

Man with a Gun

Problems of Relationship of Residents of Ukrainian Cities to the Armed Parties of Revolution and Civil War in 1917–1920

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The article discusses the problem related to the history of the Revolution of 1917–1920 in Ukraine. Repeated transition of the country territory under the rule of various military and political forces put the average man in front of a constant need to build relationships with new rulers. The article analyzes the response of main social groups of the urban population to the next change of government, determines the dynamics of attitudes of citizens based on practical actions of the military administrations, and describes how to minimize the negative effects of many-years armed conflict on everyday life.

Keywords *Ukraine * National-democratic Revolution of 1917–1920 * Residents of Cities * Social Stratification * Everyday Life * Technology of Survival * Volunteers * Germans * Poles * Russians * Bolsheviks*

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The everyday life in conditions of war is not a unique phenomenon in our history. In the study of this subject the period of the Revolution and the Civil War in Ukraine in 1917–1920 is especially interesting because it was characterized by crossing interests of multiple political forces represented by various military units. The rapid movement of large masses of armed men, constantly changing front lines, the lack of long-term positional struggle created a situation of multiple and sometimes unexpected change of government in most Ukrainian cities. The urban population faced the need to be prepared for any eventuality. The unexpected became commonplace. The abilities of the ordinary people to adapt to rapidly changing environment, to develop a way of being in the period of next escalation of the situation, maintaining the will to live in the most deplorable conditions are relevant in our times. The important part of the survival techniques was an appropriate response to the appearance of some or another military group in a particular territory. The feature of the Civil War was the fact that for some part of the population any army was *their* and the *conquerors* and *conquered* spoke the same language in any case. But the course of events in Ukraine was complicated by the presence of invaders. Political confrontation of the Civil War lost its sharpness, and issues connected with it are gradually becoming only of academic interest. Not least, it is a question of the ability of individuals, social groups and society as a whole to a self-organization of life in a state of war, and sometimes bandit permissiveness, anarchy and arbitrary rule.

Conditions of everyday existence of different social groups in Russia during the Civil War were the subject of study of many Russian historians. Several regional schools that

examined everyday life in 1917–1920 were established in different areas of the country. I. V. Narskiy prepared deep and comprehensive study on the population of the Urals and its life in 1917–1922.¹ The book of A. V. Ilyuhov was based on materials of the Central Russia focused on the material conditions of the urban population in 1917–1921.² V. P. Buldakov analyzed the psychological state of the inhabitants in various stages of the Revolution and the Civil War.³ A. A. Semenov studied the daily life in the North Caucasus for many years and he tried to summarize the main aspects of for the whole Russia in his doctoral dissertation.⁴ PhD dissertation of A. N. Fedorov was devoted to the social processes in 1917–1920 in the Central Industrial Region of Russia.⁵ D. S. Ryazanov examined the daily mood of the people in the cities of Central Russia in 1917–1920.⁶

Studies of the history of everyday life are becoming more and more visible in the modern Ukrainian historiography. They did not replace the traditional focus of Ukrainian scientists to the formation of national statehood, to the activities of political leaders, but they also enriched the study of the past by the interest to the average man as an object of the historical process, strengthened the historical and anthropological component of scientific researches. The revision of curriculum of the History of Ukraine and World History in the direction of the concept of humanization of science and focusing on the global education standards by the Ministry of Education was an additional factor stimulating the interest to the history of everyday life.

The everyday life during the Civil War and the period of the National-democratic Revolution in the Ukrainian historiography is not yet the subject of a comprehensive scientific analysis. Ukrainian historians studied the period of the New Economic Policy of 1920's, which is chronologically close to 1917–1920. Collective essays edited by S. Kulchitsky were devoted to the everyday life to the New Economic Policy (NEP).⁷ M. V. Borisenko,⁸ O. A. Kolyastruk⁹ and O. M. Movchan studied the living conditions of the urban population in the years of the NEP.¹⁰ They devoted their monographs to the study of everyday life of different social groups, respectively intellectuals and workers. But all studies investigated the period of 1917–1920 as only a background for a better definition of the changes.

¹ НАРСКИЙ, Игорь: *Жизнь в катастрофе : Будни населения Урала в 1917–1922 гг.* Москва 2001.

² ЛЬЮХОВ, Александр: *Жизнь в эпоху перемен : Материальное положение городских жителей в годы революции и гражданской войны (1917–1921 гг.)*. Москва 2007.

³ БУЛДАКОВ, Владимир: *Красная смута : Природа и последствия революционного насилия*. Москва 2010.

⁴ СЕМЕНОВ, Александр: *Повседневная жизнь населения России в годы Гражданской войны (1917–1920 гг.)*. Краснодар 2005.

⁵ ФЕДОРОВ, Алексей: *Социальные процессы в российском губернском городе в условиях революции и Гражданской войны*. Москва 2010.

⁶ РЯЗАНОВ, Дмитрий: *Повседневные настроения городских обывателей России в 1917–1920 гг.* Тамбов 2006.

⁷ КУЛЬЧИЦЬКИЙ, Станіслав та ін.: *Нариси повсякденного життя радянської України в добу непу (1921–1928 рр.)*. Київ 2010.

⁸ БОРИСЕНКО, Марія: *Житло та побут міського населення України у 20–30-х рр. ХХ століття*. Київ 2009.

⁹ КОЛЯСТРУК, Ольга: *Інтелігенція УСРР у 1920-ті роки : Повсякденне життя*. Харків 2010.

¹⁰ МОВЧАН, Ольга: *Повсякденне життя робітників УСРР. 1920-ті рр.* Київ 2010.

The purpose of the present article is to study the relationship of the population of Ukrainian cities with various military units, successive all over the Civil War. The achievement of this objective comprises the following tasks:

- To determine the social status of citizens' groups that supported particular political and military forces;
- To analyze the forms and methods of action by which the inhabitants themselves softened the effects of hostilities;
- Consider the progress and content of transformation of public sentiment in the various stages of the Civil War.

The history of everyday life stimulated new source studies. It contributed to the involvement of documents of private origin and orientation, such as letters, diaries and memoirs in the scientific circulation. Subjectivity in the perception of reality had an advantage in the development of the historical heritage. The main content of the history of everyday life was the study of personal perception of political events, not only of man's relationship to household problems, but also to the government, the state and society as a whole. In this work, the memoirs and diaries of contemporaries and active participants of the studied events are widely available, beside the archival documents and newspaper reports. For more objective analysis the memoir of representatives and supporters of all political forces, claiming control of Ukraine were attracted.

Among the authors there are: the first President of independent Ukraine M. S. Hrushevsky, the Head of the first Ukrainian government V. K. Vinnichenko, the commander of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) M. V. Omelyanovich-Pavlenko, the UNR politician E. H. Chykalenko, the Centurion of the UNR Army O. Stanimir. The point of view of the peasant masses to the situation in the country was expressed in the memoirs of the Head of the People's Army N. I. Makhno. Red Commander M. I. Demchenko, the Bolshevik activists A. A. Sukhov, D. O. Zaslavsky, E. Yakushkin, a writer V. P. Kataev performed the Bolshevik positions. Informative notes were left by Soviet functionary V. Kravchenko who emigrated to Canada later. General democratic beliefs were held by lawyer from Kiev A. A. Goldenweiser, teacher from Ekaterinoslav G. Igrenev, journalist Taffy (N. A. Lohvitskaya). Writer I. A. Bunin was known for his anti-Soviet views, and V. V. Shulgin was considered as a staunch monarchist. The diaries and memoirs of the White Army officers M. G. Drozdovsky, R. B. Gul, A. V. Turkul, V. V. Korsak, G. Venus and others were full of observations on citizen's behavior. The Ambassador of Finland to the Hetman Skoropadsky G. Gummerus is presented as an independent foreign observer. The memoirs of public figures of the White movement P. S. Bobrovsky and V. Obolensky have interesting facts also.

For substantive debates on the raised problems we should briefly describe the main historical events of this period in Ukraine.

Before 1917 a main part of Ukrainian lands was a part of Russian Empire, the ruling circles of which did not recognize the rights of Ukrainians not only on independence but even on autonomy within Russia. A rapid growth of national identity and starting of a struggle for political rights accompanied the overthrow of Tsar Nikolay II.

After the February Revolution of 1917, the Central Rada (Central Council) was formed in Kiev in parallel with the administration of the Provisional Government of Russia and the Soviets. In the autumn of 1917 Central Rada declared the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic (or Ukrainian National Republic, UNR). Symon Petliura was the head

of its military department, and the formation of UNR armed forces started under Petliura's leadership. The main task of the Ukrainian army was the defending of the national statehood.

The Soviet authority was established in Ukraine three times: in January 1918, in February 1919 and finally in late 1919 – early 1920. The armed force of the Soviet government was called the Red Army which positioned itself as a defender of the working class and the poorest peasantry. The political dominance in the Soviets belonged to the Bolshevik Party.

From March to November 1918 the German troops stand in the country, and they supported the revival of UNR regime which was replaced by the authority of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky. The relative order in the economic sphere was in Ukraine under the Hetman's authority. The development of education and culture was marked by Ukrainian national idea. The Hetman's administration acted primarily in the interests of the large owners of cities and villages, and did not find support in other social strata. The defeat of Germany in the First World War deprived the Hetman of the armed support, and led to a rapid fall of the Hetman's government.

After the Germans left the Directorate headed by S. Petliura took a brief rule in the country. Petliura continued the Ukrainian nation-building, but the difficult situation of the Civil War prevented its successful completion. The Army of Directors consisting of separate partisan detachments mostly moved to the Bolsheviks whose social program coincided with the plans of the Directory.

From the spring of 1919 to early 1920, a large part of Ukraine was occupied by the White Guard Volunteer Army. The Whites fought under the banner of *Russia, One and Indivisible* and opposed the Ukrainian independence. They did not have a clear political program, could not solve any social problem, and were doomed to failure despite the sympathy of the middle strata of urban population for them.

The special flavor of the Civil War was given by the participation of the armed groups of a few atamans, especially Nikifor Grigoriev and Nestor Makhno. They held some southern cities of Ukraine periodically. Grigoriev, Makhno and other atamans spoke on behalf of the Ukrainian peasantry, and had a wide popularity among them. Sometimes they were able to control the vast territories in Ukraine. The Bolsheviks concluded temporary agreements with the rebels for a joint struggle against Petliura, the interventionists of the Entente and the Whites. After the strengthening of the Soviet regime in Ukraine, the former allies finished with the anarchist freemen and established the one-party Bolshevik dictatorship under the guise the Soviet government.

The activities of the Central Rada in summer and autumn of 1917 in the formation of the Ukrainian state including the creation of national armed forces contributed to the unity of the army and the people. According to the memoirs of M. V Omelyanovich-Pavlenko, celebrations about the adoption of the Third Universal by Central Rada which declared the Ukrainian People's Republic, were held with a huge gathering of people in Yekaterinoslav in November 1917. *Cathedral Square was filled with the troops, public and government organizations. The railway workers, postals and units of the Free Cossacks were presented especially abundant.* The Parade that the author calls *spectacular* was attended not only by militaries, but also a large mass of civilians. *At the time of commemorating of Taras Shevchenko the army and the crowd fell to their knees. Only a few could hold back their tears.*¹¹

¹¹ ОМЕЛЯНОВИЧ-ПАВЛЕНКО, Михайло: *Спогади командарма (1917–1920)*. [Електронний ресурс] Цит. 11 ноября 2011, доступно в <http://lib.rus.ec/b/264289/read>.

Separate episodes of violence involving uniformed men took place at that time already. The riots, demonstrations, beating of the officers, military clashes took place in many cities of Ukraine. But in the first months of the Revolution and Civil War, they touched a small number of citizens. In March 1917 already, at the meeting of the officers of the Kiev garrison, *all the speakers sincerely wish to serve the new regime, but they was horrified by the disorganization among the soldiers, terrified by tragic helplessness of the officers.*¹²

In November 1917, during the anarchist's demonstration a crowd pulled an artillery lieutenant from the podium and began beating him. Some people tried to protect the officer, but they were also beaten. The officer managed to jump into the gates of a house. The crowd of several hundred people broke into the gate. *Kill him at first, and then kill them all* – the crowd shouted. The District Commissar recorded the name and address of the officer, and let him go. *Then kill the Commissar* – the crowd shouted. At the proposal of the Soviet the officer was sent to prison, pending clarification of his guilt.¹³ In December 1917, a large crowd of evacuated soldiers gathered nears the town council of Simferopol. The crowd was very worried. Indignant shouts were about the meager rations. One of the soldiers shouted: *I can not steal, my conscience does not allow, but they force us to steal. I'll be the Bolshevik or honest Anarchist better, and just go and take what is mine. Take them by the throat – let they give it! It is ours! – That's right! Let's go to them, and smash everything! They stroked belly enough! – Port workers get thousands, and they have a pair of galoshes and boots, and meat, and anything they want! – Don't go away, men, we'll show them!* The crowd increased. All the excitation grew. The crowd raged long and loud.¹⁴

In the same month, at the funeral of the Kaledin's victims the correspondent of *Free South* observed the following scene. Some two sailors walked down the street. One showed another to somebody in a soldier's coat on the opposite side of the street and angrily whispered, *Look, this man will do something if something happens...* And the sailor made an energetic gesture. *Yeah, he will not lose*, – said his companion. A woman cries, *Oh, someone says that his comrades came here to kill the bourgeoisie...* – *Don't be afraid, woman!* – They say her, *All this woman's fictions. They came not to kill, but to install the order.*¹⁵

It became clear very soon that this establishment of the order turned to violence. In January 1918, people in uniform armed with revolvers were engaged in the confiscation, with a warrant from the Military Revolutionary Committee. *In view of the fact that the confiscated goods are the luxury goods such as fishnet stockings, silk, velvet, we can assume that this is done voluntarily.* There were a number of cases where the goods were gained by force – *people broke into the stores, threaten with a gun, and they get sugar, shoes, and other things in this way.*¹⁶

The soldiers felt themselves as a real power in a situation of increasing chaos, and they even frequently interfered in the production issues, taking the side of citizens socially close to them. The Head Doctor of local orphanage in Liptsy near Kharkov V. M. Sheinerman

¹² *Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых.* Киев 1990.

¹³ *Вольный Юг*, 21 ноября 1917 г., № 2.

¹⁴ Там же, 2 декабря 1917 г., № 10.

¹⁵ Там же, 14 декабря 1917 г., № 18.

¹⁶ Там же, 12 января 1918 г., № 37.

said in a private letter that the collective of local officials perceived his dismissal of the worker as illegal. For the dismissal, he was threatened with violence. A meeting of the labor collective was planned. *At this time, until the dust settles, I think to disappear from Liptsy [...] maybe I should hush up the matter, and leave the worker in her work due to the fact that her advocates are the soldiers returning from the front, and they are very oppositional to the intelligentsia.*¹⁷

During the transition of authority to Central Rada the persecution of the former officers of the Imperial Army took place. A. A. Goldenweiser recalled: *Of course, there was nothing like that Bolshevik massacre of the officers we went through three months later, but unaccustomed it seemed strange if, for example, the principal chief of the military district was held for several days under arrest, without food and on straw.*¹⁸

Kiev citizens firstly became the mass involuntary witnesses, participants and victims of the fighting of the Civil War in January 1918. The offensive of the Bolshevik Army of Muravyov on Kiev was accompanied by multi-day artillery bombardment of the city, destroying many buildings and massive fires. The witness of the events S. Sumy said: *For the twelve days there was not a battle, but a senseless bombardment of the city. – So-called “armies” were holding the city with 600 000 inhabitants in agonizing suspense, and probably civilians were killed in these days more than the soldiers on both sides.* Urban residents had not adjusted to the Civil War, they had not learned to hide from danger and had no idea of size of danger. On the first day of the battle a big queue for bread was at the bakery on Khreschatyk. The shell exploded nearby, one person was killed, but people did not run away. The crowd hid under the walls of the houses, but a few minutes later once again lined up. Women and children stood in the queue for the most part.¹⁹ A. A. Goldenweiser made a very apt observation for the beginning of the Civil War: *In a Civil War, at the time of a transfer of authority, two contending sides are equally hostile and equally dangerous to the people. Tomorrow’s authority identifies the people with the hostile party; yesterday’s authority lost all interest in people’s safety, its food, and its political sympathies. We saw often that the retreating troops were doing more trouble than their successful conquerors. Subsequently, we repeatedly had occasion to confirm the immutability of this unique sociological law.* Urban population felt abandoned to their fate, *a pathetic puppet in the hands of irresponsible political experimenters.*²⁰ The psychological effects of the Bolshevik aggression for the worldview of Ukrainians were described by M. S. Hrushevsky: *When we have to depart from the criteria and principles we hold so recently, I reply that they were burnt in my office with my manuscripts and materials.*²¹

Terror, requisitions, confiscations and other forms of violence accompanied short reign of the Bolsheviks in the beginning of 1918. The population of Ukraine was in such desperate situation that the people were ready to wait for salvation from anyone. Emotional recovery for ordinary citizens in the spring of 1918 was caused by the transition of the squad of Colonel M. Drozdowski to the River Don. M. Drozdowski noted in his diary: *In general, the masses are happy. They ask for protection and establishment of order: anarchy,*

¹⁷ Государственный архив Харьковской области (далее – ГАХО), ф. 304, оп. 1, д. 3461, л. 6.

¹⁸ Революция, с. 17.

¹⁹ Там же, с. 103–105.

²⁰ Там же, с. 24–25.

²¹ ГРУШЕВСЬКИЙ, Михайло: *На порозі Новітньої України : Гадки і мрії.* Київ 1991, с. 7.

*disorganization tormented everyone except for a small handful of scoundrels. They say that there is no one to complain, no protection, no confidence in the future. They ask to establish order, if we cannot repress, we could just scare... Permanent raids, robberies, murders terrorized the people, but they afraid to punish the guilty because of fear of retaliation. Our hosts, the Jews, were robbed yesterday for 900 rubles and they welcomed us very warmly. – At least for a day we will not worry!*²² The following days of Drozdowski's march changed the situation; the people greeted them with enthusiasm: *In Kakhovka almost the entire population greeted us as liberators, with joy and blessings. The Bolsheviks were hard to annoy them, took 500 000 indemnity from them, confiscated their horses, dress, underwear, eatables, etc. The road to Melitopol is a continuous triumphal procession, in the village Peshanoe (suburb) the crowd of peasants met us with bread and salt and greetings, closer to the city the bread and salt again, the streets of the city near the Railway station are crowded. Delegation of railway workers with the white flag and words welcome saviors“, bread and salt again. There were flowers and cheers. We were saviors and deliverers.*²³

The arrival of the Germans in Ukraine in the spring of 1918 was reflected in memoirs as the beginning of a period of stability and order. *When the Germans came to Kiev, they firstly cleaned the incredible crap in the Railway station soiled by the Bolsheviks.* N. M. Mogilyan-sky recalled: *With the Germans, any looting and violence disappeared without any threats or threatening, as if by a magic wand. Everyman breathed freely. Even late at night it was perfectly safe to walk the streets.* The Germans, for their part, have become regulars at grocery stores. Starving at home in Germany, they crowded near the grocery stores windows, which exhibits roasted pigs, geese, ducks, chickens, lard, butter, sugar and various sweets, and where all this could be purchased without food stamps and for relatively low prices. *On the morning the Germans were especially willing to buy lard in markets, and they were eagerly munching its huge chunks.*²⁴

Ambassador of Finland to the Hetman Skoropadsky G. Gummerus said: *At the Railway stations the German order dominated. We saw often when one single soldier managed to calm the crowd of hooligans.*²⁵

Even the Dnieper beach was not complete without the Germans. *People were sunbathing on the sand or swimming. There were serious German soldiers near the fence watching for the order.*²⁶

Local intelligentsia was mostly happy to reconnect with a part of Europe. The newest Berlin and Vienna newspapers were in Kiev bookstores.²⁷ In fairness it should be noted that the German occupation was not widely perceived with satisfaction. Ukrainian peasants protested against the requisitioning of food and started a guerrilla war. At the same time, the Germans in Kiev were not always a model of discipline also. One day the soldiers going to the Western Front *drunk, smashed glasses in the pantry closets and began*

²² ДРОЗДОВСКИЙ, Михаил: *Дневник*. [Электронный ресурс] Цит. 20 января 2012, доступно в http://xxl3.ru/belie/drozd_dnevn.htm.

²³ Там же.

²⁴ *Революция*, с. 115–116.

²⁵ ГУММЕРУС, Герман: *Україна в переломні часи : Шість місяців на чолі посольства у Києві*. Київ 2004, с. 54.

²⁶ Там же, с. 58.

²⁷ *Революция*, с. 27.

striking the tea-things.²⁸ The observers saw the negative side of the German staying in the continuously increasing cost of living, because a large number of products were exported to Germany and with nothing in return.²⁹ V. K. Vinnichenko on behalf of the Ukrainian people addressed to the German troops: *When you are the guests, then act like the guest, not as the pigs. When you say that you came only to help and serve, then be the servants, not masters*.³⁰

German and Austrian military command interfered in the internal affairs of Ukraine: in labor disputes, in activities of public organizations, in food products trading. The Germans in Ukraine sold *all sorts of stuff from the military warehouses* to the private sector for a pittance.³¹ Any products were requisitioned, and sometimes taken away from the people in the first days of the German troops staying.³² In July 1918 in Odessa, the board of trade union of household servants, coachmen and caretakers of households' begged the governor a resolution for the general meeting of the trade union. *The necessary authorization had been given, but then a detachment of Austrian gendarmes demanded the meeting broke up. Call for governor did not help and the meeting did not take place*.³³ In Feodosia the workers of printing house Progress started the strike. With the agreement of the German commandant, *the owner of printing house offered the dismissal to all unwilling to work under the same conditions*.³⁴

The report on actions of the Volunteer Army in August 1918 says that the working class of Ukraine *was by no means outlived Bolshevism and bow only to the power of the German bayonet ruthless to the workers by the way, go to the Soviets*. Peasantry lacks a number of essential items, *so run to Moscow. While the Bolshevism in Moscow – to the Muscovite Bolshevism, then – to any new Moscow authority*.³⁵

However, the residents were often worried about persistently repeating disturbing rumors about the impending departure of the German troops from Ukraine, and painted with bright colors *the possible horrors after this*.³⁶ Own armed forces of the Ukrainian State were not worried about the maintenance of order, but their own well-being, not stopping before the robbery for the sake of it. River navigation between Kiev and Ekaterinoslav was accompanied by realization of alcohol among the passengers and alcohol was confiscated by the group of men in gray coats at the next pier. *Then the people selling alcohol scattered on the steamer again. At the next station the same thing repeated*. The assistant of the captain told the passengers that the same stock of alcohol has been walking from Kiev to Ekaterinoslav and back from the opening of navigation, and, obviously, it would walk throughout the season.³⁷ Attitude of Ukrainian soldiers to the national government was not merely skeptical, but abruptly aggressive. Vinnichenko confirmed this:

²⁸ Государственный архив Российской Федерации (далее – ГАРФ), ф. Р-446, оп. 1, д. 18, л. 4.

²⁹ Там же, л. 13об.

³⁰ ВИННИЧЕНКО, Володимир: *Відродження нації*, 2. Київ – Відень 1920, с. 319.

³¹ Российский государственный военный архив (далее – РГВА), ф. 40238, оп. 1, д. 3с, л. 35.

³² Рух, 3 травня 1918 р.

³³ Южный край, 4 июля 1918 г., № 66.

³⁴ Там же, 12 июля 1918 г., № 73.

³⁵ ГАРФ, ф. Р-439, оп. 1, д. 108, л. 29об.

³⁶ Южный край, 20 сентября 1918 г., № 128.

³⁷ Южная заря, 10 мая 1918 г., № 2.



The German troops in Kiev (1918): Local citizens watch the invaders with interest and curiosity, without any fear. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/>

*With what contempt, anger and vengeance they were talking about the Central Rada, the General Secretariat, about their policies.*³⁸

Gradually, the negative trend reinforced in the attitudes of citizens. Russian officer R. B. Gul was in the squad for the protection of Kiev at Hetman Skoropadsky. In late autumn 1918, he noted that although *the laughing crowd was just carousing and boozing, and men was German uniforms are flashing in the city*, every day anxiety among ordinary man in the street increased. *Some hurry and premonition of the inevitable end are felt in this daze. It's like people having fun feel for a chase and tries to spend at least an hour in a hurry. Confidence in imminent danger is shared by all. The current rulers of Ukraine really see and understand this danger, but they do not have their own forces on which they could rely. And stranger force, the Germans are becoming unreliable every day after the revolution in Germany.* Especially noticeable growth of discontent and expectation of change were in working-class neighborhoods, where *the dark groups of people gather on the streets more and more often, bend close to each other, talk about something, and when they meet the platoon of officers, they go away, looking with evil, ambiguous smiles.*³⁹

The urban intelligentsia with a certain degree of irony perceived the arrival of Petliura troops in the Ukrainian cities in early winter of 1918. Petliurism was characterized as *ridiculous and tasteless, as provincial operetta* if the participants of this *operetta* had no real rifles, this hate and anger, *the product of the decay and desolation which the Civil War brings with it.*⁴⁰ However, the first actions of the new government, in particular the

³⁸ ВИННИЧЕНКО, В.: *Відродження*, с. 260.

³⁹ ГУЛЬ, Роман: Киевская эпопея. Из: *Архив русской революции*, 2. Москва 1991, с. 77–78.

⁴⁰ *Революция*, с. 107.

replacement of Russian signs to Ukrainian, were evaluated with humor: *The whole city in these merry days was like a giant paint shop. The streets were filled with ladders, buckets of paint and something like that. Special patrols were walking around the city, and in case of any doubt spelling they resolve them with credibility of Academy of Sciences.*⁴¹ V. K. Vinichenko gave his comprehensive assessment of Ukrainian atamans policy: *Just a showy, decorative side was enough for ataman's mind. What there was inside, in shops, in homes, in their souls – it was not interesting for atamans. The signboard was the most important for them.*⁴²

The orders of mobilization were published every day and canceled that night. Five times the mobilization of students was declared, and never had effect.⁴³ The changing nature of attacks, robberies and extortion noted, they become more businesslike and practical. *Thugs understood that at today's prices it would be a sin to break even a trifle,* and while the properties were *taken away to the bone,* leaving only the furniture, but *they did not break windows and did not break a single chair.*⁴⁴ In Ekaterinoslav citizens had to go through the simultaneous presence of Petliura soldiers and Makhnovists in the city. G. Igrenev noted that soldiers arrived to their house for the search *were Petliurians, and they were, as usual, very good-natured.* A few days later ten Makhnovists came in his apartment, in two front rooms and in a hall. The author drew attention to the diverse style of their clothing: someone was dressed in soldiers' uniforms, someone was in a luxurious raccoon fur coat, and someone was in a peasant coat. However, the guests behaved quietly, and at night they *allowed to lock the door from the dining room to the back rooms on the hook.*⁴⁵ When on early morning of the next day Igrenev and his wife went to the nearest market *to stock up on supplies before the upcoming events,* Petliura soldiers were *clamoring to disperse the crowd.*⁴⁶ When food ran out again, *his wife decided to look for food on the streets using the calm,* and faced with the Makhnovists. They recognized her, and allowed her to go, *Oh, you're from that house? Well, go, go, just faster! Cause we have to shoot. We'll wait, but for a little.* When his wife came back ten minutes later, after procuring bread, indeed, a desperate fire began.⁴⁷

In December 1918, the battles between the Whites of Grishin-Almazov and the units of the Army of Ukrainian People's Republic took place in Odessa. Petliura gunners were firing at the enemy along the street. *The new ribbon cartridges were fed continually by surrounding boys willing to take part in the Civil War.* The wounded were carried for dressing in neighboring yards and houses. *The people, both workers and intellectuals, treat them fairly helpful and friendly, giving them folding beds for stretchers, providing them with material for bandages, and even then few medicaments.* Petliurians fought very bravely, and called everyone to join them. *The commanders could not be seen, and the men gave the impression of not kulaks. That was the Village fighting for the Land.* Workers individually

⁴¹ Там же, с. 49.

⁴² ВИННИЧЕНКО, Володимир: *Відродження нації*, 3. Київ – Відень, 1920, с. 202.

⁴³ *Революция*, с. 189.

⁴⁴ Там же, с. 56.

⁴⁵ ИГРЕНЕВ, Георгий: *Екатеринославские воспоминания (август 1918-июнь 1919 г.)*. In: *Архив русской революции*, 3. Москва 1991, с. 236–238.

⁴⁶ *Революция*, с. 190.

⁴⁷ Там же, с. 192.

joined their forces, and fighting squads organized by the Bolsheviks, *did not merge with Petliurians, but helped them to fight against the White Volunteers*.⁴⁸ Then in Mariupol, on the report of the White Guard Captain 1st rank Schubert, the workers were wary of the Volunteers and *unfriendly glances on the epaulettes*.⁴⁹

The departure of Petliurians from Odessa turned to a blockade of the city, and sympathy of the citizens to this armed force decreased. The newspaper *Odessa Mail* reported that the groups of peasants that were coming with products informed that *all the food carts were delayed by Petliurians and only some of them were passed to the city for a large bribe*. The statement of I. Shklyayev that Odessa was always passed from hand to hand without a fight, *with some shots of operetta, a rout of the old regime and a solemn procession of the new* looks controversial. It is hardly possible to fully agree with the fact that *the people of Odessa were completely indifferent to the political ambitions of any color*,⁵⁰ at least in the initial period of the war. Moreover, the interventions in Odessa facilitated the transition from the indifference of the ordinary people to its active rejection. *The officers of different nationalities behaved unbridled and defiant*. In Odessa, the strike of waiters started because the Polish officer in a restaurant slapped a waiter in his face, which was *in Bolshevik style*, according to the officer.⁵¹ Observer conspicuous randomness and chaos in the system of government and the orders, rampant speculation, an orgy of revelry, the abundance of extrajudicial killings and all this against the background of mass unemployment and mass discontent. One prominent Denikin's officer wrote to the chief of Kolchak headquarters: *There are no happy men, except for speculators which are numerous like bed-bugs. Everyman is perplexed: why there were none of speculators under the Bolsheviks, and why they showed up now*.⁵²

Meanwhile, the return of Bolsheviks to Ukraine began. In January 1919, the newspaper *Southern Land* recorded this fact in Kharkov. Yesterday morning the last units of Ukrainian Petliurian Directory troops left the city. *Around the noon the front patrols of the Soviet army arrived. Entering troops were in full battle order*. The newspaper noted with satisfaction that *no incidents during the occupation of the city happened*. The situation was so quiet that on the same day the Literacy Society *invited to organize the regional exhibition for adult education in Kharkov*.⁵³ At the approach of the Red Army to Ekaterinoslav, citizens were *alert and hid* of habit. No one dared to go out. But soon *the average man felt some relief*, because he felt an organized army and strong power. Compared not only with Makhno, but with Petliurians, the Red Army made *extremely disciplined experience*. The first days were so calm that the population began to *bless the Soviet regime which put the end to the state of nature*.⁵⁴ Soviet authorities were supported by a variety of urban communities. A concert in a city theater was in honor of liberation of Ekaterinoslav with a participation of local artists who remained in the city. A certain singer Regina once

48 СУХОВ, Алексей: *Иностранная интервенция на Одещине в 1918–1919 гг.* Одесса 1927, с. 101–102.

49 РГВА, ф. 40238, оп. 1, д. 24, л. 4.

50 ШКЛЯЕВ, Игорь: *Одесса в смутное время*. Одесса 2004, с. 3.

51 ЯКУШКИН, Евгений: *Французская интервенция на Юге : 1918–1919*. Москва – Ленинград 1929, с. 36–37.

52 СУХОВ, Алексей: *Иностранная*, с. 102.

53 *Южный край*, 4 января 1919 г., № 4.

54 *Революция*, с. 194.



Entering of red cavalry brigade Kotovsky to Odessa (April 1919). Odessa inhabitants meet the Bolsheviks troops with evident sincere sympathy. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/>

acted in a privileged restaurant before Petliurian officers. But she did not go with Petliurians, and expressed her willingness to cooperate with the Bolsheviks and to take part in the concert.⁵⁵ According to I. A. Bunin who was in Odessa in April 1919, the populace was looking forward Bolsheviks: *Ours are going*. Many ordinary people were waiting also, *tired of the power shift, so anything one and the life would be cheaper probably*.⁵⁶

The situation in Ukraine at the beginning of 1919 was like a *layer cake*. Cadet E. Yakonovsky's way to the Don to Denikin lay through the city of Kremenchug. From the north the Bolsheviks were approaching, Petliurians were still in Kremenchug, across the Dnepr was the territory of the *People's Army* of Grigoriev, who supported *armed neutrality* with Petliurians. According to the information received by the cadets at the Railway station, Grigoriev is something like Makhno, and he *removes the officers and bourgeois from trains, undress and shoots immediately near the railroad tracks*. A motley crowd gathered at the Railway station, some of the public is *apparently out of the running bourgeois*, as seen in the clothes *simplified if possible – a soldier's cap and woolen coat with a fur collar*. Overall, there were a lot of people *who could not wait for Red Army soldiers of Trotsky on a Kremenchug platform*. Trains with refugees and a lot of former prisoners of war moved to the South. In Alexandrovsk (Zaporozhye nowadays), a soldier *without shoulder straps, but with a rifle and bayonet*, demanded the cadets to leave the train. But suddenly the whole wagon screamed, *stamped the feet: Leave the kids in peace! We'll show you the papers!* Makhnovist guard did not decide to raise the alarm, *steam locomotive whistled, and*

⁵⁵ ДЕМЧЕНКО, Михаил: *Шестой повстанческий*. Москва 1964, с. 141.

⁵⁶ БУНИН, Иван: *Окаянные дни*. Москва 1990, с. 116.

suddenly we went further. How Yakonovsky learned later, one of the chieftains of Makhno, the future Red Army Divisional Apanasenko owned Alexandrovsk in those days.⁵⁷

In general, witnesses and participants of the events noted the typical for Ukrainian population sympathetic to the units of so-called *greens*. When the rebellion of ataman Grigoriev against the Soviets began in Kremenchug in the spring of 1919, the local guard battalion passed his side in May 11th.⁵⁸ According to the memoirs of V. P. Kataev, Alexandrovsk was constantly threatened to fire by another local ataman, some Tchaikovsky, who *greatly impaired navigation on the Dnepr* by his actions. Almost every ship was *shelled by bandit batteries*. It was difficult to fight with Tchaikovsky, *as with other Ukrainian bands, which were usually relied on the favorable attitude of the people.*⁵⁹

Ukrainian People's Republic Army that operated in 1919 in Ukraine enjoyed the support of the local population also. The towns of Volyn helped the troops not only with linens, clothes, shoes, food, but assisted the mobilizations and the conduct of military operations.⁶⁰ The same thing happened in Podolia region.⁶¹

The source of this sympathy was not only a national and social identity, but the policy of rebellion leaders also. N. I. Makhno after his troops captured several trains, which except for weapons and ammunition were *full of cans of different jams, liqueurs, fruits, different shoes and leather for shoes*, ordered *things such as leather, sugar and jam to collect and distribute in a public manner, among the poor people in the first instance.*⁶²

We note that people rebels were not always behaved nobly. Volunteer Army in the summer of 1919 took a small town in northern Ukraine. Mistress of the house where G. Venus settled with his soldiers, *told about her husband, who was shot by some ataman who passed through the city, and about the watches presented to her husband on the day of his 25 years service as school's caretaker, and even about Natasha, sister-girl, who helped her lonely on the farm now. Here they are – the fragments of life, – said one of fellow officers to G. Venus. – Did you see how she caresses the dead man's watches?* Knowing that the watchmaker Zelihman is still working in the city, *ensign Morozov took out his wallet.*⁶³ It is interesting that the victim of the ataman was an Orthodox school's caretaker, but watchmaker Zelihman survived the invasion of the *greens*.

The red commander Demchenko told about the sympathetic of urban intelligentsia towards Petliurians. When his troops took Vasylkov (the town near Kiev), it was decided to check the local hospital. A staff of medical institutions in the white coats accompanied inspection. As it turned out later, *the disguised Petliurians, two hundred people, not less* were hiding under the guise of patients in the hospital wards. Medical staff even managed to fill in the medical history of each imaginary *patient*. Demchenko watched dozens of medical

⁵⁷ ЯКОНОВСКИЙ, Евгений: *Фарфоровая кокарда*. [Электронный ресурс], Цит. 28 января 2012, доступно в http://www.dk1868.ru/history/FARF_KOK.htm.

⁵⁸ ВИРСЬКИЙ, Дмитро: *Кременчук 1917–1920 рр. : Провінційні образи революції*. Київ 2003, с. 73.

⁵⁹ КАТАЕВ, Валентин: *Почти дневник*. Москва 1962, с. 89.

⁶⁰ КОМАРНИЦЬКИЙ, Олександр: *Містечка Волині та Київщини у добу Української революції 1917–1920 рр.* Кам'янець – Подільський 2009, с. 91.

⁶¹ ЗАВАЛЬНЮК, Олександр – КОМАРНИЦЬКИЙ, Олександр: *Подільські містечка у добу Української революції 1917–1920 рр.* Кам'янець – Подільський 2005, с. 96.

⁶² МАХНО, Нестор: *Воспоминания*. Москва 1992, с. 296.

⁶³ ВЕНУС, Георгий: *Война и люди : Семнадцать месяцев с дроздовцами*. [Электронный ресурс]. Цит. 11 февраля 2012, доступно в <http://www.dk1868.ru/history/venus.htm>.

records, and found that all of them were false.⁶⁴ Fair to say, the doctors did their duty to the wounded of any army. Bolshevik Martynov, analyzing the behavior of Petliura and Denikin troops in a city of right-bank Ukraine, said that they *in their massacres* bypassed the house in which the doctors from factory hospital lived and *where all the troops which captured the factory put their wounded*.⁶⁵

Almost detective story is related to the activities of underground organization of Denikin in Kharkov in spring 1919. During the Chekists raid to the farm where was the headquarters of the organization, the volunteer Makarov was injured. The Bolsheviks placed him in a prison hospital. At night the prison hospital was attacked, and Makarov was saved. Members of underground organizations were not able to treat the wounded, and staged an attack on one of the houses of the Sumy Street in which Makarov was supposedly injured. He was left on the street, *and caretakers had to show that he was injured as a casual passer*. Makarov was taken to the Alexander Hospital where warned beforehand assistant professor Kravtsov *hid his rather specific injury*. Unfortunately, the volunteer Makarov had died in the Alexander hospital of blood poisoning the day before the Volunteer Army entered into the city.⁶⁶

When the Reds headed by Demchenko organized hospital in one of the towns of the Southern Ukraine all urban population helped them. *We called women to set about organizing sewing, repairing and washing clothes. We examined all the houses of the town, to collect at least some number of beds, mattresses and dishes for the hospital. Two days the town lived only equipping the hospital. All the streets people were carrying pillows, blankets, carpets, blankets, pots, bowls and kettles. On the second evening, the hospital began functioning. Local old doctor in a shabby coat during his the appointment as a chief doctor acted like a frightened average man, but after a few days it was a man full of dignity, efficiency and professional rigor*.⁶⁷

However, not always the ideological related categories of citizens went to the Bolsheviks service including as civilian volunteers in military units. According to V. P. Kataev, these were *mostly bad campaigners who count on abundant Red Army ration and on paper protecting against requisitions and seal arrangements*.⁶⁸

In summer of 1919 the moving of the Volunteer Army to Ukraine began. The battles between the Reds and Volunteers took place in Donbass. According to the White Guard political summary, local workers' settlements, several times passing from hand to hand, regularly gave reinforcement to the Reds. When one of the villages Shterovka was taken for the first time by Markov regiment, the feeling of the population was *not too Bolshevik*. But Don Cossacks who began to rob replaced Markov regiment and the population began strongly *becoming Red*. Don Cossacks took *all the sugar, gasoline, fuel oil without any promissory notes, and imposed the indemnity on the population*. On the mine owner's question about payment, the officer said, *We'll pay with beating on the neck*. The officers of the armored train *Ermak* took away all clothes in the family of a local rabbi, they stripped

⁶⁴ ДЕМЧЕНКО, М.: *Шестой*, с. 177, 178.

⁶⁵ МАРТЫНОВ, Александр: *Мои украинские впечатления и размышления*. Москва – Петроград 1923, с. 8.

⁶⁶ ГАРФ, ф. Р-440, оп. 1, д. 34, л. 25, 27об.

⁶⁷ ДЕМЧЕНКО, М.: *Шестой*, с. 237–238.

⁶⁸ КАТАЕВ, В.: *Почти*, с. 82.

even the children. One of the officers took all the rings from the hands of the local teacher.⁶⁹ An officer of the Ukrainian Galician Army, which could not be suspected of sympathy for any of the parties, compared the policy of the Bolsheviks and the Whites in July 1919. He noted that the majority lived easier under the Bolsheviks because the Bolsheviks *paid more wages, and all workers were given food on the cards, but now the Volunteers reduced the cost even of their army, and it just takes everything in the shops, restaurants, bazaars, so farmers do not brought anything into the city.*⁷⁰ The director of public theaters Vsevolod Meyerhold was forced to flee on a felucca from the Volunteers because they rampaged through the first days of their arrival *with the reckless and senseless rage that comes only in muddy epoch of the Civil War.*⁷¹

M. G. Drozdowski described similar phenomenon in 1918 that was characteristic for the whole period of turmoil. *In general, the Civil War is a terrible thing, which makes bestiality in morals, permeates our hearts with a mortal rage and revenge; our massacres are creepy; and the joy, the ecstasy of murder is not alien to many of the Volunteers.*⁷²

However, the commander of the Drozdowski regiment A. V. Turkul recalled entering volunteers in Kharkov in June 1919 as a public holiday: We were flooded with a human sea. This is not to forget, a stuffy crush, thousands and thousands of eyes, tears, smiles, and happy madness of the crowd. I led the battalion in the crush, crowds were swaying on the street around us; we were enveloped with gusts Hurrah. Crying, laughing faces. They kissed our horses and us, tanned hands of our soldiers. It was a frenzy of joy and liberation. At one of the entrances they brought me the huge bouquet of fresh white flowers. We were so close, that I ordered in a low voice to hold the line as strong as possible.⁷³

Reinforcements in Kharkov were so massive that one officer regiment turned in three regiments. All new Volunteers hurried to get themselves *Drozdowski caps* and wear epaulettes. *We can say the city was flooded with crimson colour. We were so expected in Kharkov, that one local headwear manufacturer had prepared a hundred caps of White regiments in advance and actively sold them now.*⁷⁴

Bolshevik underground fighter G. Shevkun reported that the parades of the Volunteer Army troops were regularly held in Kharkiv. Every parade was accompanied by *a huge coincidence of cheering bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia*. The people greeted the White troops with shouts *hurray*, showered the Generals with flowers and carried them on the hands.⁷⁵

Numerous balls and masquerades were arranged in the city, *various cabaret and other entertainment places where champagne and other wines flew like water* were opened. When the fundraiser began, Kharkov bourgeoisie *to their credit were welcomed to respond to the call.*⁷⁶

⁶⁹ ГАРФ, ф. Р-440, оп. 1, д. 34, л. 13.

⁷⁰ ЧИКАЛЕНКО, Євген: *Щоденник : 1919–1920*. Київ – Нью-Йорк 2005, с. 98.

⁷¹ ДРОЗДОВ, Александр: *Интеллигенция на Дону*. In: *Архив русской революции*, 2. Москва 1991, с. 59.

⁷² ДРОЗДОВСКИЙ, М.: *Дневник*.

⁷³ ТУРКУЛ, Антон: *Дроздовцы в огне : Картины гражданской войны 1918–1920 гг.* [Электронный ресурс]. Цит. 2 марта 2012, доступно в <http://xxl3.ru/belie/turkul/02.htm>.

⁷⁴ Там же.

⁷⁵ *Гражданская война на Украине 1918–1920*, 2. Киев 1967, с. 230.

⁷⁶ Там же, с. 231.



The entry of the Volunteer Army in Kharkov (1919): The festive meeting of the Whites in Kharkov became one of the bright memorable moments for the contemporaries. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/>

However, the genuine joy of the average people at the arrival of the liberators was marred in the early hours of the White authority in Kharkiv. Several caught Bolsheviks were shot under the transition bridge, right on the railway tracks. Historian S. G. Pushkarev noted that on one side of the railing of the bridge was a *solid string of people* leaned over the railing, and they all *looked down somewhere*. Approached to the railing and squeezed through the crowd, Pushkarev saw below *a lot of bloody corpses in the underwear*, among which the townspeople learned the members of the train Extraordinary Commission, which had not managed to get away and were trapped by the Whites right in the railway station building. *The sight was painful and overshadowed the joy of liberation from the oppression of Lenin oprichnina. I remember that one old man, apparently a worker, outraged loudly and angrily: What is it? Yesterday the Reds shot, and now the Whites shot too. But when will this massacre end? I thought: What if the Civil War will only change the color of terror?*⁷⁷

In August 1919, Petliurians and Whites almost simultaneously entered Kiev from two different sides. Petliurians subsequently left the city, despite the fact that each army found adherents among the urban population. When the Ukrainian People's Republic Army

⁷⁷ ПУШКАРЕВ, Сергей: *Воспоминания историка : 1905–1945*. [Электронный ресурс] Цит. 16 марта 2012, доступно в <http://xxl3.ru/belie/pushkarev.htm>.

was passing through the Kiev streets, *yellow and blue flags fluttered on the houses and the portraits of Shevchenko and Petliura with greenery appeared on the balconies*. Streets and windows were crowded.⁷⁸

When the Volunteer Army took Kiev, citizens *drank for their Deliverers*. Volunteers began to enter the city at 11 am. *The streets were full of joyous, festive people. The troops were decorated with flowers.*⁷⁹ Chairman of one of the House Committee bypassed apartment asking to shelter and feed the Volunteers. *Everyone agrees with enthusiasm*. Two soldiers came to the author of memories: *We ask to drink tea with us and share our frugal supper.*⁸⁰

A. V. Turkul moved to the north with his regiment, and in one of the cities he was invited to the Birthday party by locals, nearly the fight ended. *We entered a living-room full of dressed hosts and guests. All the lamps shined, a table was full of dishes, pickles, jams, with a pie mountain in the middle. It was strange: the shooting still calms down in the streets, the wounded are coughing and groaning in the dark on the carts, but here the people celebrate the peaceful Birthday in prosperity, as if nothing had happened either with them or with all of us, not with Russia.*⁸¹

Sympathy of a large number of people to the Volunteer Army put its task *to place the remaining, indifferent and less well-minded strata in their favour with loyal actions, at least in part*. But the command of the Volunteer Army considered the situation in which some military units in circumstances of the hinterland *had nothing to eat for two days at times*. Because of the lack of communication they sometimes could not find the quartermaster for several days. As a result, the unauthorized requisitions were massive. The authorities overlooked it, and the requisitions were becoming robberies. The 2nd Officer's Cavalry Regiment began *epic drunken fights, genuine hooliganism and robberies* in Mariupol.⁸²

The arrival of the first units of the Volunteer Army was met very sympathetic by the intelligent part of population. But the officers of the Volunteers claim to be *the saviors of the Fatherland*, so they acted *arrogantly provocative*. Complete moral turpitude brought to unprecedented precedents: the dozens of failures to pay the bills in restaurants up to several hundred rubles, and such failures were often accompanied by the threat of gun. *Scared average man was silent, as in the Bolshevik regime, because the complainants threatened immediate execution.*⁸³ In the autumn of 1919 in Nezhin, the Volunteers were expected as long-awaited guests. But instead of the *gallant and courteous officers*, the Cossacks, Tatars, Kurds, arrived and *rushed to rob everyone on the station*. They took away watches, purses, rings from everyone without exception, and clothes from someone. Then the pogrom moved to the city. *Within a few days the life in the city stopped completely. None of the residents, except for the students who signed up to the Volunteers, even dare to go out in the afternoon. Cossacks plundered peasants to the skin within two weeks.*⁸⁴ Even a seemingly unimportant fact as a uniform dress code witnessed not in favor of the Volunteers. *Bolsheviks and Petliurians did not wear uniform; the absence of it had soothing effect on*

⁷⁸ СТАНИМІР, Осип: *Моя участь у визвольних змаганнях 1917–1920*. Торонто, 1966, с. 102, 103.

⁷⁹ Очерки жизни в Киеве в 1919–1920 гг. Из: *Архив русской революции*, 3. Москва 1991, с. 216.

⁸⁰ Там же, с. 220.

⁸¹ ТУРКУЛ, А.: *Дроздовцы*.

⁸² РГВА, ф. 40238, оп. 1, д. 24, л. 46.

⁸³ Там же.

⁸⁴ *Гражданская война*, 2, с. 399–400.

people as a reference to the real human equality.⁸⁵ Very soon Kiev people disappointed in the ability of the Volunteers to win: *We desperately clang the Volunteer army, knowing that we clang to an empty space, that they could not save us, that they were still rather doomed to death than we.*⁸⁶

Average man quickly sensed the difference between the Reds and the Whites. The carter who helped the Volunteers to transport cargoes, argued: *Let's say, for example, about the Bolsheviks... Who does not know! [...] They hurt! [...] But they are more about the cattle and grain; however yours have no scruples about skin. – About what skin? – The skin under the pants [...] They say, the peasant has thick skin, but his skin is sensitive [...].* As a result the *welcoming period* in the relations of the Volunteer Army and the people was over after a few months. When a train with wounded Volunteers arrived at Kharkov Railway Station in October 1919, no one approached to it. *Passengers came out from next carriages. The city lived its own life.* The Volunteers withdrawal from Kharkov was not as triumphant as the entrance. *There was almost no one in the streets. Few counterclaims quickly turned to the next street. Others pressed close to their homes or sullenly glanced on us in amazement.*⁸⁷

The Whites did not spare even the urban infrastructure. During the retreat from Kharkov they looted the property of a fire brigade. The harness, feed, clothing, gears were taken. Of the 134 horses there were only 26 and 10 of them were unusable.⁸⁸

During the fighting of the Whites with Makhnovists in Ekaterinoslav, S. G. Pushkarev was wounded in the leg. *Two soldiers partly took, partly dragged me to the next last house, laid me on the couch and went to look for our regimental nurse for dressing.* After some time, the hostess entered the apartment and said, *Yours are leaving!* The author noted that it would not be good for her if Makhnovists find *cadet* in her house. The wounded was taken out on a random cart. Thus, the public mood significantly transformed – ordinary people did not want to risk, sheltering the wounded Whites.⁸⁹

The result of the policy of the Whites was an activation of guerrilla movement or the banditry in the interpretation of the Volunteers. So, the partisans acted in Kerch stone quarries. They were dressed in military uniforms, and in April 1919, *they stopped the car of the colonel Konyayev and took him to the quarries.* Commandant of the town found no other way to save the colonel as to arrest thirty members of local government as hostages. The colonel was released unharmed. Commandant the General Kholodkovsky released hostages only *yielding to noise which was raised in newspapers about the arrest.* Then the *bandits started more active actions*, and attacked the Railway station at night. The attack lasted for two hours, and it was beaten off. The objects of new actions were telephone station and detective department, attackers *fired at the windows from their rifles.* It was characteristic that, *thanks to resourcefulness of telephone ladies, phone service did not stop during the attack.* After the shooting the attackers fled, but soon they started a new attack on the factory *where they were reinforced, because 50 % of soldiers stationed at the factory went to the side of the rebels.* Losing hope to restore order, the General Kholodkovsky is-

⁸⁵ КОРСАК, Владимир: У красных. У белых. Великий исход. Ип: *Красная смута*. Москва 2011, с. 199.

⁸⁶ Очерки, с. 221.

⁸⁷ ВЕНУС, Г.: *Дроздовцы*.

⁸⁸ ГАХО, ф. Р-202, оп. 1, д. 11, л. 207.

⁸⁹ ПУШКАРЕВ, С.: *Воспоминания историка*.

sued an order *prohibiting officers walking around the city after seven o'clock in the evening, but as the order was printed and posted in a small amount, and then it remained unknown by many officers*. Another attempt to deal with the guerrillas was the help of *allies* – the British heavy artillery started shelling the quarries.⁹⁰

However, the dreaded 1919 formed absolute indifference of inhabitants to the endless civil strife as a psychological defense. The own survival was increasingly becoming the main and only task of the inhabitants. As a result of the struggle of the Reds and Whites the increasing number of corpses of the both armies was floating on the Dnepr. Residents of areas near the river *were used to dead bodies, which the water washed ashore, and did not pay special attention on them*. Dead were buried without clothes – *they strip the dead to dress the living*.⁹¹

In the autumn of 1919 a seaside city of Berdyansk was under the rule of Makhno for some time. The citizens learned about leaving of the Whites and approaching of the Makhnovists decided to go to the Railway station – *what if Makhnovists suddenly get sentimental due to unexpectedly warm meeting?*⁹² Makhnovists caught White officers for two days in the city, shooting them on the spot. *For more successful searches* they attracted street boys, paying them 100 rubles cash for each identified *cadet*. The city was dammed up by thousands of peasant carts, on which everything from stores was. The citizens of Berdyansk *were hiding in their homes and did not participate in the events*. Naturally, the residents of the city mostly treated Makhnovists negative. Traders complained of robberies and bad trade. Intellectuals stayed away from the power of the anarchists. Bolshevik's workers and artisans considered Makhno as an enemy of the Soviet power. Fishermen annoyed the impossibility of fishing, because the enemy (White Guard) ships were walking in the sea.⁹³

Final return of the Reds in Ukraine had not been without incidents also, at least with regard to the privileged class. Coming of the Reds in Starobelsk Kharkov province in December 1919 forced to worry the Chairman of the local council of People's Judges E. G. Danilevich. He and his wife rented housing in the house of some Kapustyansky, together with former landowners Strukov and Rajewski. In early November they left, in late November their servants left, and Danilevich couple was alone. *When the Whites fled on December 3–16, and on the same day the Reds, which called themselves the Kuban Cossacks, entered the city, I decided to leave the house, since in view of the threatening behavior of Kuban Cossacks it was not safe to stay in the house alone*.⁹⁴ By the end of winter, the citizens of Starobelsk were so accustomed that the chief of the local police could not mobilize anyone for public works – *cleaning houses, washing floors, sewing mattresses, washing clothes in the hospitals and chopping wood*. The reason for the failure of mobilization was the lack of the representatives of the bourgeois elements *in the city, because some of them left with the Whites and some settled in different institutions. Those who have never served and were not registered on the labor exchange, refuse to work on the grounds that the Red*

⁹⁰ ГАРФ, ф. Р-440, оп. 1, д. 34, л. 4, 5.

⁹¹ КРАВЧЕНКО, Владимир: *Я избрал волю*. Торонто 1948, с. 15, 16.

⁹² ЧОП, Володимир – ЛИМАН, Ігор: *Вольный Бердянск : Місто в період анархістського соціального експерименту (1918–1921 роки)*. Запоріжжя 2007, с. 31.

⁹³ Там же, с. 197–198.

⁹⁴ Государственный архив Луганской области, ф. Р-1173, оп. 1, д. 10, л. 65–66.

*Army soldiers are staying in their homes, and they wash and cook for them. Sometimes the military ranks rudely demanded that the police leave the house, saying that there is none which could be mobilized.*⁹⁵

The bitterness that was accumulated over the years of the Civil War drew not only against armed enemies, but also against civilians, real or imagined social opponents. In December 1919, on the first day of taking of Kiev by the Bolsheviks, one of the city women watched from the sidewalk as the troops were on the streets, *the ragged, hungry, but yet terrible*. One Red Army soldier grabbed the woman's hand: *Where are our flowers? I think you welcomed the Volunteers, but you don't want to welcome us?* I pulled my hand and walked away from him. *There is no life for gray coats because of these rich! – Another yelled, even though I was in a simple woolen coat.*⁹⁶ As a result of the negative attitude of the inhabitants to any armed people become widespread, they were expected to only violence and tyranny. It only remained to rely on some people with guns, in hope of salvation from others. Thus, peasant carters *had to carry all of them: both the Whites and Reds, and Petliurians and Makhnovists*. The saddest thing is that, once recruited to a military carrier, the man was *almost impossible to break out of the vicious circle*; in addition, the owner had to get the feed for the horses.⁹⁷ The resident of Belaya Tserkov (near Kiev) complained: *We are now all being robbed. The Whites, Reds, Petliurians, all sorts of atamans. One salvation is to have someone of the military in the apartment.*⁹⁸ V. V. Shulgin was frank, recalling the time before the departure of the Whites from Odessa in early 1920: *We almost hated the people who we died for. We hated the peasant for his warm house, a rich though a simple table, a piece of land and his family right there near him in the house. We hated the citizens for what they drink coffee, read newspapers, go to the movies, dancing, having fun.*⁹⁹

The scenes of marauding at the time of retreat completely deprived the minimal sympathy of citizens to the Whites. Valentin Kataev recorded with photographic clarity the departure of the Whites from Odessa, *Officers and soldiers pulled out the huge pile of laundry, boots, tents and felt boots from the barns. They linked the stolen goods to huge packs and dragged to the city, decided to desert from the Volunteer army and stay in Odessa.*¹⁰⁰ Chaotic shooting took place in the city at night, and no one dared to go out at dusk, not wanting to risk their lives. *The soldiers looted apartments, robbed clothes, furs and precious things of inhabitants, especially of Jews*. All shops were looted and goods were stolen.¹⁰¹

Residents of the province retained sympathy for the Volunteers longer; maybe they were naturally afraid of armed men. B. A. Shteyfon, going away from Odessa with a detachment of General A. D. Bredov, estimated an attitude of inhabitants of settlements on the way of the Whites rather as a positive: *Pity for a little soldier* which is so characteristic for the villagers, encouraged peasants willingly and heartily give bread, flour, milk. *We did not touch poultry, pigs and all that living creatures which housewives especially jealously guard. Chicken, goose, pig – all of this had to be caught, killed and cooked, but we only had*

⁹⁵ Там же, л. 72.

⁹⁶ Очерки, с. 221.

⁹⁷ КОРСАК, В.: У красных, с. 313.

⁹⁸ Там же, с. 335.

⁹⁹ ШУЛЬГИН, Василий: *Дни. 1920 : Записки*. Москва 1989, с. 300.

¹⁰⁰ КАТАЕВ, В.: *Почти*, с. 74.

¹⁰¹ *Гражданская война*, 2, с. 757.

*enough time for sleep. On the way we ate the artless eatables, which we stocked during the nights. We stocked as best we could and knew how. Regular meals were bread and lard.*¹⁰²

D. F. Pronin noted sympathetic attitude to the soldiers, especially the young: *Softhearted women pours milk, looks at little cadet and begins wailing: Why are you dragging this babe around with you! Don't you have enough of adult men? Here are found the warrior! Stay with us, the kid, we have geese to graze.*¹⁰³

G. Venus wrote heartfelt monologue girl Ksenia, who happened to be in his group that was fleeing away to the South from the approaching Reds. She was able to give a clear description of his position among the opposing forces of civil unrest, as the representative of the previously privileged class. *Some of them are the Reds, but they pass us a party. And they stop only to pull out any of our loved ones. Others are you. But you have thousands, and all you're different [...] Therefore it seems to me: you are going nowhere. You are just marking time.* On the one hand the Reds killed her father, on the other hand – she saw the gallows during the violence of the Whites against the Bolsheviks. *On the road to the Reds is the dead body my father... Between you and me are the gallows... Where to retreat, Lieutenant?*¹⁰⁴

The last military trial for Kiev was a short Polish occupation. Poles approached to Kiev in early May 1920. Observers characterized the departure of the Reds as perfectly calm, not like the *panic flight of the Bolsheviks before the arrival of Denikin's Army, and then the flight of Denikin's before the coming of the Bolsheviks.*¹⁰⁵ When the Poles went to the city, *red-and-white Polish and yellow-and-blue Ukrainian bows appeared on the chests of many Kiev people.*¹⁰⁶ The showy parade of Polish troops arranged on May 4 made a great impression on the townsfolk.¹⁰⁷ *Kiev was unpeeled, unshaven and scruffy for three years, but now it was looking open-mouthed at this strictly drilled purity and elegance of the military.*¹⁰⁸ This parade *suppressed profane completely and irrevocably by unprecedented demonstration of a power. How could the ragged and barefoot Red Army with guns on ropes deal with these indestructible European dandies!*¹⁰⁹

In the meantime, conflicts between Polish soldiers and the public, especially the bazaar merchants began. The Poles' took food and goods, and paid in Polish marks at the City Commandant rates. Traders were yelling and cursing, the soldiers defended their rights. And after a week the public opinion of Kiev bazaars cursed generous *liberators secretly.*¹¹⁰ When the Poles went from Kiev, *people seemed to feel that it is time to send their sympathy to the Bolsheviks.* Author of memoirs expected that *the villagers will shoot in the back of retreating Poles, like of any retreating government regardless of it.*¹¹¹ The explosion

¹⁰² ШТЕЙФОН, Борис: *Бредовский поход*. [Электронный ресурс]. Цит. 20 марта 2012, доступно в http://xx13.ru/belie/bred_pohod.htm.

¹⁰³ ПРОНИН, Дмитрий: *Записки дроздовца-артиллериста*. [Электронный ресурс]. Цит. 21 марта 2012, доступно в <http://www.dk1868.ru/history/PRONIN.htm>.

¹⁰⁴ ВЕНУС, Г.: *Дроздовцы*.

¹⁰⁵ ЗАСЛАВСКИЙ, Дмитрий: *Поляки в Киеве в 1920 году*. Петроград 1922, с. 9.

¹⁰⁶ Там же, с. 15.

¹⁰⁷ Там же, с. 17.

¹⁰⁸ Там же, с. 18.

¹⁰⁹ Там же, с. 19.

¹¹⁰ Там же, с. 22.

¹¹¹ Очерки, с. 225.

of bridges accompanied the retreat of the Poles across the Dnepr. *The authority in Kiev had been changed for twelve times; several times the city was under artillery fire. But none of the army, which passed through Kiev, encroached on the bridges.*¹¹²

This action of occupiers gave rise to the people of Kiev *not only a sense of anger and revenge, but a sense of outraged patriotism.*¹¹³ Townspeople greeted the first Reds with a *restrained friendliness. There was no one in Kiev, who looked at the Red Army, ragged, barefoot and in bark shoes, with their guns on the ropes, and did not recall with irony and gloating those spectacular theatrical parade of the Polish Army.*¹¹⁴

Not everyone met the Red forces friendly.

Here is the point of view of the anti-Soviet circles, *It seems strange and incomprehensible that this ragged bunch of people took the city, with so many healthy and strong men, where everyone was so avidly striving for liberation and doing nothing for that. Authority is organized and order for an order is spilling as from a cornucopia. We are ready to wait and wait indefinitely, until someone set us free, does not care who, just not us.*¹¹⁵

In the autumn of 1920 in the Dnepr swamps A. V Turkul faced with anti-Soviet partisans, another armed force of the Civil War. Their squad arrived in his submission. Prior to that, the guerrillas were *wandering around in the reeds on the left bank of the Dnepr* and engaged only in *playing a blackjack with their greasy cards for a whole day*. Guerrilla chief-tain *hated the Reds fiercely, mercilessly, and all his White partisans were the same. Among them the Ukrainian peasants looted by the Bolsheviks were, artisans, which had sorrow from 'the Comrades', deserted soldiers, a severe outlaws generally.*¹¹⁶

Finally, the evacuation of Vrangl Army from the Crimea caused mixed feelings of the population of southern cities, despite the fact that the witnesses noted the absence of looting. P. S. Bobrovsky recalled: *On the road from Simferopol to Sevastopol I saw not a crowd of refugees, but the Army. This Army was not running, but retreated. According to the conditions of time and the very nature of the War, this retreat was pretty chaotic, but not panic. The discipline was visible. At the stations, the soldiers waited patiently in the lines for water, for bread, for apples, and paid money for everything.*¹¹⁷

V. Obolensky was going away with the Whites and said: *Gloomy crowd was looking on us from the shore. Some envied us, others gloated.* The last sound from the misty native



The entry of the Polish forces in Kiev (1920):

The reaction of Kiev residents was not colored with any negative emotions. Source:

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/>

¹¹² Там же, с. 45.

¹¹³ Там же.

¹¹⁴ Там же, с. 47.

¹¹⁵ Очерки, с. 226.

¹¹⁶ ТУРКУЛ, А.: Дроздовцы.

¹¹⁷ БОБРОВСКИЙ, Петр: Крымская эвакуация [Электронный ресурс]. Цит. 22 марта 2012, доступно в <http://xx13.ru/belie/bobrovsky.htm>.

shore was a distinct *grumbling machine gun*. Local revolutionary committee took power and began to impose order.¹¹⁸

Thus, during 1917–1920 in Ukraine the fighting between the parties of the Civil War took place with different degrees of intensity. Ukrainian cities passed from hand to hand several times, and they found themselves under the authority of one or other armed forces. Each army claimed its right to the Ukraine, and found support among the relevant groups of population. Every army had its enemies. Thus, the Soviets were supported by the workers, and by some petty bourgeoisie, the Whites were supported by medium and large urban bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic was supported by the national intelligentsia, the part of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie, Makhno and other atamans were supported by urban lumpen-proletariat and rural areas. Even the German occupation army as a guarantor of stability found support among urban inhabitants. However, other interveners, such as the French, Greeks and Poles, were not so popular.

Inhabitants supported the Reds hoping for rations and various benefits for Soviet officials. In general, the mood of the population changed with the next arrival of the Bolsheviks. If in 1918, their authority was accompanied by terror and confiscations, which caused most of the logical protests of citizens. In 1920 the population expected the Red Army hoping for the establishment of order, discipline, stability, and was ready for certain restrictions of their rights and freedoms. The White Guards were seen as bearers of the Old Russian traditions, but soon even their most loyal supporters disappointed in the Whites. The reason was the Whites were not engaged in a supply of population, giving it at the mercy of speculators and practiced mass requisition food and other items. The Army of Ukrainian National Republic received constant support from the local people in its areas of long deployment, but it could not claim power at the national level for a number of reasons, which are beyond the scope of the article.

If you try to ignore the social-class principle of supporting in the Civil War, it should be recognized that any change of government did not meet any active resistance, but was taken with the hope and expectation of change for the better. Another thing is that credit of trust is exhausted rapidly sometimes.

In the first period of the Civil War that is from the autumn of 1917 to early 1919, the willingness to adapt to any new government dominated among the majority of the population, as one of the technologies to survive in extreme conditions. It followed either participation in solemn meetings of next liberators or tense expectation of first orders and selecting of behavioral strategies. But in the spring and summer of 1919 the growth of very different moods began. Any armed group felt itself as a source of authority. Intense fighting affected the military relation to civilians; everyone's fatigue from the protracted war sometimes waged unmotivated aggression. Constant external security threat caused the apathy and indifference; desire of order was accumulated because of the endless anarchy. The level of claims to the authorities significantly decreased, the requirement to stabilize the situation was almost the only one. All other needs were derivative. Such state of society prepared a psychological ground for the final victory of the Red Army, as the most massive and disciplined armed force.

¹¹⁸ ОБОЛЕНСКИЙ, Владимир: *Крым при Врангеле : Мемуары белогвардейца*. Москва – Ленинград 1927, с. 86.

Резюме

Человек с ружьем : отношения жителей украинских городов с вооруженными участниками революции и гражданской войны 1917–1920 гг.

Вячеслав Жанович Попов

В статье рассматривается проблема, связанная с историей революции и гражданской войны 1917–1920 гг. в Украине. Здесь пересеклись интересы множества политических сил, представленных в ходе боевых действий различными войсковыми соединениями. Стремительное перемещение огромных масс вооруженных людей, постоянные изменения линий фронтов, отсутствие длительной позиционной борьбы создали ситуацию многократной и порой совершенно неожиданной смены власти в большинстве украинских городов. Особенность гражданской войны заключалась в том, что для какой-либо части населения любая армия была «своей», и в любом случае и «завоеватели», и «завоеванные» говорили на одном языке. Исключение представляет как раз украинская история, поскольку ход событий на территории страны неоднократно осложнялся присутствием интервентов.

В статье анализируется реакция основных социальных слоев городского населения на очередную смену власти, определяется динамика настроений граждан в зависимости от практических действий военной администрации, охарактеризованы способы минимизации отрицательных последствий многолетнего вооруженного конфликта для повседневной жизнедеятельности. Речь идет о способности отдельных граждан, социальных групп и общества в целом к самостоятельной организации в условиях военного положения, а порой и бандитской вседозволенности, анархии и произвола.