constantinople* While he had received this education from the Jesuits, yet they could not convert him to the beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church. He was a good pupil and could hide his own thoughts while reading those of others. His face resembled the frozen surface of a pool hiding an abyss under its smooth polished surface." ①

On returning to the Ukraina Chmielnicki settled down on his paternal estate at Subotow and "in all probability, history would never have known his name, if the intolerable persecution of the neighboring Polish nobleman, Daniel Czaplinski, had not converted the thrifty and acquisitive Cossack husbandman into one of the most striking and sinister figures of modern times." ② Czaplinski was a typical representative of that exclusive, narrow-minded nobility which was primarily responsible for the ruin of Poland. To an aristocratic bigot of this type, every low born Cossack, was an abomination, and Czaplinski's official position as sub-starosta of Chigorin, the nearest fortress town, enabled him to persecute Chmielnicki

1 Prosper Merimee, *Les Cosaques D'Antrouffe* p. 12.

2 "The First Romans" p. 87

with impunity. Without genuine provocation, except his own personal desires, Czaplinski availing himself on an occasion of an absence of Chmielnicki, raided his (Chmielnicki's) town of Subotow, ^{above p. 17} murdered his ^{"village"} servants, stole his grain, cattle, and sheep and burnt them all, and beat his youngest son often so cruelly that he died the next day. (It is said that in the perpetration of this outrage Czaplinski was aided by the Jew Zachariah Sabilenki, the lease-holder of Chigrin). Chmielnicki sought redress in the local courts but naturally was unable to obtain it. Finding himself a ruined man his attitude towards the Jews and Poles may well be imagined. His personal hatred against the former was still further embittered when ^{This outraged Zachariah} a Jew brought report to the Polish government of a secret treaty that had been concluded between Chmielnicki and the Tartars to fight in common defense against the Poles.

Failing to get redress at home Chmielnicki determined to seek justice in Warsaw. The Warsaw courts, however, told him that due to certain technicalities they could do nothing for him. His final resort was King Wladyslaw to whom he complained of the outrages inflicted upon him at Subotow. Wladyslaw, who was himself embittered against the nobility, listened with a willing ear and at once ordered the matter to be investigated by the law officers of the crown, but inasmuch as Chmielnicki could produce no "privilege" to the property, actually given to his father for military services, the Polish jurists concluded that he had no legal claim. Wladyslaw revolted against this instance of aristocratic chicanery, from which he himself had suffered so frequently, fastened a sword to the Cossack's side and said to him significantly, "What can I do? Have you not your swords? And are you no longer the Cossacks of old?" ①

There can be little doubt that from henceforth Chmielnicki meant to be his own master. For a while, however, he was reconciled to his lot and kept faithful to the Polish republic by the hope of winning fame and booty in the impending war with the Turks. But his hopes for distinctions were cut short by a sudden decree of the Polish Diet, which in order to vex the King refused to sanction the Turkish war and forbade the levying of troops. Chmielnicki who was now doubly hateful to the Pans as being a royalist as well as a Cossack, was deprived of his fair share of booty, accused of meditating rebellion and after an attempt upon his life had failed, he was thrown into jail from which he escaped by bribing the jailers.. Feeling that nither his life nor his libery was any longer secure among the Pans, Chmielnicki in December 1647, fled to the regions beyond the Dnieper Falls and began to incite the Ukrainian Cossacks to armed resistance. In his address to the Cossack elders he said, "You must be aware of the fact that the Polish nation is gaining power daily and that it oppress our co-religionists. But it is not the noblemen alone who lord it over us: even the most abject nation (the Jews) hold us in subjection."¹ He was secretly elected as the hetman of the Cossacks and was empowered to carry on negotiations with the Zaparozhians. He further conducted negotiations with Islam Gerai, the Khan of Crimea, proposing a simultaneous invasion of Poland by the Tartars and the Cossacks. In the meantime his agents were busy throughout the Ukraina, stirring up the peasantry and inviting them to assemble among the islands of the Dnieper. By April 18, 1648 his plans were complete and at an assembly of the Zaparozhians on the Lower Dnieper, he openly declared his intentions of proceeding against the Poles and the Jews. The Khan of Crimea reached an agreement with Chmielnicki whereby

¹ 1647/11 p. 12

the former was to send Tugai Bey, his Tartar general, with an army of four thousand men. One of the paragraphs of the treaty stipulated that all prisoners of war should belong to the Tartars, who had the right to sell them as slaves in the Turkish market. The property, however, of the Poles and of the Jews, was to go to the Cossacks. And now, all preparations complete Chmielnicki and his followers let loose their wildest passions and in the revolution committed cruelties and atrocities such as the world has seldom witnessed. In the next chapter the sufferings endured by the Jews during these horrible years of persecution will be related in detail.

RESUME OF THE OUTSTANDING FACTORS LEADING UP TO THE CHMIELNICKI REVOLT
AND THE CAUSES OF THE SPECIAL HATRED OF THE JEWS BY THE COSSACKS.

1. For years the people of Ukraina and Little Russia had been oppressed by the Polish landlords.
2. Unwilling to attend to the details of administration themselves, the nobles made the Jews the go-betweens in their transactions with the peasants.
3. The nobles sold and leased certain privileges to the Jews for a lump sum, and while enjoying themselves at court, left it to the Jewish leaseholders and collectors to become the embodiment of hatred to the oppressed and long-suffering Cossacks.
4. Chmielnicki one of the oppressed Cossacks---an able man---bearing a personal grudge against the Polish pans and Jewish leaseholders stirred the much wronged Cossacks into rebellion ^{against} the hated Jews and Poles.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Course of the Pogroms and Massacres.

① וחרבה ירושלים ובית מקדש שנים אצל זה חורבן היה גדול ממנו

"Jerusalem and the Temple were destroyed but this was even a greater calamity"---thus wrote a contemporary of the Chmielnicki pogroms and massacres. To give an account of the horrors inflicted upon the Jews during the Cossack revolt, known as תורת החרב, is no less than heart-breaking.

1702

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BATTLE OF "YELLOW WATERS" and KORSUN. ②

In April 1648 the combined forces of the Cossacks and the Tartars moved from beyond the Falls of the Dniepr to the border of the Ukraina, and prepared for an open battle with the Poles. Unfortunately for Poland at this critical period, the office of commander-in-chief (Grand-Hetman of the Crown) was in the incapable hands of the "drunken and dissipated" Nicholas Potocki---a man who had the utmost contempt for every opinion but his own. Though he was fully warned of the approaching danger and expressly commanded by the King to await reinforcements, Potocki, relying on the fidelity of the registered Cossacks who were with him, imagined it would be an easy task to crush the rebellion. He accordingly sent his son Stephan with a portion of his army and four thousand registered Cossacks into the steppe. On May 9th. the elder Potocki received word that the registered Cossacks, who unpaid for months by the Polish Diet, were ready enough to listen to Chmielnicki's emissaries, had murdered their officers

1 8. פ. צאד ב. ת. ב. 1

2 137. פ. ב. ג. ל. א. פ. 134-5
 13. פ. ב. ג. ל. א. פ. 13--14

and gone over to the enemy. But, inspite of this news, Potocki tarried and sent not a single trooper to the assistance of his hard-pressed son. Meanwhile Stephan Potocki had encountered the Cossack host on the banks of the river Zheltuya Vodui.^① Deserted by his registered Cossacks, and overwhelmed by the countless hordes of Cossacks and Tartars, the younger Potocki nevertheless offered a heroic resistance, but finally after fighting hard ^{ing} May 16--19, he was slain and his army annihilated. When the news of this disaster reached old Potocki, he lost his heas completely and instead on fallin back on the fortress of Korsun, as advised by Kalinowski, his second in command, he fled toward Bohuslaw and ran straight into an ambush prepared for him by Chmielnicki in the marshy valley of Kruta Balka,^② near Korsun and 8500 of his 10000 men were massacred or taken prisoners; he himself, Kalinowski, and a few other superior officers, being sent in chains to Crimea to be held at ransom.^③ And to complete the misfortune of Poland, she lost the one man for whom Chmielnicki had any regard whatsoever, for on the vry day of the defeat of the Polish army news came of the death of King Wladyslaw IV and Poland found itself overwhelmed at the same time not only by an internal revolution but also by the miseries of an interregnum during which the usual dissension occurred.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE COSSACK VICTORIES.

The immediate consequences of the Cossack victories at "Yellow Waters" and Korsun spealt ruin for the entire country. The Polish noblemen and the Jews were prostrated by the turn of events, for the flame of rebellion seized the whole of Ukraina, Volhynia, and Podolia. Bands composed of Cossacks, called Haidamaks, organized under the inspiration of

1. Yellow Waters
2. Hard Plank
3. "The First Romans" pp. 89-9p.

Chmielnicki, dispersed in all directions and began to brutally exterminate the Poles and Jews. Throughout the stricken district the gentry were hunted down, flayed, burnt, blinded, and sawn asunder. Every manor house and every castle was reduced to ashes. Every Catholic priest who could be caught was hung up before his own high altar, along with a Jew and a hog. Everyone who shaved his head after the Polish fashion or wore a Polish costume was instantly cut down by the Haidamaks.①

But specifically to emphasize the sufferings endured by the Jews: panic stricken and leaving behind them all their possessions they fled for their lives to the nearest strongholds. From the various towns in the district of Ostrog---Biala-perkiew, Pawlowicze, Cudnow, Lubartow, etc. fled to the fortified cities of Zaslav, Ostrog, Polonne, and Konstantinow. From the district of Lwow they fled to Tulczyn and Nimirow. Those in the neighborhood of Bar---Winnica, Starygrod, and Krasna---all fled to Bar. Those who could not or would not flee had their doom sealed for them. ①

In the towns of Perejaslaw,② Pyriatyn ③ Poryspol,④ Lubnie, and Lachowice ⑤---towns beyond the Dniepr where the Jews were unable to flee, thousands of them were killed with the most dreadful tortures, while their property was destroyed and pillaged.. The barbarity inflicted upon the jews in this district fails description. Some had their hands and feet cut off

1. (continued from page 21) "The First Romans" p. 90

1. מצולק יון *reference?*

2. יון פ. 2 (300 families killed)
יון פ. 11

3. פ. 138 *(not correct)*
יון פ. 21 (200 families killed)

4. יון פ. 22 (22 families killed)

5. יון פ. 22 (200 families killed)

after which they were thrown into the streets and run over by horses and wagons; others were wounded in different fashion, but not quite killed, then cast into the streets to die. Children were butchered in their mother's arms; pregnant women were ripped open and often live cats were sowed up inside of them, while their hands and feet were cut off so that the they could not remove the animal. Children were burned or roasted and their mothers compelled to eat of their flesh; sometimes bridges were built of Jewish children and people made to walk over them. In fact there was hardly a torture that was not inflicted upon the poor stricken Jewish inhabitants. The Tartars carried away many as prisoners; women and maidens were ravaged in the presence of their families; hundreds were compelled to abjure their faith, and in general only those were permitted to survive who embraced the Greek Orthodox religion^①.

When the Jews of Pohrebyscz, ^yZwotow, Buzowka, Tetlow,^② and many of the other communities of that district heard what had happened to their fellow-Jews, they decided not to await an attack, but to surrender to the Tartars in order to escape from the hands of the Cossacks. They knew that the Tartars refrained, as a rule, from killing them but instead transported them into Turkey where they were sold as slaves, and had a chance of being ransomed by their Turkish brethren. They were thus taken to Crimea and subsequently ransomed by the Jews of Constantinople and other Turkish cities especially Solonika. In this noble work they were aided financially by Venice and Rome and other Italian cities. ^③

NIEMIROW

It was stated above that many of the Jews fled from the villages

1. 155 pp. 10 not all parts covered by reference. 8 p. case of bridge
2. 16 p. 16 refers to 2nd writings

and townlets and sought protection in the fortified cities. The fate of these Jews as will be shown immediately was particularly tragic.

When Chmielnicki heard that many Jews had taken refuge in Niemirow ^① he dispatched thither a detachment of Cossacks under the command of the Zaparozhian ^{Gandza} ~~Gandza~~, a fierce Jew hater. When the Jews who were in possession of the fortress saw the army approaching they could not make out whether it was friend or foe for the Cossacks had an understanding with the Greek Christians in the town and put on Polish uniforms in order to be taken for Poles. The Jews shut themselves up in the fort, but the Cossacks eventually gained entrance through the gates by means of trickery---that is, by waving the Polish banner and leading the Jews to believe that they were Poles. This took place on the 20th. of Siwan. The Cossacks in conjunction with the local Greek Orthodox Catholics fell upon the Jews and a massacre of great horror followed. Many women went to the nearby pond and drowned themselves; many men endeavored to escape by swimming but they were no match for the Cossacks who swam after them and killed them.

The Rabbi and Rosh-Yeshibah of Niemirow, Yehiel Feldman ^② on the Sabbath preceding the invasion preached a sermon in which he exhorted his people to "uphold the Name of God" at any and all cost. When he saw that

2 b. (continued from page 23) מלחמה יין p. 16-17

3 (continued from page 23) See pages 43-44

1 a. מלחמה יין pp. 20-23

b. מלחמה יין p. 135

c. מלחמה יין p. 3-4

d. מלחמה יין p. 18

2 said in behalf of Yehiel Feldman, p. 143
מלחמה יין

he could not possibly escape death he, in conjunction with his mother, fled to the cemetery, hoping that should death overtake them they would at least be buried. One of the Cossacks pursued them, killing first the son and then the mother, despite the pleas of the mother that she be killed first.

Often they would spare the young Jewish women, the Cossacks forcing them into baptism and then taking them as wives. In one instance when a beautiful and rich Jewish girl was being forced to marry a Cossack, she convinced him that she was able to throw a spell on bullets. She asked him to shoot her so as to be able to prove her contention. The Cossack was convinced, discharged his gun, and of course mortally wounded her. Another Jewish girl who was to marry a Cossack begged to have the ceremony performed in the church on the other side of the bridge. When the bridal train reached the bridge the bride jumped into the stream below. Altogether about 4000 Jews perished in the city of Niemirow.

TULCZYN. ①

Those Jews who were able to escape from the horrors of Niemirow fled to the fortified town of Tulczyn. Here a terrible tragedy ensued on Tamuz 4th: The Poles and the Jews made a covenant and took an oath to hold together and not to betray one another and to defend the oath to the last breath. After a long and unsuccessful siege the Cossacks conceived a treacherous plan. They let the Poles know that they were merely after the Jews. The Polish Pans, headed by Count Chetwertinski, forgot their oath and decided to sacrifice their Jewish allies in order to secure their own safety. When the Jews discovered this treachery they decided to immediately

1. a. מציאות pp. 23-25 26

b. מציאות pp. 136

c. מציאות pp. 5-6

d. מציאות pp. 18-19

"from here taken literally from Dubnow (148)

dispose of the Poles whom they outnumbered. But the Rosh-Yeshibah, Rabbi Aaron, implored them not to touch the Poles on the ground that such action might draw upon the Jews all over the world the hatred of the Polish population. "Let us rather perish," he exclaimed, "as did our brethren in Niemirow, and let us not endanger the lives of our brethren in all their places of dispersion." After the Jews were handed over into the power of the Russians, they were penned up in a garden and ordered to abjure their faith. Upon the refusal of the Jews they were cruelly tortured and slain. Let it be said to the everlasting glory of the Niemirow Jews that not a single one of them became a traitor to the faith of his fathers. Only ten rabbis were spared by the Cossacks in order to extort large ransoms from the Jewish communities.

The perfidious Poles, however, did not escape the faith which was Justly theirs.^① Another detachment of Cossacks which entered Tulozyn later slew all the Catholics, among them Count Chetwertinski. When the Poles implored the Cossacks to keep their promise, the latter replied, "As you broke your word to the Jews so we broke ours to you."

The treachery at Tulozyn at least had the beneficial effect of convincing the Poles that their fate was bound up with that of the Jews. Hereafter when the Russians declared that they warred only against the Jews they were no longer believed. Duke Wisniowiecki who at this time was in Lithuania swore to be revenged for the massacre of the Jews at Niemirow and sent a detachment of three hundred men against the city. In fact during the entire struggle he was the only heroic figure among the Poles. He was a man of great valor and no mean military ability. Beside he

1. 72186 11 pp. 25-26.

was the only one who "took the fugitive Jews under his small but brave force with which he every where pursued the Cossack bands." Due to his limited power, however, he could accomplish little or nothing of lasting value. A further source of discouragement for him was the fact that through "petty jealousy he was passed over at the election of the commander-in-chief against the Cossack insurrection, and instead of him three were chosen, of a character calculated to help on Chmelnicki to further victories. Annoyed at the pitiful policy of the regent, the primate of Gnesen, Count Wisniowiecki, the only heroic figure among the Poles at that time, followed his own course, but was compelled to retreat before the overpowering number of the roving troops and the Greek Catholic population in sympathy with them." His retreat sounded the death-knell of the Jews who had counted upon his heroism. ①

VOLHYNIA.

POLOWNE

From Podolia the bands penetrated into the Volhynia district. Here the carnage continued during the whole summer and autumn of 1648. The massacre of Jews at the town of Polonne was especially cruel. The town was beleaguered on a Tuesday, the first of Av, by the Tartars and the Greek Catholics. It was well defended but some of the soldiers of Greek extraction, who were within the gates, opened the gates to the besiegers. The Poles escaped on their horses, but the Jews were pillaged and slain. "So helpless was their state that when a Greek entered a place in which a

1. מלחמה pp. 26-28.

2. a. צער בת רבים p. 10

b. מלחמה pp. 28-30

c. מגילת - עיפא p. 137

d. סייט היי p. 49

x reference (751310/11/1/30)

Greek entered a place in which a hundred Jews had taken refuge, the Jews would bare their necks and one man would slay them all." It is estimated that in Polonne as many as ten thousand Jews met their death at the hands of the Cossacks or were taken captives by the Tartars, while many were compelled to renounce their faith. ①

Among the victims was the Cabalist Samson of Ostropol. ② The rabbi, accompanied by three hundred followers, dressed in shrouds, went to the synagogue where they offered fervent prayers. They kept at their prayer until the enemy came and killed them all, one by one.

OSTROG AND ZASLAW

Similar massacres followed at Zaslav, Ostrog, Konstantynow, Narol, Kremenetz Bar, and many other cities.

At Zaslav ③ the enemies looted the Jewish population and slew two hundred persons who could not escape on account of sickness. Those who fled hid in the woods where they remained until hunger drove them back. Whenever they were seized they invariably begged to be slain on the cemetery so that they might have some chance of receiving a Jewish burial. In one instance a large number of Jews assembled in the house on the cemetery; the Cossacks got wind of the fact, set fire to the place and the Jews perished. A massacre of equal horror and magnitude took place at Ostrog where six hundred Jews perished. ④

KONSTANTYNOW

The enemy next turned to Konstantynow. ⑤ Wisniowiecki, however, was

1 ספר חסידים p. 137.

2 ספר חסידים p. 30

3 ספר חסידים p. 12

4 ספר חסידים p. 34

4 ספר חסידים p. 21

there at the time, met the enemy and defeated them. He then stationed himself in the town, but distrusting the inhabitants, who were mostly Greek Catholics he soon left the place. Such Jews as possessed horses followed him, the others were forced to remain. An hour after his departure the enemy entered (Tuesday the 9th. of Ab) and slew about three thousand Jews, ① Rabbi Ascher, a renowned scholar, being among those killed.

BAR, DUBNO, and BRODY

When Chmielnicki first attacked Bar ② he was not successful. But some of the sympathetic Greek Catholic inhabitants dug a tunnel under the walls of the city and helped him gain entrance; Poles and Jews were mercilessly slain. It is estimated that two thousand of the latter met the usual cruel death. ^{while he happened} Chmielnicki next turned to Konstantinow, Zaslav, and Ostrog. These towns, as was stated above, had already been pillaged, but for a second time Chmielnicki attacked them without pity or mercy. From there the Cossack chieftain moved to ^{near} Great Dubno, ③ a strong fortress. The fort was held by the Poles and although the Jews begged for admission not a single one was permitted to enter. Consequently when Chmielnicki came into the vicinity about eleven hundred Jews were killed. But since it was impossible for Chmielnicki to gain entrance, he moved on to Brody, a town which belonged to his personal enemy Prince Horonzi, and although he destroyed the town he could not gain entrance into its fort, in which thousands of Jews and Poles had taken refuge. In the meantime, however, a horrible pestilence broke out in the town and took as its toll one thousand Jewish lives.

5. (continued from page 28) א ק ל י ב ן ן ן pp. 34-35

ב ק ל י ב ן ן ן pp. 137

ו ן ן ן ן ן p 19

has only 137

WHITE RUSSIA and LITHUANIA

At the same time that the Jews of Volhynia and Podolia were suffering the tortures of hell, Cossack troops under blood thirsty leaders penetrated into the nearest towns of White Russia and Lithuania and in their usual murderous habit exterminated the Jewish and Polish inhabitants. Many of the Lithuanians fled to Wilna and Great Grodno, where for the time being they found safety.⁽¹⁾ However, many of the communities to which they fled were routed out completely by the Cossack hordes and thousands upon thousands of Jews were slain. Dreadful massacres took place in the communities of Chernigow and Starodub, but the worst of all was in the city of Homel. A contemporary gives the following description of the Homel massacre:

The rebels managed to bribe the head of the city who delivered the Jews into their hands. The Greeks surrounded them with drawn swords, and with daggers, and spears, exclaiming: "Why do you believe in your God, who has no pity on His suffering people, and does not save it from our hands? Reject your God and you shall be masters! But if you cling to the faith of your fathers, you shall all perish in the same way as your brethren in the Ukraine, in Pokutye, and Lithuania perished at our hands." Thereupon, Rabbi Eliezer, our teacher, the president of the (rabbinical court) exclaimed: "Brethren, remember the death of our fellow Jews, who perished to sanctify the name of our God! Let us too stretch forth our necks to the sword of the enemy; look at me and act as I do!" Immediately thousands of Jews renounced their lives, despised this world, and hallowed the name of God. The Rosh-

1. as. חיון p. gives the number slain as 6000 (continued from page 29)

ב. חיון p. gives the number slain as 1500

2. א. חיון p. 13 (continued from page 29)

ב. חיון p. 12

ג. חיון pp. 39-41

ד. חיון p. 137

3. חיון p. gives the number slain as 200 families. (continued from p. 29)

1. חיון p. 39 38

Yeshibah was the first to offer up his body as a burnt-offering. Young and old, boys and girls saw the tortures, sufferings, and wounds of the teacher, who did not cease exhorting them to accept martyrdom in the name of Him who had called into being the generations of mortals. As one man they all exclaimed: "Let us forgive one another our mutual insults. Let us offer up our souls to God and our bodies to the wild waves, to our enemies, the offspring to the Greeks!" When our enemies heard these words, they started a terrible butchery killing their victims with spears in order that they might die slowly. Husbands, wives, and children fell in heaps. They did not even attain to burial, dogs and swine feeding on their dead bodies. ①

BATTLE OF PILYAWA and THE MASSACRES OF GALICIA.

In September 1648 the armies of the Poles and the Cossacks again met in open battle near Pilyawa and again the same disastrous results of the Battle of Yellow Waters followed. The Poles were completely defeated and scattered to the winds. The steppe for miles around was strewn with corpses and the Cossacks are said to have reaped 10,000,000 guildens worth of booty.

Lemberg

Following the successful outcome of the battle, Chmielnicki, marching at the head of a large Cossack army and accompanied by his Tartar allies, approached the walls of Lemberg, ② and began to besiege the capital of Red Russia or Galicia. A long and hard fought struggle followed: "The Cossacks in storming and pillaging the suburbs, but they failed to penetrate into the fortified center of the town. Chmielnicki appealed to the Poles to deliver the Jews into their hands, but the Poles refused saying that the Jews were under the jurisdiction of the King and that the town authorities

1. Quoted from Dubnow, p. 150.

2. a מלחמת 1648 pp. 41-44
 ב צעירות ימים p. 12
 ג דברי שבע p. 138

Reference not indicated (Dubnow I, 150-51)

had no right to dispose of them. In the meantime a terrible pestilence broke out; this fact combined with the scarcity of food and water killed as many as ten thousand people. At length when the supply of water totally gave way, the authorities of the town were forced to come to terms with Chmielnicki, whom they paid a ransom of two hundred thousand gold gulden.

NAROL

At Narol ¹ thousands of Jews were gathered and offered stout resistance to the onslaughts of the Cossacks; finally, however, Chmielnicki took the town on the 17th. of Mar-cheswan (1648): the commandant Lachton was flayed alive, twelve thousand ² were slain or drowned, many prisoners were carried away by the Tartars, and as a last act the town was burned. A woman who escaped by pretending to be dead, related that several hundred men, women, and children escaped in a similar manner. She further said that due to the lack of food they were forced to devour human flesh, cutting up the corpses and eating them. Dogs and pigs ate thousands of the bodies.

ZAMOSTZ

At Zamostz ³ Chmielnicki was not quite successful. It was a strong place and hard to take, but in the meantime the smaller places round about

1. a מלחמה pp 44-45

b מלחמה p. 138

c מלחמה p. 18

d מלחמה p. 17

e מלחמה p. 23

2. a מלחמה gives the number killed as 20, 000

b מלחמה gives the number killed as 18, 000

3. a מלחמה p. 13

b מלחמה pp. 45-46

were plundered and put to the sword. At Kryemienietz, a small town south of Lublin, a Russian cut the throats of several hundred Jewish children with a ^{קרב}, and each time he would ask his companions, "Is it Kosher or is it trefa?" If the reply was "trefa" the body would be thrown to the dogs; but if the answer was "kosher," the body would be examined as is done with animals, and then carried through the streets to the cry, "Who will buy a kosher lamb?" Zamostz itself could not be taken but as a result of the plague that was raging within the city, hundreds of Jews perished.

ELECTION OF JOHN CASIMIR

All Poland now lay at Chmielnicki's feet and the road to the defenseless capital was open before him. He thus started on his way to Warsaw. But at this point news reached him that an assembly had gathered at Warsaw for the election of a new King.^① The choice was between John Casimir, Vladislav IV's brother, and Rakotzi. When Chmielnicki heard that Wisniowiecki, his deadly enemy, declared himself for the latter, he immediately sent word that if Casimir were elected he would cease fighting. This fact among other things decided the election in favor of John Casimir. The new King entered into negotiations with Chmielnicki, who recognized his obligations to the royal house by retiring to distant Kiew, but owing to excessive demands by the Cossacks^② negotiations were broken off (February

1. קרבן י"א pp. 46-49.

2. The following were some of the outrageous demands made by the Cossacks:

- a. Wherever the Cossacks dwelt there was to be no Roman Catholic church.
- b. The Jesuits were to be entirely rooted out of Small Russia.
- c. The Hetamen and the chief commissars were to be Cossacks.
- d. The number of registered Cossacks was to be greatly increased.
- e. In all of Ukraina and in all of Small Russia no Jew was to be found.

16, 1649) and as a result civil war flamed up again.

KIEV

The breaking off of negotiations with Chmielnicki led to further atrocities by the Cossacks. At Kiev unspeakable tortures were perpetrated upon the Jews and Catholics. The Catholic monasteries and churches were pillaged and burned, the clergy dragged out by the hair and massacred, or drowned, while the "gentry were hunted down with dogs like so many ^{foxes} hares and stags." The citizens of Kiev were absolutely forbidden under pain of death to harbor the Jewish or Catholic fugitives. Scores of women were ravaged, the corpses of the dead were taken out of the coffins and cast to the dogs, the bodies of priests were propped up in the corner of the streets with large books in their stiff hands. "In this manner was Kiev ^{now part} besieged for ^{four} forty days, so that the whole city was brought to ruin. Catholics and Jews were ruthlessly destroyed; only such as ^{hid} professed the Greek Catholic faith were spared alive." ①

OSTROG

In the meantime those Jews who had reckoned upon a settlement between the Cossacks and the Poles and consequently had returned to their homes, paid with their confidence with death. ② It has happened that for a ^{second} third time that many Jews and nobles perished at Ostrog ③ and again it was accomplished through the treachery of the Cossack sympathisers: the returned Jews had hardly been in Ostrog for three weeks when word to that effect

1. a פ. 64 לקורות היהודים בק"מ

b פ. 21 ס"ט ה"ו

2 a פ. 49 ס"ט ה"ו

b פ. 21 ס"ט ה"ו

3 "The First Romans" P. 63

was sent to the Cossacks, who were staying about marauding and plundering in the vicinity. Their sympathisers managed to have them enter the town in the ^{at} stealth of the night and hundreds of Poles and Jews were slain. Only three Jews and eighty noblemen managed to escape.

BATTLE OF ZBOROW

Should have mentioned part played by Jewish volunteers, 2430 p. p. 50

The King sent out an army to punish the conspirators at Ostrog.^① The Polish army for once was somewhat successful in their combats against the Cossacks which they carried on until the beginning of July. While these skirmishes were going on Chmielnicki in the meantime was preparing his army of Cossacks and Tartars for another open battle with the Poles. Wisniowiecki kept the Cossack host at bay in his entrenched camp at Zbaraz for a month, till king Casimir, at the head of 25, 000 men, relieved him. A bloody battle ensued near Zborow^② on the banks of the Strypa, when only the "personal valor of John Casimir, the superiority of the Polish artillery, and the skilful diplomacy of the Polish chancellor, Ossoliniski, who succeeded in buying off the Tartars at the critical moment, enabled the royal forces to hold their own.^③ Chmielnicki, checked in his career of victory, though still unconquered, dictated peace on his own terms. By the compact of Zborow (August 22, 1649) :

- a. Chmielnicki was recognized as the head of the Zaporozhians
- b. The number of registered Cossacks was fixed at thirty thousand. These
- c. The town of Chigorin was given to Vhmielnicki.
- d. Residence of Jews was forbidden in the chief seats of the Cossacks (i.e. Ukraina, the regions of Chernigow, Poltavia, Kiew, and partly

1. מצולק p. 50

2. מצולק המיתים p. 20-22

3. "The First Romans" p. 94

Podolia.)

e. In return for these humiliating conditions Chmielnicki did homage to the King of Poland on bended knees in the presence of both armies, kissed the King's hand and the Chancellor of Lithuania recited his pardon.

ATTEMPTS AT RECONSTRUCTION

At last after a year and a half of suffering that surpasses all description, the horror stricken Jews were granted a period of comparative peace that lasted for some months. The Poles and Jews returned to their homes, but nevertheless the lot of the Jews by no means an enviable one.^① The Jews were very poor and continued becoming poorer due to the lack of trade and the very high cost of all necessities. It was not so much a state of famine but a scarcity of money from which the Jews suffered, for the Cossacks and Tartars had carried everything off. The rich Greek-Catholics fled across the Dniepr to the Cossacks, for fear that the Poles would wreak vengeance upon them. Others buried their treasure and pretended poverty. The Jews, who were really poor, were supposed to be rich, and consequently every one cried to them, "give! give!" Nor were the King and nobles sparing of the Jews but exacted the little that they had for the support of the army.^② But despite all hardships their lot was as a haven compared with the sufferings endured during the past eighteen months. Those Jews who were forced to embrace the Greek Orthodox faith, were permitted by King Casimir to return to Judaism; also many of the Jewish women who fled from their Cossack husbands were not forced to return to them.^③

1. פתח חזקוני p. 139

2. פתח חזקוני || pp 54-55

3. פתח חזקוני || pp 55-56

The "Council of Four Lands" which met in Lublin in the winter of 1650 framed a set of regulations looking to the restoration of the normal conditions in the domestic and the communal life of the Jews. ① There was great need for such a conference as well as much leniency on the part of the rabbis. Hundreds and even thousands of women were separated from their husbands and did not know whether they were dead, or perhaps, alive, roaming in some distant country. Such perplexing questions, then, as to whether they were widows or wives, etc. had to be answered in harmony with Rabbinical law. "The Synod of Lublin is said to have hit upon excellent arrangements. Most probably the lenient Lipman Heller, then Rabbi of Cracow, strove to effect a mild interpretation of the law relating to supposed death." (reference)

The day of the Niemirow massacres (Siwan 20) which coincides with an old fast in memory of the martyrs of the Crusades, was appointed as a day of mourning in memory of the victims of the Cossack pogroms. Leading rabbis composed a number of soul stirring dirges to be recited on Siwan 20th. to be recited not only in memory of the massacred Jews of Niemirow, but of all those killed in the period of the ה'תש"ח ②

(17/2/51)

FURTHER MASSACRES and POGROMS. ③

But the Jews were not to enjoy peace for a long time; soon it became evident that the Treaty of Zborow was neither satisfactory to the Cossacks nor to the Poles, especially the latter. In the early part of 1651 hostilities again broke out and again the Jews were the first to suffer. However, as Graetz suggests, the massacre of the Jews could not

1. Dubnow p. 152.

2. קצות חן p. 56

3. See appendix. (Where?)

be as extensive as during the two or three previous years; there were no longer thousands of Jews to be slaughtered and moreover the evil days had inspired the Jews with courage. Furthermore, fortune, so long Chmielnicki's friend, now deserted him, and at Bereszteczo, on the banks of the *Stuiwa*, the Cossack leader was utterly defeated by the Polish forces. Finally in 1651 a treaty was concluded at Byelaya Tzerkow ^① which was satisfactory to the Poles:

- a. Many of the Cossack's former claims were rejected.
- b. The right of the Jews to settle in Ukraina was restored.
- c. The Jews were permitted to hold property on lease.

THE RUSSIAN and SWEDISH INVASION

The victory of the Poles was as far as the Jews were concerned actually a curse in disguise. As a result of their losses the Cossacks and the Greek Orthodox Russians of the Ukraina again raised the banner of rebellion and with renewed zeal. ^② This time Chmielnicki sought another ally in his struggle with Poland; viz. Russia, or as it was then known Muscovy. The Moscovite Empire had long sought for the proper opportunity to incorporate the Ukraina in its territory and ^wnow with Chmielnicki's overtures such a moment seemed at hand. Negotiations were completed in 1654 and in the same year the Russian troops penetrated into White Russia and Lithuania and began a war with Poland. "Now came the turn of the Jews of the northwestern region to endure their share of suffering." For two years, 1654-1655, they were made to suffer untold agonies. In the course

1. "The First Romans" pp. 95-96.

2. *הקדמה* pp. 57-60.

Print does not go further than 1452

of June and July the towns of Dorogobuzh, Byelaya, Polok^C, and Mstislavl fell into the enemies' hands. ① The seizure of the cities and towns by the united Cossack-Muscovite army was generally accompanied by the exile or extermination of the Jewish population. In August Prince Radizwill, the Polish general, was defeated at Szepielwicas, and in the same month Moghilew, on the Dniepr, surrendered to the Russians. At the latter place the Jews through their own excusable folly were forced to pay a heavy penalty. It was thus: when the city surrendered to the Muscovite forces, Czar Alexis ordered all the Jews to leave the city, the property to be distributed among the Russian officials. The Jews, however, hoping that the ill wind would soon blow over continued delaying the enforced exodus. Towards the end of the summer when Colonel Poklonski, the Russian commander of the garrison at Moghilew heard that the Polish army was approaching under the command of Radizwill and fearing that the Jews might join the approaching enemy, immediately gave notice to the Jews to evacuate, promising them safe journey to the camp of Radizwill. But the Jews had hardly left the town behind them when they were overtaken by the Russian army who first took all their possessions and then murderously butchered them.

Toward the end of the year Vitebsk also fell into the hands of Muscovy. Here the Jews took an active part in the defense of the town:

"They dug trenches around the fortified castle, strengthened the walls, supplied the soldiers with arms, powder, and horses, and acted as scouts."

When the enemy finally succeeded in taking the town they took ample revenge

of the Jews for their staunch patriotism; many were killed, all were robbed, others forcibly baptized or exiled to Pskow, Novgorod, and Kazan. Equally great were the sufferings of the Jews in Vilna, the capital of

1. "The First Romans" pp. 109-110

Cossack n

Lithuania, when it was attacked by the combined Russian-Moscovite forces. Most of the Jews, however, saved themselves by fleeing for their lives. Those who were left behind were either slain or banished by order of the Czar.

THE SWEDISH INVASION.

Not enough was it that the Cossacks and Russians were tearing at the heart of Poland, but another of its enemies must descend upon it. This time it was Sweden. In the summer of 1655 Charles X of Sweden, on the flimsiest of pretexts, forced a war upon Poland, and before the year was out his forces had occupied Cracow, Warsaw and the best half of the land and King John Casimir, abandoned by his subjects fled to Silesia." And as usual the same refrain may be sung: the Jews were the ones to be stricken the hardest. Charles' object in attacking Poland was to secure her rich Baltic provinces. He was statesman enough, however, to attract in his behalf the sympathies of the Polish Protestants and Calvinists, who hoped that the Northern Protestants would bring freedom to them exactly in the same way as the Cossacks expected salvation from the Orthodox Russians.. The Jews, too, it might be said, hoped that the invasion by the Swedes might help their cause and therefore they were rather in sympathy with it. For this lack of patriotism (?) they (the Jews) had to pay a terrible price. The Swedish invaders though were not at all mindful of the good will of the Jews and made them suffer equally with the Poles. And those Jews who were spared by the Swedes were made to suffer the most agonizing tortures by the patriotic Poles who charged them with disloyalty. "The Polish general Czarniecki, whose special hobby was hatred of the Jews, manifested exceptional harshness in his treatment of them. All Poland was like a bloody field of battle on which Cossacks, Russians, Swedes, and Poles

*But see Hebrew Quarter
8, 152, note*

wrestled: "the Jews were ill used or slain by all. Nearly all the Jews in the province of Posen were destroyed and also those in the provinces of Cracow, Kalish, and Piotrkow. Rabbis were tortured and murdered, women violated, and in general thousands of Jews killed. Only those were spared who would embrace Christianity. ①

In this manner the persecutions continued until 1658, one year after Chmielnicki's death. Not until then did the horrors of war begin gradually to subside and "only after terrible losses and humiliating concessions to Russia and Sweden was Poland able to restore its political order, which had been shaken to its foundation during the preceding years."

1. a Dubnow

pp. 154-155.

b

"שאר שרידים" — י"ג י"ב — פ"ק ש"מ — pp 151-152

reference: Dubnow
I, 156

CHAPTER FIVE

The Consequences of the Chmielnicki Persecutions.

The losses inflicted upon the Jews during the fatal decade of 1648-1658 were appalling. Contemporary writers vary in their reports of the number that were destroyed. Some chroniclers give the number as high as 600,000^① while others estimate it to be no more than 100,000; actually as many as 200,000 or 250,000 souls undoubtedly perished during these ten horrible years. According to Samuel Phoebus in his פתח חיים 740 Jewish communities met with disaster. But this may be an exaggeration; more conservative writers estimate the number of Jewish communities massacred and sacked as between three^② and four hundred. But even if the lowest figures be accepted this catastrophe excels by far the losses suffered by Jews during the Crusades and the Black Death. On the left shore of the Dniepr River, where the cities inhabited by the Cossacks were located, the Jewish communities were almost without exception completely wiped out.^③ IN the cities on the right shore of the Dniepr where the Cossacks had made their appearance---the Polish part of Ukraine, Volhynia, and Podolia---no more than one-tenth of the Jewish population survived. The others were either exterminated by Chmielnicki or his followers; taken captives by the Tartars and carried off into Turkey; or had emigrated to Lithuania and the central provinces of Poland and from there to the various countries of Western Europe. Indeed, a marked comparison may be drawn between the results following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and the horrors following the great cataclysm of 1648-1658. As in the days of the earlier catastrophe Sephardic Jewish refugees could be met with every-

1. סוף חיים, reference 2

2. בקורות הגזרות בק"י, reference 2

3. Dubnow p. 157.

where, so now following the Polish-Cossack war, fugitive Jews, emaciated in form, wretched in appearance, and hollow of eye, fleeing from hunger, pestilence, fire, and the sword, were to be found all over Europe and Asia. ①

Wherever the poor stricken fugitives came they were welcomed with open arms by their brethern who fed and cloathed them and whenever possible endeavored to give them a new start in life. Thousands of Jews who were taken captives by the Tartars and brought to Constantinople, Salonica, and other Turkish cities, to Egypt and to Barbary and there were gladly ransomed by their fellow Jews. Many of the Jewish refugees fled westward by way of Dantzic and through the district of the Vistula and came to Hamburg and Amsterdam, whence they were conveyed to Frankfort-on-the-Mein and other Rhenish cities. Three thousand Lithuanian Jews fled southward came to the city of Texel and were gladly received by the Jewish population. Thousands of Jews fled southward to Moravia, Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary and from there to Italy. The Italian Jews were especially hospitable and liberally aided in ransoming thousands of captive Jews and maintained the fugitives at a great sacrifice. The community passed and acted upon a resolution to devote one-fourth of its income in behalf of their unfortunate Polish Jewish brethern. Though themselves victims of the the Thirty - Years War, the German and Austrian communities also proved themselves magnanimous in this great hour of need. In fact Germany did more than it was able to do. So great was the immediate need that the German communities, and others perhaps, were obliged to divert to the relief of the helpless wanderers many of the funds intended for the maintainance of the poor in Jerusalem. This resulted in great hardships for the widows and the

1. "זכרו ימי ישראל" 1948

2. *Sub...*

153-152-151-150

where

poor of Palestine, and of the seven hundred dependent upon alms it is said that four hundred perished of hunger. ①

The Chmielnicki pogroms left an indelible impress upon Judaism and in a sense remolded it. To use an expression of Graetz; "Judaism became Polonized." Even heretofore the Polish method of Talmudic study had gained strong support in the schools of Germany and also, though to a lesser degree, in the rabbinical schools of Italy, through the vast literature of the Polish authors. But now following the personal influx of these same great Talmudic authorities into Germany, Austria, Italy and into whatever other countries they happened to go, the Polish method became the supreme and the authoritative one. Rabbinic offices were bestowed upon them in all countries. To mention a few examples: Ephraim Cohen (author of *מנחת שמואל*) and Sabbathai Cohen (*ש"ח*) both formerly of Vilna received appointments in Moravia; Samuel Aaron Kaidonower (author of *ברכת הדין*) of Vilna took office in Furth and later on in Frankfort-on-the-Main; and Moses Cohen also of Vilna took office in Metz. At this point another analogy may be drawn between the refugees of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews Inquisition and those of the Polish pogroms of 1648-1653; like the Spanish and Portuguese Jews looked with contempt upon the "Ashkenizim" with whom they came in contact so did the Polish Talmudists look down upon their German, Italian, and Portuguese colleagues who were no match for them when it came to Talmudic study. ②

"People made fun of the 'Polacks' but submitted to them just the same. Whoever desired a thorough Talmudic and rabbinic education had to sit at the feet of the Polish rabbis. Every father who wished to give his children a Talmudic training had to engage a Polish rabbi or teacher. Little by

①. צבי גרין "דברי ימי ישראל" — חלק שמי' — פ. 154
 2. צבי גרין "דברי ימי ישראל" — חלק שמי' — פ. 156

little the Polish rabbis forced their pilpulistic piety upon the German and Italian communities. It was they who brought about a still greater decline than heretofore in scientific and even Biblical knowledge. In the very century of Descartes and Spinoza, when the three civilized peoples, the French, the English, and the Dutch, dealt a death-blow to medievalism, the Polish-Jewish immigrants, fleeing from Chmielnicki's fury, introduced a new medievalism into European Jewry which maintained itself in full vigor upward of a century, and is still partly in force in our own day." ①

~~1. Dubnow~~

12

"ש"ס חלק שמיני — "דברי ימי ישראל" — pp. 156-157

This view of Gaetz criticised by the Hebrew Translator, Robinson, in a long note (ibid. pp. 157-9).