Volhynian Legacy

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Forget not the place where your cradle stood, for you will never have another homeland
German proverb

I am the American-born daughter of German refugees who immigrated to the United States as displaced persons in 1951. When I was a child, my parents occasionally referred to *Wolhynien*, pronounced voh-LEE-nyen, where they had been born. If I ask them where it was, they would simply reply, "*Es liegt im Osten*" ("it lies in the east). I did not know if it was a region or a village but vaguely assumed that it was somewhere in East Germany.

During my childhood, I listened as the adults talked about *Wolhynien*. I pictured a flat land with rich moist black soil and vast swamps, deep forests, tiny villages in clearings or along rivers, and wooden houses with thatched roofs and stork nests on the chimneys. But my heart froze when their voices dropped and they recalled die *Hungerjahre*, the famine years, and the terrible moments when the N.K.V.D. came to take someone away. I understood their German word *verschleppt* literally as *dragged away*. Only later did I learn that it meant *deported*, which somehow seemed curiously dispassionate.

One day my parents explained that *Wolhynien* was located in the U.S.S.R. "So we are Russians," I said.

"No," my father replied. "We are Germans, born in *Wolhynien* in Ukraine where there were many Germans as well as Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews."

I tried to integrate this with what I already knew. "But you lived in Germany when you came to America."

"Yes. When the eastern front began to move back, our people left *Wolhynien*. The Allies tried to make us go back and the *Reichsdeutsche* did not want us there, but we stayed."

This conversation marked the beginning of my quest for Volhynia as it existed in the Soviet years when my parents were children, as well as the Tsarist years when my grandparents were born. It also initiated a lifelong quest to understand myself in the context of, as a product of, that history.

The Legacy

"Displaced people create new histories, or revise old ones, to define themselves in alien settings," Alan Weisman writes in ***An Echo in My Blood: The Search for a Family's Hidden Past*** (Harcourt Brace, 1999). "Family secrets can't really be kept -- the facts may dissolve away, but their consequences remain."

May 1945 found the man and woman who became my parents in Niedersachen, over a thousand miles from Volhynia where both had been born. Albert Hein, a signal corps operator, had just spent his twentieth birthday on retreat from Holland with the German army. His unit, mostly Germans from Russia, would soon surrender to the British. Minna Wedmann, age sixteen, had fled west from Poland ahead of the advancing Soviets several months earlier. She was caring for three younger siblings and their mother, who had recently delivered a stillborn child.

They never returned to their native villages. When asked if she wished to see Volhynia again, Minna has replied, "I promised God that if he got me out of there, I would never go back." Over fifty-five years have passed and she has kept her vow, refusing to accompany me to the places where our family story unfolded. She has no family in Volhynia. Her siblings live in the United States and many cousins in Germany, where she says she feels most at home. Albert, however, spoke Volhynia with affection almost every day until his death in 1988. He saw his mother and sister for the last time in 1943, when he entered the German army, and never saw them or any other relatives again. This double tragedy, the loss of family and homeland, haunted his life.

Minna and Albert are among the handful of Volhynian Germans who survived the war and immigrated to the United States as displaced persons. He encouraged my early informal Volhynia studies over twenty-five years ago, in spite of my mother's frequent objection, "*Was nutzt es?*" ("what's the point?"). Initially I sought published German- and English-language sources but in time my attention centered upon the World War II experiences of the Germans in Volhynia, cultural suppression in the German agricultural villages of Soviet Volhynia, and nineteenth-century German immigration from Poland to Volhynia.

My work about central and eastern Europe, including Bukovina as well as Volhynia, has focused upon oral and published history as well as recent developments in the family history field. The fact that I have spoken German and English from birth has facilitated my access to German texts and participation in German conversation. But little of my own family's history has been included in my work. Perhaps this is because my parents, like other Germans displaced from Volhynia, chose to adapt to American life by minimizing ties with the past, a reticence that has transferred to me and contributes to my own sense of cultural and social displacement. Still my story begins with my parents, my primary sources about Volhynia, as I identify filters that have processed, shaped, and colored the perceptions that they have shared with me.

- They experienced Volhynia as Germans, a small minority population living in tiny ethnically-cohesive

farming communities in the Zhitomir *oblast*, or region, in the western Soviet Union.

- They were Lutherans, at least nominally part of the St. Petersburg Synod of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. This church and others were harshly suppressed during the political terror associated with the Great Purge in the 1930s.

- Political terror resulted in a deep fear and hatred of Communism within my parents. The dehumanizing collectivization, the subsequent famine of 1932-1933, harassment, intimidation, and deportation at the hands of local Communist leaders left lasting scars.

- Although the Ukrainians represented a distinct majority in Volhynia, their language and culture have been outlawed at certain points in history and were again suppressed when my parents were children. Russian language and culture had supplanted the majority culture.

- The fifth filter, the 1941 occupation of Volhynia by the Germans, resulted in the wartime displacement of my parents from their homeland. They learned that the *Reichsdeutsche*, the Germans from Germany, regarded them as *Auslandsdeutche*, foreign Germans. Four or more decades in the U.S. are overshadowed by the hammer and the sickle as well as the swastika.

Their stories articulate a unique sense of displacement which is Volhynia's unacknowledged, enduring legacy.

Volhynia: A Synopsis

Historical Overview

Volhynia is one of the oldest Slavic settlement areas in Europe. Its name is derived from a city called Volyn or Velyn, which may have once existed on the Bug River. This forested land of lakes and marshes is located around the headwaters of the Pripyat and the western branch of the Bug. Its spellings in various languages and in different times include (but are not limited to) Volenskii, Volin, Volinskaya, Volinski, Volyn, Volynia, Wohlynien, Wolenski, Wolenskj, Wolenskja, Wolin, Wolina, Wolinsk, and Wolyn

The region belonged to the Lithuanian Commonwealth for centuries and passed to Poland with a royal marriage. It became a Russian *gubernia* or province following the first partition of Poland in 1772 and for almost 150 years was part of the Tsarist empire. The region was wracked by conflict throughout the twentieth century. The front lines during World War I shifted back and forth across it, and civil war followed. In November 1920, Poland claimed western Volhynia. Two years later, eastern Volhynia with Ukraine became part of the U.S.S.R. and in the next two decades, experienced unrest, famine, and violence. When the Hitler-Stalin Pact broke down in September 1939 and Hitler stormed Poland, the Soviets moved into western Volhynia. German forces pushed east in June 1941 and occupied Ukraine until November 1943. The post-war Volyn *oblast* in the western part of the former *gubernia* was only a small part of historic Volhynia.

Today Volhynia is located in the northwestern corner of the an independent Ukraine which has two distinct identities.

The Volhynian province of Imperial Russia

In the west, the population consists of a Ukrainian majority and Russian and Polish minorities. Most people speak Ukrainian, follow Ukrainian customs and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, also called the Uniate or the Greek Catholic Church, and have a western European outlook. In the east, Russian is the only language spoken and no distinction is made between Ukrainian and Russian ethnic identities, reflecting decades of Russianization. People in central and eastern Ukraine are Orthodox or claim no church affiliation.

On 1 December 1991, ninety per cent of Ukraine's voters cast their ballots for independence. A week later, the U.S.S.R. was formally abolished and the Commonwealth of Independent States established in its place. The independent Ukraine faced a number of political, economic, and social challenges. For example, the World Bank estimated that in 1992, Ukraine's economy contracted by 20% while inflation jumped by 2500% per cent.[2]

> ... [The themes of] statelessness and foreign control of the socioeconomic modernization in Ukraine ... elucidate why such a potentially rich land remained poor and oppressed, why Ukrainians, despite their long and colorful history, had a weak sense of national identity, and why they were virtually invisible in the world community. Today Ukraine has corrected one of the two great anomalies of its history: it has attained independence and been recognized as a full-fledged member of the community of nations. But the problem of modernization, of improving living standards, remains unresolved ... But unlike in the past, a new and heartening condition exists today: for the first time in centuries, the fate of Ukraine's people rests in their own hands.[3]

Social and Religious Diversity

Ukrainians

Volhynia is one of the four provinces traditionally included in the Right Bank, the part of Ukraine located west of the Dnjestr River. The majority of the region's population is Ukrainian. Although only the Russians occupy a greater land area in the world, the Ukrainians have not been a sovereign people for most of their history. Their language was a spoken one until the first grammar book and dictionary were published in 1818 and 1823. However, Tsar Alexander II outlawed the Ukrainian language and all cultural expression of it in 1876. Even their name is a fairly recent historical innovation. The term Ukraine, which means "borderlands," first appeared in the year 1187 in the Kievan Rus chronicles and referred to lands around Kiev.[4] The people of Ukraine called themselves *Rusyny* at the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In eighteenth and nineteenth century, Russians referred to them as the *Malorosy*, or Little Russian, and Austrians identified them as Ruthenians, *Rusyny*.

The people of Rus, as Ukraine was called, have been Byzantine Christians since the year 988. In the 1596 Union of Brest, the bishops of the Kievan church recognized the primacy of the pope and entered into formal communion with the Roman Catholic Church and in exchange, were permitted to maintain their Byzantine rites. A split emerged between those who followed the bishops (Greek Catholics) and those who did not (Orthodox). The conflict between the two entities continued until 1632, when the Polish government imposed a compromise. By 1786, when church lands were secularized and the church made dependent upon the government for financial support, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was dominated by Russians or Russified Ukrainians. The Greek Catholics, numbering over two million, were repressed beginning in the 1830s until the church was virtually eliminated in Russian Ukraine. It continued to thrive, however, in western Ukraine under Austrian administration until 1918, and has reappeared in the wake of *perestroika*. In 1990, the Russian Orthodox church in Ukraine changed its name to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to counter the growing influence of Greek Catholicism. In turn, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church, banned since the 1930s, re-emerged in the new Ukraine.

Although Ukraine was briefly independent following World War I, civil war raged. Bolshevik economic policies resulted in the famine of 1921-1922 and causing the deaths of hundreds of thousands. Ukraine became part of the U.S.S.R. in December 1922. Soon collectivization and expropriation led to another famine so that between three and six million people in the Ukraine alone between 1927 and 1938. The Great Terror with its arrests, purges, deportations, and killings raised the death toll as it attempted to eradicate every last trace of the Ukrainian culture.

Russians

Although Russians were frequently seen in Ukraine, they only began to arrive in greater numbers in Ukraine's industrial, commercial, and military centers in the late nineteenth centuries. They tended to settle in cities and towns, thereby limiting their contact with the indigenous, primarily rural, population. By 1897, they formed about 12% of Ukraine's population. A Russianizing trend at that time, and the Russian emphasis in the Soviet years, resulted in a significant voluntary, self-identified Russianization on the part of Ukrainians, in part facilitated by linguistic similarities and Orthodoxy.[5] About 20% of the population now identifies itself as Russian.[6]

Poles

Poles were active in the colonization of Ukraine and have dominated the history of the Right Bank, which they regard as part of Poland. In the early eighteenth century, the Polish nobility sold or distributed vast stretches of land in Volhynia and three other provinces to the Lubomirski, Potocki, Czartoryski, Branicki, Sanguszko, Rzewuski and other powerful families. By mid-century, about forty Polish noble families owned 80% of the Right Bank land. They offered long-term obligation-free leases to peasants who gradually became enserfed after the leases expired. At the

same time, most schools were controlled by the Jesuits and primary education was virtually all in Polish hands even though they constituted only 10% of the Right Bank population in 1795.[7]

In the mid-nineteenth century, Roman Catholic Poles constituted about 15% of Volhynia's population but the Polish nobility remained disproportionally instrumental. Five thousand Polish landowners held 90% of Volhynia's land which was tilled by an almost totally Ukrainian labor force.[8] With the 1861 abolition of serfdom, the Polish landowners lost their cheap labor force and sent agents to recruit farmers in central Poland, then part of the Russian empire. Overpopulation, land shortages, and a failed rebellion in 1863-1864 convinced many Polish and German families to move to Volhynia, where land prices were a third of those in Poland.[9]

The flood of new arrivals alarmed Russians and precipitated anti-foreigner legislation. By 1865, for example, Catholics were prohibited by law from owning land in Volhynia and in 1881, additional legislation was enacted to bar them from leasing land.[10] But at the beginning of the twentieth century, 46% of private landholdings and 54% of the industrial output on the Right Bank were in Polish hands.[11] This illustrates the conflict of interests between Polish land and business owners on one hand, and Ukrainian peasants and workers on the other.

By terms of the 1921 Treaty of Riga, western Volhynia became Wo y , a Polish *województwo* with eleven counties. It passed back to the U.S.S.R. in 1939 and by the time that the Germans occupied it in June 1941, over 150,000 people including Poles, Ukrainians and others, had been deported from Wo y . Before the Soviets withdrew, however, they massacred thousands in Galicia and Volhynia. Furthermore, conflict between Ukrainian and Polish nationalists resulted in the deaths of between 60,000 and 80,000 Poles in the years between 1939 and 1944.[12] Some Polish authors and even Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk set the number of Polish deaths at a half million.[13]

The Jews

Jews have lived in Ukraine longer than any other large minority group in the region. After the Partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century, Russia's Catherine the Great established the Pale of Settlement in the newly acquired borderlands of Lithuania, Belorussia, and a large part of Ukraine's Right Bank. Jews were prohibited from living elsewhere in Russia and were also prohibited from moving into the countryside. Although they were not by any means wealthy, their status as free shopkeepers, business persons, peddlers, and artisans challenged the established feudal order in Russian villages where the land and the people belonged to the nobility. Beginning in the early 1800s, Jews were expelled from the villages and then lived in cities or more typically in a *shtetl*, a community with several thousand inhabitants, a synagogue, and a marketplace.

Their population skyrocketed in the nineteenth century, when they formed the third-largest segment of the Volhynian population. Between 1884 and 1913, the Right Bank population rose by 265% while the Jewish population increased by 844%.[14] Most Ukrainian Jews still belonged to a middle class of traders, artisans, merchants, and moneylenders. About one-fifth were unskilled laborers and at the other end of the spectrum was an elite of influential rabbis and wealthy business persons that owned 90% of Ukraine's distilleries, 56% of the saw mills, 48% of the tobacco production, and 33% of the sugar refineries in 1872.[15]

Berdichev, once known as "the Jerusalem of Volhynia," was the second-largest Jewish community in nineteenth-century Russia. Although numbers later declined, 80% of the city's 41,617 residents were Jewish in 1897. Another Jewish community, Lutsk, is one of the oldest in the region and was a center for rabbinic studies. It was an important center for Jewish domestic agricultural and timber trade, factory operation, and artisanry. By 1848, half the population was Jewish in 1848 and this grew to 60% by 1897.[16]

Until World War II, the Volhynian Jewish community was one of the largest in Europe and centrally located in the former Pale. Then the Germans attacked the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941. Of the more than four million Jews who lived in Soviet territory after September 1939, about 1.5 million escaped before the German occupation. More than 2.5 million remained and of these, ninety percent lived in about fifty towns. They were targeted by mobile killing units called the *Einsatzgruppen* who advanced with the army and taking the Jewish population by surprise, escorted them from town, shot them and buried them in mass graves. A half million Jews were murdered in five months, by November 1941. Next Jews were forced into ghettos where they were designated for immediate death, deportation or forced labor. By the end of 1943, another 900,000 Jews had been killed and the remaining Jewish population deported to death camps.[17] Eduard Dolinsky of the Volyn Jewish Community wrote that the Nazis killed more than 250,000 Jewish people there, adding, "A month does not pass that we do not find out about new mass graves of tens, hundreds, and even thousands of Jews. For us this is a huge problem. To put the mass graves in order is our holy duty, but there are no finances to put up a monument or just a simple memorial sign."[18] Other reports from the Volyn *oblast* state that five percent of Volhynia's 100,000 Jews survived and that only 150 of the Lutzk Jews were alive in 1945.[19]

Czechs[20]

Czech immigration to Volhynia may be principally attributed to economic distress and land shortages in Bohemia. Another factor was the 1861 abolition of serfdom in Russia, which resulted in the loss of a cheap labor force for the predominately Polish nobility in Volhynia. The Russian government invited Czech farmers to immigrate but refused to allow Catholics to purchase land. This was discussed at the 1867 Slavic Congress in Moscow at the end of the Austrian-Prussian War. The Czech delegation, led by the nationalists Palacky and Rieger, informed the Russians that

Czechs only identified themselves as Catholics because they were not allowed to practice their own Hussite faith in Bohemia. A Russian commissioner was dispatched to investigate and reported that very few Czechs were prepared to convert to Orthodoxy. A new Czech church, called "The Hussite Unity" or "The Czech Hussite Church," was proposed as a bridge to Orthodoxy and an obstruction to Catholicism. Three Catholic priests brought from Bohemia were to be allowed to marry and to serve the Eucharist in both elements following the Hus reforms.

Fifteen thousand Czechs immigrated to Volhynia between1868 and 1874 and according to government statistical reports, had purchased 17,500 hectares of land in twenty localities by 1872. Even before this data was released, a German-language report issued in Dubno commented that "... the Czechs intend to buy the city of Dubno." Within a few years, more problems had surfaced. Each of the clergymen had gone his own way: one had joined an old-rite Catholic church, the second had aligned with the nationalistic Bohemian Brethren, and the third had ended up in the Evangelical (Lutheran) Church. Many immigrants turned to the Catholic Church in spite of the prohibition, promptinged two lengthy investigations in 1880 and 1881. The Polish reporter Chichonka noted that although the Czechs were supposed to have had an independent church for sixteen years, they had not built a single church structure in all that time. Glinsk, the wealthiest village, had erected a club house and a theater, she added. Czech hop gardens flourished, and practically all the breweries were operated by Czechs. Reports indicate that the Jews resented Czech taverns, which served beer and food in addition to schnapps and therefore were favorably regarded than the Jewish ones. In 1889, in the midst of growing anti-foreigner sentiments, Tsar Alexander III ordered that the Czech parishes, schools, and autonomous village administrations be closed.

The Czechs were sympathetic to the Russian cause during World War I and supported Ukrainian independence in 1920. A year later, a Polish census listed about 26,500 Czechs in *Woiwodshaft Wolyn*, the part of westernVolhynia which they had annexed.

During World War II, the Czech village Malin was leveled by the Germans, who claimed that residents had collaborated with partisans. This event, reported abroad as the "Volhynian Lidice," may have prompted twelve thousand Volhynian Czechs to join the Red Army in 1943-1944. Many of them entered Czechoslovakia at the end of the war and remained there. A year later, they brought thirty-five thousand Volhynian Czechs to villages in Moravia and western Bohemia.

In 1996, 240 Volhynian Czechs, 164 Russians and 150 Ukrainians living near of the Chernobyl nuclear plant were permitted to immigrate to the Czech Republic and granted citizenship, according to an April 1997 report.[21]

Germans

An early German colony in Volhynia was located at Koretz, where a porcelain factory had been established by the Czartoryski family in 1783. At about the same time, a few farming villages were formed by Mennonites but most people soon moved to the south of Russia into the Black Sea region.

The first permanent settlement was established in 1816 but significant migration into Volhynia only began after the first Polish rebellion in the 1830s. Within the next thirty years, about 5,0000 Germans settled in thirty-five Volhynian villages. The abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861 and the failed Polish Insurrection of 1863 contributed to a second wave of German immigration when Volhynia's predominately Polish landowners sent agents into central Poland to recruit peasants to till their lands. Germans from Silesia, East Prussia, and neighboring Galicia also arrived so that by 1871, the German population had grown to over 28,000. Their numbers exceeded 200,000 by the turn of the century.[22]

The Germans in Volhynia received no incentives from the Russian government, as did the Germans who had previously settled in the Volga and in South Russia. Some bought land from the Poles, others farmed on long-term leases. As their ancestors had drained the wet lands of central Poland and made them productive, so they drained and cultivated the Volhynian marshes, thereby contributing to the region's economic stability.[23]

They were almost entirely Protestant. The majority were Evangelical [Lutheran] and were eventually served by ten parishes, which was not adequate by any means. Baptists were among the Germans who came to Volhynia in the 1860s and in the absence of a strong organized Lutheran presence, expanded until they constituted about one-fifth of the German population.[24]

Because they lived in a western border area, they were the first to be impacted by the anti-German policies of Tsar Alexander III. Many immigrated to the Baltic states or to the western hemisphere between 1890 and 1914. Those who remained in Russia suffered through the war as well as expropriation and deportation in July 1915. Statistics indicate that between 25-33% of the Volhynian German population died within the next few years. Of the surviving 100,000, the half living in the western region passed to Polish administration following the Treaty of Riga. The rest became Soviet citizens with the formation of the U.S.S.R. in 1922.[25]

Both groups lived on the World War II front lines. Those in the former western region were resettled in the Reich by terms of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939. Those in the eastern Volhynia remained until late October 1943, when they fled west ahead of the advancing Soviet forces. At the end of the war, this second group thought they would be safe parts of Germany occupied by the British, American, or French. The Allies, however, regarded them as Soviet citizens and attempted to forcibly repatriate them although many had become naturalized German citizens. Some Volhynian Germans managed to hide their identities but many others were shipped to the U.S.S.R. They were sent to forced labor camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan under a

blanket condemnation that they were traitors who had collaborated with the Germans during the war. For the next twelve years, they were deprived of their civil rights and freedom of movement. The Supreme Soviet then issued an amnesty which did not acquit the Germans of these charges, but allowed them to leave the camps and establish communication with family and friends abroad.[26]

Four Tools

Traditional family history research techniques are not useful in the Volhynia where my parents and grandparents were born. Church and/or civil records with their births, which took place between 1893 and 1929, have either been destroyed or have not been found. The Family History Library microfilm collection, extensive though it may be, is not the venue for my research. The communities in which my parents and grandparents once lived have been shattered and rebuilt by strangers. The churches were destroyed when my parents were children in the 1930s. The people who shared their lives, their family and friends, have scattered around the world.

The following account relates four particular tools which have been extremely useful in my research. I will attempt to present them in a chronologically to reflect eastern European political developments which proved beneficial and in the process, will identify unique potentials and problems of family history research in Volhynia. The reader is asked to tolerate inconsistencies in spellings as a part of a multi-ethnic heritage and to accept partial identification of some persons as an attempt to honor their privacy and confidence. This journey leads into my family's past, into my heritage, in a land that we experienced as the playground of Satan.[27]

Letters and Oral Histories

Although the amnesty had been declared in 1957, the Cold War impeded the exchange of family letters with relatives in the U.S.S.R. for several decades. My father Albert had left home in Volhynia in 1943 and had never seen his family again. He lived in West Germany until December 1951, when he, my mother, and brother immigrated to the U.S. The 1957 amnesty made it possible for him to locate his sister Irma in Tomsk, Siberia. Irma was five years older than him, had lived with their mother Rossalie Scheming Hein until her death in 1952, and still lived near *Tante* Alwine, Rossalie's youngest and only surviving sibling. In her letters, she mentioned relatives in Siberia and Kazachstan as well as in Poland, East Germany, and West Germany but often he had to ask for clarification since he was either unacquainted with the people or uncertain about the relationship.

Several things were clear. The first was that their mother was the focal point. The Schemings had apparently settled in Uljanowka near Baranowka but later Rossalie's father Adam moved to neighboring Glückstal where he lived with his wife Mathilde Hösse/Heise and twelve children. Irma and *Tante* Alwine could identify Adam's and Mathilde's siblings but not all their children or their parents. They thought that Adam's father was named Christov and that Mathilde was a Swabian German from Galicia or Transylvania.

Albert scoured telephone books looking for Scheming listings wherever he went. In a 1975 trip to Canada, he found a listing for a man named Scheming and upon contacting him, was delighted to learn that he was also from Volhynia, but from another village located north of Novograd Volynsk. The man sent him copies of various family documents as well as the address of his elderly uncle August Scheming in East Germany. This August said that he remembered visiting Albert's grandfather Adam, adding that his father Christian and Adam's father were brothers. Parts of August's account fit into the story but others did not, puzzling Albert as well as his sister and aunt.

Little was said about Rossalie's husband Christian Hein, father of Irma and Albert. In 1915, he had been deported from "Dobrawola bei Warschawa" to Saratov on the Volga with his parents, Ferdinand and Susane, and his sisters Wande, Tinne, and Tahle. He had married Rossalie and after the war returned to Glückstal with her and Alwine. But he missed his family. According to Irma and Alwine, he went to Zhitomir to get a passport so that he could visit his family who had returned to Poland. He never returned and a few months later, Albert was born.

These stories highlight some fundamental problems in my Volhynian research. Similar issues confront others whose parents or grandparents lived in Volhynia in the first half of the twentieth century. For us, memories were all too often the only sources of information and these were at best fragmentary and inconclusive.

During a 1994 trip to Europe, I arranged to meet two Schemming relatives, brothers born in Uljanowka, Volhynia, but permanently separated at the end of World War II. Fryderyk Schemming had traveled from Katowice, Poland, to visit his daughter in Stuttgart when we met. Reinhold Schemming and his son Petr traveled sixteen hours by bus from Most in the Czech Republic to Munich, where they met me a week later. The two men, both retired coal miners, had not seen one another in almost fifty years even though Most is not all that far from Katowice. To my dismay, however, neither had ever heard of my father or his family. They were surprised to hear that Dad's childhood friend Hubert had been well-acquainted with their older siblings and that he had served as a pall-bearer at their mother's funeral in 1943 but they did not remember him either.

Having spent some time attempting to trace Christian Hein's family in *Dobrawola bei Warschawa*, I decided to go to Poland to follow up on some leads while abroad in the summer of 1995. Before I left, however, I phoned a woman who had been my father's classmate in the early 1930s. I had been corresponding with her for a few years and hoped that her mother, who had died a year or so earlier at about ninety years of age, had spoken about the my family to her daughter. Perhaps some clue for my search would emerge. But her behavior puzzled me. She changed the subject

whenever I mentioned Christian Hein and when I persisted, obviously attempted to end the phone call.

That night I called my mother, explained the trip that I proposed to make, and described my conversation with the woman. Mom hesitated, then said that there was no need for me to go to Poland. Before their marriage, my father had told her that he believed he was illegitimate, the son of a man named Adolf Stürzbecher who had lived in the village. I could not recall that Dad had ever mentioned him but the name seemed familiar. Eventually I found it in the corner of a 1930s-era Glückstal map that had been drawn for me by his friend Hubert, who happened to be the uncle of the woman in Canada. Adolf had lived next door to Rossalie Hein. When I later spoke with Hubert in Germany, he said that Adolf was a "fanatic" Communist, a party activist especially interested in the political thought of Ernst Thälmann, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany. He thought that Adolf traveled to Hamburg to attend the 1923 German Communist Party Congress and afterwards may have attended the Fifth World Congress in Moscow in the summer of 1924. About five years later, Adolf had organized Glückstal's collectivization. Hubert and his niece both described Adolf as a hard drinker and a "big talker" who spent a lot of time in the village *Gasthaus*, or tavern. He liked to"drink someone under the table," then would climb on the table to dance. *"Ein Frauenkönig war er*" ("A ladies man, that's what he was"), Hubert said.

Hubert thought that Adolf died during the Soviet purges but his niece disagreed. She said that her aunt, who was related to Adolf's wife, had told her that Adolf had gone to Germany during the war, then had taken his youngest son and returned to the U.S.S.R. after the war ended. When Germans in Russia and Kazakhstan began to arrive in Germany in the early 1990s, their numbers included another relative who wrote,. "Imagine, I was standing in line at the Alma Ata airport, getting ready to leave, and I saw Adolf Stürzbecher walk by. I know it was him. I would have known him anywhere"

Was it him? Could it have been? He would have been over ninety years of ago so it seems unlikely. The report remains unsubstantiated but tantalizing. Also unresolved is the question of whether or not he is my grandfather.

Volhynian Expropriations List

Various primary source record collections became available following the breakup of the U.S.S.R. and the establishment of an independent Ukraine. One such source was the "1915 Volhynia Expropriations List" published in the *Volhynian Gubernia News*, No. 56 (Zhitomir: 2 June 1916). It identified 7526 families who were stripped of their properties in 407 Volhynian towns and then"relocated," i.e. deported to the Russian interior. Their property was then advertised and sold at auction.

No Scheming listings appeared for Bubno, which was the Ukrainian name for Glückstal, the village where my father had been born. I was initially disappointed and but then was excited by two Stürzbecher entries:

#1608Gottlieb (Ivan) StürzbecherBubno by Baranowka
#1615 Amelia (August) Stürzbecher Bubno by Baranowka

"Bubno" is the Ukrainian name for Glückstal, the village in which my father was born. Gottlieb's entry indicates that his father's name was Ivan, or Johann in German. The feminine listing for Amelia indicates that her father's name was August.

I asked Volhynian researcher Ewald Wuschke, then publisher of the *Wandering Volhynians* quarterly, to see if the Evangelical Church records for the Roshischtsche (Rozyszcze) parish included the Stürzbecher name. He sent this marriage record:

31 October 1865
Johann Friedrich Stürzbecher, born 1837 in Brenkenhofswalde to Gottlieb and Ernestine Stürzbecher, was married to Susanne Sachert, born 1848 in Kleszczyn, Poland, to Friedrich Sachert and his wife Caroline.

Absorbed with my father's village and story, I almost forgot to review the expropriations list entries for Maximowka, the village where my mother had been born. The Novograd-Volynsk *Uezd* listings included her grandfathers as well as an uncle in Maximovka:

#281 Michael Javorski
#315 August Wedmann, son of Julius Wedmann
#316 Julius Wedmann, son of Kristofor Wedmann

Finding the name of my great-grandfather Julius's father was a significant step. Furthermore, my mother remembered August, her father's oldest brother, quite well since their families had been close in Volhynia, during the war, and even after my parents immigrated to the U.S.

The Zhitomir *Uezd* listings included two brothers of her paternal grandmother Luise Renn/Rentz Wedmann who lived in Rogovka. Although my mother had never seen either man, she had met Friedrich's daughter in the process of immigrating to the U.S. in 1951 and our families have remained in contact throughout the years.
#944 Friedrich Rentz, son of Ludwig Rentz
#954 Gustav Rentz, son of Ludwig Rentz

St. Petersburg Records

At about this time, I read that the bishop's office record books of the St. Petersburg Lutheran Consistory for the years 1836 to 1885 had been found in Russian archives. The contents had copied from original parish records by local clergy and forwarded to the bishop. This was an important step for Volhynian researchers since the original books have never been located. The Family History Library filmed these records and a team of volunteers began to extract Volhynian entries and post them on the *ODESSA...A German-Russian Genealogical Library* web site at <http://pixel.cs.vt.edu/library/st.pete/volhynia>. Because I lived some distance from a Family History Center and had little available time to make trips to read and study the Russian

language films, I waited for the translated extractions to be posted. None of my family names appeared in Volhynia until the 1860s and even then, only a few. I noted, for example, the marriage record of Johann Friedrich Stürzbecher and his wife Susanne Sachert as cited above and the 1867 birth of their daughter Auguste Emilie in the Roshischtsche (Rozyszcze) parish. When the 1870s extractions were posted, I found the births of several more children including August, born 24 August 1869 in Alexandrow in the Roshischtsche parish. I was also delighted to find my mother's Wedmann and Renn/Renz ancestors and their relatives. The key to identifying these people was found in the EWZ files.

EWZ

In 1995, the Captured German War Documents in National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, were declassified and microfilmed under a contract with the United States government. They include the Berlin Document Center records, more precisely termed the *Einwandererzentralle Anträge* (Immigration Center Applications). The EWZ files contain over 400,000 applications for naturalized German citizenship made by ethnic Germans between 1939-1945. A file typically includes a *Personalblatt* (personal and family history), an *Einbürgerungsantrag* (naturalization application), an *Abschrift der Einbürgerungsurkunde* (naturalization certificate), a *Hitlerjugend* certificate if a young person became a member, a form listing property left in the USSR or other nation and a *Volkstumsausweis Certificat* (ethnicity certificate) with name, birth date/place, residence in Russia, and stamp with date issued.

Since a research trip to College Park was not feasible for me and I did not have convenient access to a microfilm reader, I retained the services of professional researcher Rita Simmersbach Scheirer. First I asked her to locate files for my mother's parents Friedrich and Herta (nee Jaworske) Wedmann, and for her maternal grandfather Michael Jaworske. They had been left Volhynia in late1943 and a year later, after staying in various refugee camps, were settled near Schieratz (Sieradz), Poland. My mother had said that they were *eingebürgert*, or made naturalized German citizens, while they lived there.

When Rita's package arrived, I studied the files for hours and shared them with my mother, who was so amazed to see that such things existed that she could not assimilate the contents. My grandfather's file noted that his father Julius, son of Christoph and Helene Wedmann, had died in Orenburg in 1917 and his mother Luise, daughter of Ludwig and Maria Renn, in Kazachstan in 1938. My grandmother's file stated that her father Michael was the son of Ferdinand Jaworske and his wife Anna Nidrau, and that her mother Ottilie, born in 1885 to Ferdinand Kühn and his wife nee Wotzke, had died in 1907. To my surprise, Rita had also found the *Personalblatt* for Auguste Wedmann, my grandfather's sister, who was born in 1895 in Maximowka, married in 1917 in Orenburg to Wilhelm Hein from Karolinow near Zhitomir, and had lived for over twenty years in Friedensburg, *Rayon* Bolschoj-Tokmak in Saporoshje. My mother had never met her but had heard that she had reached Germany with her children only to be deported later by the Soviets.

I returned to the St. Petersburg records to see if this information could be corroborated in any way. I found the 1872 baptism of Emilie Wedmann, daughter of Christoph Wedmann and his wife Eleanore Schmidt, in the Heimtal parish. On January 20, 1880, two weddings took place in the Heimtal parish: Julius Wedmann married Luise Roenn, and Gustav Roenn married Justine Wedmann.

The file for my great-grandfather Michael Jaworske fascinated me. My mother had described him as a tall, thin, dark-haired, quietly devout man. If anyone remarked that his name was Polish, she would reply, "He was German. He spoke perfect German." A wave of emotion swept over me when I saw his picture for the first time. His hair, coloring, and facial structure had been repeated in my mother. Even more fascinating was his *Lebenslauf*, or autobiography, apparently dictated to someone unfamiliar with the names and places cited:

LEBENSLAUF

EWZ #1 046 179 Sichelfeld, 1 January 1945

I, Michel Jeworske, was born 29 October 1875 [note: other documents give his birth date as 19 September 1875] in Warschu [Warsaw?], *Kreis* Gostingen, Poland. My father Ferdinand Jeworske was born in 1845 in Warschu, *Kreis* Gostingen, Poland and died 19 October 1910 in Magsamofka [Maximowka], *Kreis* Zwiahel [Novograd Volynsk]. My mother Anna Jeworske nee Nidrau was born in 1851 in Warschu, *Kreis* Gostingen, and died in 1910 in Magsamofka, *Kreis* Zwiahel. I have four siblings:

1. Friedrich Jeworske, born 1877 in Warschu, *Kreis* Gostingen, married but wife's name unknown, presently residing in Germany.
2. Ferdinand Jeworske, born 1879 in Warschu, *Kreis* Gostingen, died in the 1904 war [reportedly while serving in the Russian navy in the war with Japan].
3. Wilhelmine Jeworske, born 1881 in Warschu, *Kreis* Gostingen, married August Brandt, and they were deported [in the 1930s].
4. Polina [Paulina] Jeworske, born 1882 in Warschu, *Kreis* Gostingen, married August Barts, and they were deported [in the 1930s].

My parents, siblings, and I lived in Warschu, *Kreis* Gostingen, until 1882 when we moved to Niedbeijowka [Nedbajewka], Wohlingen [Volhynia]. I lived with my parents until I was fifteen, when I went to learn the shoe maker's trade, and studied that until I was twenty-one. Then I entered the [Russian] army and was in the cavalry until I was twenty-six [note: in Brozlawek, according to another document]. Then I returned home.

On 10 July 1902, I married Otilge Kin [Emma Otilie Kühn], born 1885. She died 27 August 1912. We had two children:

1. Lidja, born 15 January 1904 in Magsamofka, married Eduard Riske, deported in 1934.
2. Herta, born 20 January 1906 in Magsamofka, *Kreis* Zwiahel, married to Friedrich Wedmann. They live in Cigele [Cigielnia], *Kreis* Schiratz [Sieradz, Poland].

My children and I worked on our farm until 1915, when the Russian government deported us to Omsk. After the war, in 1921, we returned home. On 8 July 1921, I married Hulda Hein from Aleksandrofka [Alexandrowka], born 4 April 1898 in Sokolow, *Kreis* Zwiahel. Our children:

3. Landolf, born 10 July 1922 in Magsamofka, died 25 July 1922 in Magsamofka.
4. Artur, born 29 September 1923 in Magsimofka, died 13 October 1923 in Magsamofka.
5. Melita, born 27 October 1924 in Magsimofka, married to Johann Jung, lives in Denbitz in *Kreis* Wielun.
6. Meta, born 11 December 1926 in Magsimofka, lives in Kahlenhof, *Kreis* Gostingen.
7. Edith, born 1 January 1929 in Magsimofka, lives in Sichelfeld, *Kreis* Lentschütz.
8. Ella, born 5 April 1931 in Magsimofka, lives in Sichelfeld, *Kreis* Lentschütz.
9. Helmut, born 6 December 1936 in Magsimofka, lives in Sichelfeld, *Kreis* Lentschütz.

We lived in Magsimofka until 1934, when everyone was forced to enter the collective farm. Then we worked on the collective farm until war broke out in 1941. Then we worked on our own land. In June 1943, we were resettled to the village Tschowka [Tschyschowka], *Kreis* Zwiahel, because of danger from the partisans. The [German] retreat began on 14 November 1943 and from then until 7 April 1944, we were traveling and staying in refugee camps. On 7 April 1944 we were assigned settlement in the village Sichelfeld in *Kreis* Lentschütz. [signed] Michel Jeworske

The end of his story was already known to me through family letters. The advancing Soviet forces captured him and his family. He was sent to a forced labor camp at Iwanow, supposedly near Moscow, where he worked at digging a canal until his death in January 1947. His wife and young children were sent to forced labor in the Saratov area but the older children were in different locations.

Michael's reference to his first wife Otilie prompted me to check the St. Petersburg records. He had said that she was born in 1885, the last year covered by the records. My grandmother had always referred to her mother as Emma Otilie, not simply Otilie. The following listing appears to encompass oral history as well as EWZ records:

Kuehn, Emma - born 18 April 1885 to Edwin Kuehn and his wife Justine Wotzke in Neu-Maximowka, Film/Item 1897692/1, Page 690, R. Nr. 1198.

My mother was more interested to learn that the Barts and Brandt families, whom she had known, were her relatives, and resolve a lifelong mystery about the identities of Landolf and Artur.

Excited by the kind of information that these files had contained, I decided to ask Rita to locate my father's EWZ documents as well as those of his mother, sister, and aunt Alwine. in German-occupied Ukrainie. He had left Glückstal in 1943 when inducted in the *Gendarmie*, the constabulary in German-occupied Ukraine. Later he was sent to Scheveningen near The Hague for training at *Polizeiwaffenschule III*, a military police training school. Later he transferred to the *Nachrichten*, or signal corps. He often said that he had enjoyed his work with Morse code as well as with electrical or telephone wiring, skills that he used frequently on our family farm. He had mentioned only two other places, Amersfoort and Arnhem, in regard to his military service.

He said that he served under Captain Gerdes in General Blaskowitz's army. The captain had called the troops, mostly young Germans from Russia, together before the surrender and ordered them to place their identity and military papers in a pile, which he then burned so that the men would not be repatriated to the U.S.S.R., their place of birth, when the war ended. Under Soviet law, the young men would be viewed as traitors, imprisoned, sent to forced labor camps, or shot. Dad said that after that, he had obtained new papers stating that he had been born in Posen, in what had become part of Poland.

The story about the burned papers had intrigued me for years. In 1995, when I first heard about his biological father, I learned that German army records were accessible to a veteran's next-of-kin. I contacted the Federal Records Office - Military Archives in Freiburg, then the Federal Records Central Office and Personal Archives in Aachen. "We have no records for Albert Hein, born 29 April 1925," they replied. I wrote to the *Wehrmacht* Information Office for War Losses and POWs in Berlin, and received the same response.. Thinking that perhaps his military records had remained in Holland, I contacted the *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie*, the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, but again was told that no records for him existed.

Hubert, my father's childhood friend, tried to help but he had only briefly served with Dad in the *Gendarmie* in Ukraine. Richard, also a German from Volhynia and a relative by marriage, had only met Dad in a British POW camp at the end of the war. The one man who had served with Dad in Ukraine and Holland was a man named Adolf Bauf, but he and his widow were both dead and I have been unable to locate their only child, a daughter. Other than those three men, I could not find veterans who knew him. Nor had I seen letters from any German war buddies in the years that I had carried mail from our rural delivery box to our house. My mother and I searched family papers and found one two-page document in regard to his military service. This was his *Entlassungsschein*, or Certificate of Discharge, signed and

sealed on 6 August 1945 by a British officer, Capt. S. J. C. Colmer, R.A.

Rita's search produced EWZ files for my father's mother, sister, aunt and uncle, and Schemming and Beschinske/Bitschinki cousins, but only this English-language form for him:

EWZ NAT FILE
Name: HEIN
First name: ALBERT
Date of birth: 29.4.1925
Place of birth:
Head of Family: H., Rosalie
Date of birth: 21.3.93
Country: USSR
13.6.67

The following information was reported on Rossalie's *Personalblatt* on 25 August 1944.

Sohn Albert Hein, geb. am 29.4.1925, bei der deutschen Polizei, Anschrift:
Unt. W. Hein, Labert Pol. Waffenschule, Nachrichtenkomp. Den-Haag / Holland

This notes that he is her son, born 29 April 1925, was serving in the German police at the address given for the signal corps company at the *Polizei-Waffenschule* in The Hague. Also, Rosalie had reported that she had married Christian Hein in 1917, which agreed with what her sister Alwine had written to my father. She gave the place of their marriage as Kardopolsk but Dr. Igor Pleve has informed me that records there were destroyed during World War II. I have not been able to obtain any verification of the marriage, or of Christian Hein and his family.

The files for the Scheming/Schemming, Beschinske/Bitschinski and other families related to my father contained little genealogical material. But as I surveyed these files, compiled between March and August 1944 in different places in Posen, one consistency appeared. Adam Scheming and his siblings were identified as children of Jakob Schemming or Schimming and his wife Pauline, names which had not previously surfaced in my own family or with other Scheming families from Volhynia and Poland. I was finally able to grasp degrees of relationship which had eluded my father and August Scheming. But more problems emerged. Although I found a Jacob Schemming whose son Samuel was born in Uljanowka in 1874, his wife's name was Susanna Krause, not Pauline. I have found no other references to Jacob Schemming, nor can I connect him to other Schemmings in the village.

Most frustrating, I still did not have my own father's EWZ file or birth record. Therefore I contacted the Consulate General of Ukraine in Chicago and requested a copy of the birth certificate for Albert Hein, stating only that he was my father, born 25 April 1925 in Glückstal [Bubno] in *Rayon* Baranowka, *Oblast* Zhitomir. After waiting for months and paying two separate fees, I received a typed, notarized document from the Consulate.

BIRTH CERTIFICATE
Citizen: Gien [Hein] Albert
Date of Birth: 29 April 1925
Place of Birth: Bubno, Ukraine
Region: Dzerdginskiy
Oblast: Zhitomirskaya
Recorded as #33 in the register of
births and dated 2 May 1925

PARENTS
Father: -
Mother: Gien [Hein] Rozaliya Adamovna
Race: German
Place of Registration: Bubno Rural Council
Dzerdginskiy Region
Zhitomirskiy Oblast
Issued 16 September 1996, No. 054370
Legalized in Consulate General in Chicago, 27 February 1998

I continued to search documents that my parents had kept. One was a 1947 document prepared for my father in West Germany by Siegfried Lemke, former Evangelical Lutheran pastor in the Zhitomir and Kiev area. Pastor Lemke noted my father's birthdate, then his baptismal date as 6 May 1925, and his confirmation in Schöndorf, a village near Glückstal, on 19 January 1942.

I studied the post-war refugee identification papers that my parents had received, their civil and church marriage records from Müden-an-der Aller, West Germany, their German passport, their certification as displaced persons admitted to the U.S. in December 1951. The birth place given on my father's refugee identification papers was endorsed by a form titled *Bescheinigung* (certificate) which had been issued by the Müden *Standesamt* (registry office) on 2 June 1951. The translation reads, "Albert Hein, born in Glückstal in *Kreis* Scharnikau, Warthegau, is presented this certificate to replace lost personal documents. The applicant was informed that issuance of the certificate was effected after he submitted supporting materials."

As my father had said, he had obtained new papers with a different place of birth in Posen. But to date, the various German archives report that they have no records for a soldier named Albert Hein born 25 April 1925.

I decided to order the EWZ documentation for Adolf Stürzbecher, the man whom he believed was his biological father. Adolf had been born 20 October 1897 to August Stürzbecher and his wife Emilie Remus in Schöndorf, the neighboring village where Albert was later confirmed, and served in the Russian army in World War I. In his *Personalblatt*, Adolf said that both his parents had been born in Poland, by "Bojaliblot," a German colony where his grandparents Johann and Christine (nee Schulz) Stürzbecher

and August and Karoline Remus had also lived. Although his father had died in Schöndorf in 1923, his mother had fled to the west with her son and was living in Königsberg, Unter-Steiermark, Austria when he completed his papers in September 1944. Adolf had reached a German resettlement camp a year earlier and by the following spring was in Kapellen, Unter-Steiermark. He and his wife Ida nee Neumann were divorced according to some papers, still married according to others, but they had three daughters and three sons. Eventually, and somewhat to my chagrin, it occurred to me that they were my father's half-sisters and half-brothers, and that his sister Irma was therefore also his half-sister. At this point, I am attempting to locate these Stürzbecher siblings and to obtain information from Austrian civil registry offices regarding Adolf and his mother Emilie.

Outcomes

Most family history researchers collect information from documented sources, file and organize copies of original records, pour over ship lists and census records, and enter data in pedigrees and group charts. They order and study microfilms at the closest Family History Library. They walk through cemeteries where their ancestors were buried, or visit a family homestead.

This has not been my research experience. I can visit only my father's grave in southeastern Minnesota, and the graves of my maternal grandparents in northeastern Iowa, and in silence reflect upon the distant steppes, taiga, and mountains where my paternal grandparents and other ancestors ended their own life journeys. The lack of documentation does not frustrate me. Instead I have grown in awareness of the deep injustices and persistent prejudices which can and often does destroy human life. In response, out of my legacy of displacement, I listen to others and then seek build bridges and connections, to promote healing within community, wherever and whenever that might be possible.

This occurred in a most unexpected, intensely personal way when my father's 79-year-old sister, her daughters, and their families were able to use the EWZ materials which I had sent to them to facilitate their move to Germany. It was my privilege to meet them for the first time and to spend some days with them in a Cologne resettlement home in June 1999. My cousins in Katowice, whom I met six years ago, are now seeking to use their EWZ materials to facilitate their move as well.

When I hear the words "family history," I do not think about databases, records, or charts. I see the faces of those who have been displaced. I hear their voices as they share their stories with me. I feel the embrace that we shared, taste again the food that we shared with our laughter and our tears. In our healing moments together and in our shared awareness, we have found the real joy, the true purpose, of family history.

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- Lau, Johann
- Renz, Emma nee Stübbe, Alma, Selma, Friedrich.
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Notes

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[2] *Financial Times*, 27 January 1993, cited in Subtelny, 589.

[3] Subtelny, 595.

[4] *Ibid*., 23.

[5] Subtelny, 274-275.

[6] See Bischof, Henrik, in *Die Ukraine: Zeit der Unabhängigkeit*, posted online by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung at <http://www.fes.de/research/fpolicy/ukraine1.html>.

[7] For a further discussion of eighteenth century Polish settlement, see Subtelny, 189-194.

[8] Arndt, 55, and Subtelny, 275-276, discuss the significance of Polish dominance in Right Bank Ukraine and Volhynia.

[9] The German perspective on this era in the region is addressed by Nikolaus Arndt and Adam Giesinger, the Ukrainian by Orest Subtelny, and the Polish by Tadeusz Piotrowski.

[10] Arndt, Neutatz, Subtelny and others examine the increasing isolationism of the imperial Russian government in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[11] Subtelny, 275.

[12] Piotrowski, 91. These statistics were published in 1990 in *Crimes Perpetrated Against the Polish Population of Wo y by the Ukrainian Nationalists, 1939-1945*, a Polish-language study by Jøzef Turowski and W adys aw Siemaszko. Also see Subtelny, 275.

[13] Piotrowski, 91.

[14] Subtelny, 274-276.

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] *The Bedichev Revival* was posted at <http://www.empresa.com/spunberg/history.html>.

[17] A summary appears in *Beyond the Pale: The History of Jews in Russia* posted online at <http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale>.

[18] Dolinsky's comments, made November 26, 1996, are quoted by the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and posted at <http://www.fsumonitor.com/stories/asem1uk.shtml>.

[19] *Welcome to Volyn Jewish Community* was posted at <http://www.jfu.kiev.ua/vis.htm>.

[20] This section is condensed from"Czechs in Volhynia from the Settlement History 1862-1947" which I translated from Arndt's *"Tschechen in Wolhynien*."

[21] See Information on Migration in the Territory of the Czech Republic in 1996, posted by the Czech Ministry of the Interior at <http://www.mvcr.cz/iso-8859-2/migrace/A_migrac.htm>.

[22] Arndt's scholarship is perhaps definitive in the area. Also see Giesinger, 43-44, 78-79.

[23] *Ibid*., 128-132.

[24] *Ibid*., 179.

[25] *Ibid*., 131-132.

[26] See Giesinger's chapter, "Liquidation," especially pages 300-314.

[27] Piotrowski, 208.