

Doctor Ivan Lutsenko: myths and facts¹

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Based on the data from the archives, which the author is first to introduce to the scientific circulation, and a critical analysis of the literature, we observe the life's journey of a medical doctor Ivan Mitrofanovich Lutsenko (1864–1919), whom history presents as an active figure in the epoch of the civil war in Ukraine. The author polemicalizes with the historians, who see Lutsenko as a hero, “a new kind of Ukrainian”, and substantiates a point of view according to which, I. M. Lutsenko is an ultranationalist, Russophobe and an anti-Semite.

Keywords: *Doctor Ivan Mitrofanovich Lutsenko, Ukrainian ultranationalist, civil war in Ukraine, Odessa*

Doctor of medicine Ivan Mitrofanovich Lutsenko was a well-known figure of the Ukrainian revolution, a member of the Central Parliament and a participant in the civil war.

Diametrically opposed assessments of Lutsenko have been published depicting him as: a Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist, a Ukrainian chauvinist, a reactionary Russophobe, an anti-Semite, a Ukrainian hero, a titan and a new type of Ukrainian.

With this in mind, we once again look at the biography of Lutsenko – a revolutionary and a doctor. Once again, because we have collected material about his life and works that has already been published in several reports. [1-4] Lutsenko was a homeopath, and we have a publication on the history of homeopathy. [5-6] We should also refer to publications on Lutsenko that have appeared in the last 20 years in Ukraine. [7-16] In the post-Soviet era, Lutsenko's biography has been published in various Ukrainian encyclopedias, biographical books and calendars. [17-23]

In addition, there is T. Vintsovsky and A. Muzichko's monograph. [24] The book presents as appendices several publications by Lutsenko on socio-political and historical themes in Ukrainian-language periodicals, as well as

recollections of Lutsenko by V. Kedrovsky and A. Strizhevsky. The memoirs of Strizhevsky were published by Muzichko in 2011. [25]

In September 1996, two plaques were mounted on the building at 52 Pastera Street, during the SFULT Congress (Світової федерації українських лікарських товариств). The first was dedicated to Lutsenko, the second to a father and son – Ivan and Yuri Lipa. On the plaque dedicated to Lutsenko, who was a friend of Ivan Lipa (according to his son Yuri Lipa [26]), the years of his life were inscribed – 1864-1919.

In 2012, a memorial plaque appeared on the Krasilov railway station building (in the Krasilovsky district of the Khmelnytsky region), near where Lutsenko supposedly died and shows 1864 as the year of his birth.

The Russian Medical List (RML), which was published annually for more than 100 years (through 1916 inclusive), was supposed to be found in every pharmacy in the empire. It was created to help pharmacists with problems concerning prescriptions so they could contact the doctor who wrote a prescription and, if necessary, check whether the prescription was fake. Nowadays we can find the RML online. In the RML, 1863 is listed as the year of Lutsenko's birth, and not 1864 as stated on the plaque on the house at 52 Pastera Street. [27] The date of 1864 was taken from the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies, which was published abroad and in the post-Soviet era has been reprinted in Ukraine. [28] It contains a large number of inaccuracies and incorrect statements (all of which should be rechecked as they

¹ This material was used in the form of a report at the Odessa regional organization of the all-Ukrainian medical society meeting dedicated to the 150th anniversary of the birth of Ivan Lutsenko (March 14, 2013).

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are unreliable sources). From the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies, the inaccurate information on Lutsenko's year of birth has found its way into the English-language Encyclopedia of Ukraine (Toronto-Buffalo-London). [29]

The RML also stated that Lutsenko had a degree as doctor of medicine. In imperial Russia dissertations were published in full, and in some cases placed at the end of the author's curriculum vitae. In the RML, Lutsenko is listed with the rank of doctor of medicine: court councilor, and it was noted that he was a privately practising doctor in Odessa.

Some have suggested that Lutsenko was a lieutenant colonel. That is not entirely true. In the imperial Russian military, doctors held civilian ranks. Lutsenko, as we have seen, was a court councilor, or class VII on the Table of Ranks, which corresponds to the rank of lieutenant colonel. We must emphasize again that a court councilor should not be confused with a colonel.

This, then, is our primary information about Lutsenko, so we need to verify and supplement it with other historical sources.

We will start with Lutsenko's dissertation. His thesis "A Study of Night Blindness: The History of One Epidemic of Night Blindness and an Instructional Essay on the Disease" was published in 1893. At the top of the title page was printed: "Dissertation series of the Military Medical Academy 1892-1893 academic year." It is now clear that in 1893 Lutsenko defended his higher doctoral thesis at the Military Medical Academy, which was, and remains to this day, in St. Petersburg.

At the end of this thesis is an autobiography. He was born in 1863 (yet further proof of his year of birth) and in 1882 he graduated from Lubenskaya State School and enrolled at the Imperial University of St. Petersburg in the Mathematics Department. A year later he moved to the department of natural sciences and graduated with a PhD, which he received for a work entitled "Tobacco Culture in Little Russia and the Tobacco Crisis of 1883-1884" (part of this work was published in the journal *Farmer* in 1889, № 23-24, entitled "Culture of Tobacco"). From 1887 he studied at the St. Petersburg Military Medical

Academy and in 1891 received a medical diploma with honors. He was appointed as a junior doctor in the 55th Podolsk Infantry Regiment, which was stationed in Bendery. In May of the following year, Lutsenko was sent to the 54th Minsk Infantry Regiment stationed near Chisinau. Here he observed a fairly severe epidemic of hemeralopia (moon or night blindness) that spread throughout the 54th regiment as well as the 53rd Volyn Infantry Regiment stationed nearby. The description of this epidemic became the subject of his higher doctoral thesis. In 1892, military doctor Lutsenko was sent to fight a cholera outbreak in the Kuban region and on his return was assigned to Bendersky local infirmary. In February 1893, he was sent back to his regiment. [30] However, none of Lutsenko's biographers have referenced this autobiography.

The next step in our research is to try to find one of Lutsenko's academic personal files, which will allow us to know where and in which years he studied. The Russian military and historical archives have stored Lutsenko's personal file (in the Military Medical Academy Fund). [31]

In this file there is a copy of Lutsenko's birth certificate issued by the Poltava Spiritual Chancery and it reads, "According to the register kept in the archives of the chancery at Keibalovka village, Piryatinsky county, the Stefanovskaya Church recorded the following: On February 23, 1863, a nobleman Mitrofan Iosifovich Lutsenko and his legal wife Anna Iosifovna, both Orthodox, had a son, Ioann." [31, p. 11] He was baptized on the 26th of the same month.

Since the difference between the Julian (Old Style) calendar, which was used in the 19th century, and the Gregorian (New Style) calendar, which we now use, is 12 days, then as per the new calendar, Lutsenko was born on the 7th of March and baptized on the 10th of March. So for the first time we have an established date of birth for Lutsenko – 23.02/7.03.1863.

Unfortunately, Orthodox birth certificates do not usually mention the place of birth, and this certificate is no exception. However, in another document, Lutsenko's marriage certificate, he is referred to as a "resident of Piryatinsky county, village of Keibalovka," a pa-

risioner of the Stefanovskaya church, from which we conclude that the place of his birth was Keibalovka. It turns out that the affirmation by Lutsenko's biographers that he was born in Odessa is another myth.

In Lutsenko's student file there was a copy of his wedding certificate. The extract was taken from the births registry stored at the Pokrovskaya church in the village of Nizshy Bulatets in the Lubensky district belonging to the Poltavsky diocese. In the second part about newlyweds for 1886, in the month of June, under No. 12 was written the following, "resident of Piryatinsky county, Keibalovka village, parishioner of the Stefanovskaya church, nobleman Ioann Mitrofanov Lutsenko, of Orthodox faith, first marriage, 23 years. Bride, resident of the village of Matyashevka (?; the name of the village is not clearly written in the document – K. V.), Lubensky county, parishioner of Varvarinskaya church, daughter of non-commissioned officer Prokofy Antonov Podpalov, maid Maria, of Orthodox faith, first marriage, 21 years." [31, p. 5]

As can be seen from the copies of the birth certificates from these same student files, on 14/26 April 1887, the family gave birth to a daughter, Anastasia, and on 17/29 June 1890, a son, Izmail. Both were born on the Irzhavets farm and were baptized in the Chirkovskaya Troitskaya church in Lubensky county. [31, pp. 6 and 7] The couple also had another daughter, Ifigenia. We found her private file in the Odessa Higher Women's Medical Course Fund. [32] She was born on 16/28 July 1893 in Bendery. In 1916 she completed a medical course and on 27 October 1926 she was given the original completion certificate for the seventh grade girls' school and the original certificate for the completion of the eighth (additional) grade girls' school. What later became of her is unknown.

Now we will look at some details from the lives of Lutsenko's parents. There can be no debate over the importance of the family in the development the child - it is the family that largely determines the future destiny of every human being. A copy of the diploma certificate of his father, Mitrofan Iosifovich Lutsenko, lists the following: "His service data for 1867 reveals that he was 29 years of

age." We can assume that Mitrofan Lutsenko was born in about 1838. He was the son of a company officer (meaning that Iosif Lutsenko's rank was somewhere between XIV and IX classes inclusive, according to the Table of Ranks), and he was educated at home by his parents. He entered service as a clerical officer second class at the Tavricheskoye provincial board (Simferopol) in 1861. The following year, upon written request, he was transferred to Piryatinsky county court as a scribe. From 1867 until when the Piryatinsky county court was closed down, clerical officer Mitrofan Lutsenko remained on staff. He was married to Anna, the daughter of a medical attendant. He had a 4-year-old son, Ivan (in 1867). He received no distinctions, no extra salary, and had no estate for his wife and his parents. In 1873, he lived in Lubny in the Poltavsky province. [31, p. 12-12 cover]

Ivan Lutsenko's biographer wrote: "In Odessa, from the beginning of 1894, we see that he was a civilian." The RML for 1897 indicated that Ivan Lutsenko was a "junior doctor at the 15th Artillery Brigade (Odessa)." [33] It was only in 1898 that the RML listed that Lutsenko was a private practicing doctor in Odessa [34]. So initially Lutsenko was a military doctor in Odessa and became a civilian doctor in Odessa only after his retirement.

In Odessa, Lutsenko practiced as a homeopath. He is the author of many works on homeopathy, which can be found on the internet in articles on the history of homeopathy.

On November 6/18, 1893, Lutsenko was elected a full member of the Odessa Doctors Society. This suggests that although in February 1893 he had been serving in the 55th Podolsk Infantry Regiment in Bendery, in the autumn of that year he continued his service in Odessa.

Lutsenko's biographer writes that the doctor was a member of the Odessa Doctors Society, and "frequently made presentations and reports at its meetings." This is not entirely accurate. Lutsenko could not have given frequent reports and presentations primarily because he had not long been a member of the society. We can refer to the documentary evidence. The following episode occurred at a meeting of the

society on April 6/18, 1896: "A claim was submitted by Dr. P.M. Ambrozhevich on the question of whether homeopaths can be members of the Odessa Doctors Society. In response to this claim, the chairman (A. Finkelstein – K. V.) replied that essentially this question cannot be discussed because the answer to this question is clear in itself. The discussion of Dr. Ambrozhevich's claim would be excessive if it referred to an incident involving one of our members, specifically Dr. Lutsenko, whose name he decided to announce given that he himself had announced it to the general press. It is excessive as Dr. Lutsenko has submitted a renouncement of his membership in the Odessa Doctors Society since, according to Dr. Lutsenko, he is not used to compromising his beliefs and cannot tolerate any coercion against them."

It was because Lutsenko was a homeopath that the issue of his exclusion from membership of the society was raised at the meetings of the Odessa Doctors Society. However, he quickly applied to leave it. At the time, there was a major disagreement between scientific medicine and homeopathy.

Another quote from Lutsenko's biographer: "When, at the beginning of this century, Novorossiisk University added a medical faculty, Ivan Mitrofanovich [Lutsenko] was offered a place as one of its chairs, but Lutsenko refused to take it: he always preferred independence and freedom of judgment and action."

This is a very dubious claim. By this time (the faculty of medicine in Odessa was opened in 1900), Lutsenko's research track record consisted of his doctoral thesis and several articles, or more accurately four articles (one of which sets forth the contents of his PhD work and another, his higher doctoral thesis). Not taking into account his work on homeopathy, his last article was published back in 1893. [35-37] It was his last work that would have had to serve as grounds to include him on the board of the medical faculty, considering the negative attitude of scientific medicine at that time towards the followers of Hahnemann. Consequently, the assertion that Lutsenko was offered a place within the walls of the Novorossiisk University is another myth.

Then came 1917. We can find some information about Lutsenko during the Civil War in Yuri Lipa's memoirs, "Odessa 'Sich'." In the mid-1930s, Lipa was far from his homeland, exiled in a foreign country. He recalled how at the end of March 1917, the Ukrainian Youth Union of high school students and seminarians appeared in Odessa. In April, a small group separated from the union and formed the Odessa Sich. "'Sich' zakhopila vezhu kritogo rinku." It captured the tower of the indoor market located on the present-day Torgovaya Street. The Ukrainian Military Committee, which was headed by Lutsenko, provided it with an instructor and fighters. It was divided into two squadrons of 30 to 40 people and began military training. Later the Ukrainian Military Committee placed them on guard duty. The fighters' greatest joy came from commandeering various objects. They took possession of a small printing press along with a few other insignificant items. Then the time came for a baptism by fire. A large Bolshevik Guard demonstration on Nikolayevsky Avenue was fired upon with machine guns from the roof of the English club. The head of the guard, Kangun, who was riding in an open car, was literally cut in half by the gunfire. [38] A participant of these events, M. Kostirko, said in exile that he did not find any particular errors in Lipa's description of the events of that time. [39]

Lipa also mentions his father's friend elsewhere. He writes that it would be incorrect to present 1917, as well as what followed, as a kind of "example" of a single splinter of the Ukrainian elite. It was not socialists who took a big part in the events of 1917. The Free Cossacks Organization was in the hands of "todishnih natsionalistiv on choli s I. Lutsenko" (the nationalists at the time, headed by Lutsenko), and was an Odessa secret, a military "Mazepa brotherhood" with its first commandment being, "Do not speak with the enemy – only beat him right in the forehead!" With his group was the hotheaded imperialist and anti-Semite Nikolai Ivanovich Mikhnovsky (1873-1924). [40]

The "imperialist" and anti-Semite Mikhnovsky and Lutsenko were associates, according to a modern biographer of Lutsenko. Lipa was an

ideologue for the ultra-nationalists with imperialist tendencies: "Imperializm – ekspansiya, tse slovo scho kozhniy narod nece z soboyu, yakbi vin to ne prikriyav i yak vin togo b ne nazivav" (Imperialism is expansion – it is the word every nation carries with it, however you mask it and no matter how it may be called). [41, p. 6] "Cherez samoobmezhennya v svoikh domagannyakh stavmosya pidozrilymi v ochakh svitu ... – Gai, gai – mirkuyut voin, – scho zh za tikhy, neimperialistichny narod, scho nichogo ne khoche chuzhogo!" (Through self-restraint in our claims we become suspicious in the eyes of the world ... – Hey, hey – they argue – what is with these quiet, non-imperialistic people, who do not want anything from foreigners.) [41, p. 8] Consequently, the Ukrainian "imperialists" of that era were ultra-nationalist (chauvinist) Ukrainians who planned to seize foreign lands and create a Ukrainian empire. As for who these "anti-Semites" were, there is no need to explain.

We should mention the Bolshevik Jew Kangun, in whose murder Lutsenko's associates took part, including Lipa (in the 1917/1918 academic year, when he was an eighth grade schoolboy at the 4th Odessa High School). We quote the Odessa Directory (1948): "At the entrance to the bright, two-story building on the corner of Pushkin and Deribasovskaya streets hangs a modest memorial plaque. At this place on December 14, 1917, M. Kangun, the chief of staff of the Odessa Red Guards, was treacherously assassinated from behind by the Ukrainian Cossacks. An active participant in the struggle against the autocracy, Bolshevik M. Kangun was popular among the workers of Odessa. In the first year of the revolution, the metal workers of Odessa sent him as their representative to the Council of Workers' Deputies.

"The Bolshevik faction of the council requested M. Kangun head the efforts in organizing the workers' militia, which was the embryonic version of the future Red Guard

"The Ukrainian Cossacks organized a provocative attack on the chief of staff of the Red Guard, comrade Kangun. Organizing an ambush, the Ukrainian Cossacks fired a machine gun at comrade Kangun's car. He was traveling

to check on the location of the Red Guards. The driver was killed. When comrade Kangun decided to take the driver's place, he was struck by several bullets. News of the foul murder of comrade Kangun drew the anger and indignation of the workers of Odessa. The Ukrainian Cossacks failed to disarm the Red Guard. All their attempts failed. After three days of fierce fighting, in which more than 30,000 armed Odessa proletarians participated with the support of the army and the revolutionary sailors of the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian Cossacks were defeated, and on January 18, 1918, Soviet power was established in Odessa." [42]

G. Grishko wrote about Lutsenko in his memoir, *1917 in Odessa*. [43] He notes in particular that during the years of World War I, Lutsenko was a military doctor. The memoir's author did not know exactly how old he was – the doctor was gray haired and looked about 50-55 years old. Young soldiers who were stationed around Lutsenko, among them Grishko, not only respected and obeyed the doctor, but also immensely liked him. They sympathized with Lutsenko, perhaps because he was in a military uniform, as they were, but also because he was decisive and would give it, as they say, "straight from the shoulder." Every meeting of Ukrainian nationalists was held with the participation of Lutsenko, at which he proposed various resolutions that the young army men gladly supported. Whenever a newcomer came to the attention of the Ukrainian nationalists, they first demanded that he cross himself and read the Lord's Prayer. They also made sure that his surname was Ukrainian. After that, the newcomer was handed over for processing to the senior responsible colleagues ("svidomih"), and when it became clear that he was definitely one of them, he was allowed access to the abstracts and reports of Lutsenko. After this, the spark of nationalism was ignited in the young soldier and he became not just a "responsible Ukrainian" but an "extreme chauvinist."

These extreme chauvinists, according to the memoirs of one of them – Grishko – gathered around Lutsenko. The memoirist tells of a meeting in April 1917, prior to which Lutsenko asked the "young warriors" whether they were

consciously taking on the burden of the heavy cross that long-suffering Ukraine had carried for 250 years and that would soon fall upon them. Ukraine was stripped bare, with broken hands, beaten body and bruised head, waiting for someone who would help her. However, she was waiting not for the kind of help that up to then had been given by the hetmans. She required the assistance that would transform her from a wretched martyr into a great princess, and bring her to the height of fame and power. After this point the doctor paused. "All of us rose, as if we had been commanded to do so," recalled the memoirist. "The old doctor raised his right hand (with two fingers extended as if taking an oath), and all those present, as one did the same." They swore all together that they would take on all of those hardships that Ukraine had carried up to that point. Lutsenko then proceeded with the lecture. He said that their main attention should be focused on the Germans. With the help of Germany they could have great military equipment, military instructors, and good officers from the General Staff. Negotiations and preparatory work in this field were already underway ("taki peregovori i pidgotovchapratsya v tsomu napryami vzhe vedetcy"). We do not know what specific secret negotiations Lutsenko and his associates conducted with German soldiers and Russian nationals during that difficult war-torn spring of 1917. Perhaps further research in the archives will help us answer this question.

Lutsenko also spoke about the need to prepare the public to believe that all Ukrainian territory, whether Naddneproshina, Galicia, Bukovina, Bessarabia (now Moldova - K.V.), Kuban and other lands of the Ukrainian people, needed to be united into a single, large, composite, independent, Ukrainian state. And when there were not enough state-building specialists, one could hire foreigners - with money one can do everything. Only one thing was needed – to be strongly against government officials who were "Russians, Jews and Poles" as they had been the enemies of the Ukrainians since ancient times ("tse ie nashi vorogi vid naidavnishikh chasiv").

From the 24-year-old former Russian warrant officer's memoirs during World War I, we learn

that Lutsenko was not limited to working only in Odessa. He was constantly on the road "po tsiliy Ukraini" (all around the whole of Ukraine): he traveled around Kuban, Bessarabia, Ekaterinoslavshchina (the main town of Ekaterinoslavskaya province Ekaterinoslav, now Dnepropetrovsk – K.V.), the Kiev region, Volyn and Kharkiv.

At the end of 1917, Lutsenko was in Kiev. Mustafin recalled, "The average Russian resident lived through a difficult and anxious time in Kiev in the last months of 1917. National feelings were offended at every step. There were the meek orders of the Ukrainian authorities and the endless debates in the Central Parliament concerning the 'minority' language. In these debates Lutsenko shamelessly abused Russia, cursing it for the hardships and oppression of the Ukrainian people, which were fabricated. He proposed breaking all ties with Russia forever, to evict officers of the former Russian army from Ukraine or place them in concentration camps. Attempting to speak in Russian in parliament provoked violent protests." [44, p. 393]

One of the participants of the Ukrainian revolution, the poet, writer and revolutionary Evgeny Malanyuk, recalls Lutsenko as being a Ukrainian ultranationalist. Lutsenko, in his words, was "a purposeful Cato and laconic Caesar, who persistently and systematically reminded the Central Parliament of the names of their historical enemies. This was in vain. The motley assembly that was then the Kiev parliament ... with a peculiar persistence paid regard to the speeches of the heroic grandfather ('geroichnogo didusya') and jokingly called him, and this is a real case of historical amnesia, nothing less than a 'Ukrainian Purishkevich'." [45, p. 63]

At the end of 1917 in Kiev, Pavel Skoropadsky, the hetman of the Ukrainian State in 1918 (from 29/4 to 14/12), met Lutsenko and later wrote about it in his memoirs. Skoropadsky cited some of Lutsenko's biographers, but unfortunately, inaccurately. Here is one quote, with the highlighted words being inaccurate or having been omitted in the biography of Lutsenko.

"Lutsenko seemed to me to be an idealist who nowadays wanted to fully revive the old Cossacks

and rebuild all of Ukraine under a Cossack order. He was some kind of fanatic who hated everything Russian, although this did not prevent him from serving in Russia – as a military [doctor] – to the rank of court counselor. In monetary terms he was honest, but narrow-minded, extremely ambitious, and wanted at all costs to play the first fiddle. We shared our fate together after that for a long time, and I am sure that I was not mistaken in my initial assessment." [46, p. 100]¹²

Elsewhere Skoropadsky gave the following explanation of what he meant by "fanatics": "Among them were many narrow-minded fanatics, especially in terms of evangelizing ideas of hatred towards Russia." [44, p. 52]

The word "narrow-minded" is missing in the work of the biographer of Lutsenko, and "hating all things Russian" is replaced by "loving all things Ukrainian." It turned out that to love all things Ukrainian is the equivalent of hating all things Russian. From the perspective of Ukrainian chauvinists this may be so, but the author of the memoirs did not believe that to love Ukraine is to hate Russia. Skoropadsky wrote of himself, "... I have always been passionately fond of Ukraine... but here the difference between myself and the Ukrainian community [in this case Ukrainian chauvinists – K.V.] is that for the latter loving Ukraine is to hate Russia; I do not feel this hate... I love the Russian language, Ukrainians cannot stand it; or at least pretend that they do not like it; I like the average Russian or Muscovite – they find the country disgusting." [46, p. 48]

As we can see, as a result of this fraudulent penmanship the biographer creates a sort of mythical image of Lutsenko as an angel-patriot and not a fanatic chauvinist.

In February 1918, after the German occupation of Ukraine, Skoropadsky lived in the hotel Kane in Kiev. He associated with Mikhnovsky, who in 1917 was a rival to Semyon Petlyura in the struggle for leadership in Ukrainian military circles. He once told Skoropadsky that Petlyura,

fearing his influence, persuaded the commander of the Kiev military district to remove him from Kiev, which was done. Skoropadsky writes, "It seems that Lutsenko again participated in this affair, judging by the words of Mikhnovsky." [46, p. 127] And further, "Apparently, while not disclosing this to Lutsenko, Mikhnovsky told me this fact in order to warn me to not particularly trust Lutsenko. Lutsenko was playing a double game; the last one was so stupid and all his minor trickery was so poorly put together that Mikhnovsky's warnings were completely unnecessary, I completely did not trust Lutsenko." [46, p. 127-128]

At this time (February 1918), Skoropadsky was busy creating a party – the Ukrainian People's Community ("Ukrainska Narodna Gromada"): "... It is necessary to establish a democratic party (deep down a Ukrainian is a democrat), but not a socialist party. This party must profess to be of Ukrainian heritage, but not extremely chauvinistic [emphasis mine – K.V.] And it must definitely support the development of Ukrainian culture, without touching on and without fostering [emphasis mine – K.V.] hatred of all things Russian. I figured that such a party would unite all property owners, regardless of distinction, in the fight against destructive socialist slogans. Unfortunately, these slogans, since they profess socialization, meet only success with us. These foreigners do not understand; they think that we can maintain a reasonable degree of socialism, as is the case in Western countries. I am deeply convinced that it is inconceivable with us. If the government takes the path of our socialist parties, it will in a short period of time sink into obvious, diabolic Bolshevism." [46, p. 127] "Bolshevism, destroying all culture, would turn our fabulous country into a parched plain, where eventually capitalism would appear, but what kind! ... Not the weak, spineless kind that has smoldered with us until now, but an all-powerful God, at the feet of whom these same people will fall down and cringe." [46, p. 146] "So, we first need to democratize the country, to educate people, develop in them a sense of duty, to instill in them honesty, broaden their cultural horizons, and only then can you talk about the next stage of social evo-

¹ The memoirs were written and published in Russian, but published with a title page in Ukrainian: "P. Skoropadsky Memories. The end of 1917 to December 1918."

lution," Skoropadsky reasoned a hundred years ago. [46, p. 124] "We worked in full swing. We recruited members, finally developed a program [the Ukrainian People's Community – K. V.]. Lutsenko, the terrible weasel; using the fact that he was once in the General Cossack Parliament, also moved into the hotel Kane and tried to wriggle his way into our affairs. We fooled him, telling him all sorts of stories which, as expected, he passed on to the members of the Central Parliament." [46, p. 129] This is all the basic information about Lutsenko in the memoirs of Skoropadsky.

Lutsenko is mentioned in an April 1918 secret letter to Major-General Waldstetten of the Austrian General Staff as "a friend of Austria" [47, p. 117], and in the comments of the Soviet publication of this document it is noted that: "Lutsenko is the leader of the Ukrainian separatist party. Organizer of Jewish pogroms in Ukraine." [47, p. 204] We have not found evidence so far to suggest that Lutsenko organized pogroms. However, it should be pointed out that Ukrainian ultra-nationalists were noted for their anti-Semitism: We have already provided a quote from Lipa about the anti-Semite Mikhnovsky, and the number of Jews killed in the civil war in Ukraine is second only to World War II.

On June 28, 1918, Lutsenko was arrested in Odessa and imprisoned in a local jail. In the same month, numerous other opposition members, who were preparing to overthrow Hetman Skoropadsky, were placed behind bars.

The Germans, wary of the Ukrainian socialists, supported Skoropadsky's rise to power. For Emperor Wilhelm II, his government and senior German military command, General Skoropadsky was closer and more understandable as a conservative, albeit with some democratic (liberal) impulses. However, they understood that in order to secure the Russian state's dismemberment, which started with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, they should not allow any centralizing trends in Ukraine. Thus it was necessary to support Ukrainian chauvinists who, like Lutsenko, "hated everything Russian."

The minister of internal affairs of the Ukrainian state, Igor Kistyakovsky (1876-1940), was

forced to release Lutsenko from custody (September 6), as well as other political opponents of the hetman (Petlyura and others) who were preparing a coup and eventually headed an anti-hetman rebellion that seized power (December 14, 1918). However, even these steps by the Ukrainian minister, following instructions from Germany, did not save him. Hetman Skoropadsky was forced to fire Kistyakovsky and appoint a temporary administrator for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Victor Reinbot (October 24, 1918). Only after Germany surrendered (Compiègne Armistice – November 11, 1918, we note that under the terms of the armistice Germany had to denounce the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, by which the state of Ukraine appeared on the political map of Europe), did Kistyakovsky once again become minister of internal affairs (from November 14, 1918).

Lutsenko died in combat or was killed after being captured in 1919. Together with a very small force, he had been sent towards the Hungarian Bolsheviks. At Krasilov station they were surrounded and after a fight "they were all cut down." There is an assumption that the seriously wounded Lutsenko hid in a field near the station, but he was found and "chopped to pieces."

Our goal has not been to draw any conclusion about the biography of Lutsenko. Rather, our goal was to draw attention to manipulations of his biography carried out by some Ukrainian historians as a way of creating a historical myth.

During our comprehensive analysis at a number of libraries (Kiev, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkov, Odessa) of poorly preserved editions of homeopathic literature, we identified the following photos of Lutsenko:

1) "Bulletin of homeopathic medicine," 1909, № 6, p. 161 – a portrait;

2) "Homeopath", 1913, № 9-10, between pages 242 and 243, a loose-leaf photo "Doctors and homeopathic pharmacists at the First All-Russian Congress of Homeopathy." Among others – I.M. Lutsenko. The same picture on a loose-leaf between pages 12 and 13 in the book the "First All-Russian Congress of Homeopathy" (pictogram 1914);

3) Cartoon by Odessa artist M.S. Lynsky.

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