

PIK SVOBODY 1899.

"СВОБОДА"
"LIBERTY"

ВИСХОДИТЬ ТРИ РАЗИ НА ТИЖЕНЬ.
ВІСТОРОМ, ЧЕТВЕР І СУБОТУ.

ВРАДІ
УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАРОДНИЙ СОЮЗ"

83 GRAND ST., JERSEY CITY, N. J.

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The Ukrainians to the Anglo-Saxon World.

This comprehensive survey of the Ukrainian problem and of the Ukrainian desiderata as a special English supplement of this Ukrainian newspaper is a new departure and one which should meet with the success it deserves. It may prove to be the starting point of a permanent periodical attempt at raising the conscience of the neutral nations. It is the first time that one of the score of newspapers published in the Ukrainian language in the United States and in Canada has found it necessary to publish a special supplement in the English language, aiming at giving detailed information to the English-speaking peoples. Several publications have of course been issued from the offices of this and other Ukrainian newspapers in America. There have also been special English articles in the columns of these publications, but no complete and special appeal was ever made yet by the Ukrainians of the new world to the nations whose lives they are sharing. In the small space available it has been found impossible to cover the whole field of Ukrainian history, Ukrainian activities and Ukrainian sufferings. Between the Ukrainians in America and their kith and kin of the Russian Ukraine, there has been no communication for months; but between them and their friends and relatives under Austrian rule there is a certain amount of correspondence possible. The tales which some of the letters received tell are appalling. The French have appealed to the whole world to make some show of indignation against the manner with which the German war-council and military authorities carry out warfare against non-combatants, but nowhere has a word of protest been raised against the attitude of the Russian military and civil authorities in the parts of the Austrian Ukraine which they conquered for a time and in those parts of the Russian Ukraine which they laid bare when they withdrew impudently before the influx of the Teutonic armies. It seems no less extraordinary that the Ukrainians are apparently of so little importance to the Austrian government, that months after the Russian withdrawal no official cognizance has apparently been taken of the hundreds of cases collected by the Ukrainian people themselves.

The Ukrainians are well able to grasp the difficult position in which their American and British friends are now placed. The alliance with Russia is of Germany's own making. There was no other way open to England but that which the English people forced upon the English Cabinet. Whatever errors of policy may be laid at the door of the successive Governments of England and especially that which ruled over the country in the tragic days of August 1914 one may assert without fear of contradiction that the submerged nations of Europe prefer the ways of the British to the ways of the Prussian junker. Moreover we have had ample signs of late showing that the Russian people are preparing to reconsider their position toward the Ukrainians when they have overthrown their own Government. Anyone who has read diligently the reports of the debates in the Duma and in the Zemstvo's delegation of Moscow knows that a strong current of justice is spreading throughout the land.

Were it not for one of two recent incidents in Canada, the Ruthenians who have made their homes in British America and in the United States have had no cause to detach themselves from the Anglo-Saxon civilization which they had sought of their own free will. This is especially true with regard to the Canadian Ukrainians who number nearly half a million and who had considered the Anglo-Geltic rule in Canada congenial to them. There are scores of Ukrainians soldiers in the Canadian contingent. Many more would have come forward had not the Canadian Authorities shown perhaps too much fear that the Ukrainians might be carried away by their anti-Russian feeling. Surely that suspicion is no compliment to the Russian Government. It only proves that, in the eyes of the Canadian authorities, the subject nations of Russia

are so badly treated that they are expected to turn against Russia's friends. That is not the Ukrainian way.

So much for the British Empire and the Ukraine. All that the Ukrainians need at the present time is continuous publicity, a publicity which does not necessarily mean too great a disparagement of the passing Government of Russia since the great majority of the Russian people are in favor of better treatment for the Ukraine.

What of France? The present generation of Frenchmen knows very little of the Ukraine, but that is surely not the fault of France. Forty years ago when Paul Deroulade wrote his drama "Helmut", French literature was full of chapters culled from Ukrainian history. Prosper Mérimée, Alfred Rambaud and P. J. Stahl translated several of them, so did the Comte de Vogüé. Now that the Ukrainians are showing more interest in the culture of Western Europe, Western Europe will show interest in them. The Ukrainians are thoroughly awake to the necessity of getting known in France, England and America. I am very glad to hear that the *Revue Ukrainienne* published in the French language has made a good impression. It will not be my fault if a similar publication in English does not come out shortly.

But there may seem nothing laughable in this. The question the Ukrainians will raise at once is, what of Russia, and what has Russia to offer them? Of course they know very well the true position; they know it better than we do in Washington, Ottawa or in London. They know their own history, they know what their own people have suffered in the past. On the other hand they are not infused with the inherited optimism of centuries of sea-fostered freedom. They harbor no illusions as to the small section of Russian rulers who have made a platform of Eastern Galicia for the last eight years and more. But the Ukrainians know also what many British newspapers are apparently refusing to see—that Russia is in the throes of a new revolution, a revolution very different from the former one, a revolution that has all the elements of success in itself because it has the whole of Russia behind its impulse—that is to say, all but the Black Hundreds. The huge class of the small landowners, the people with such a sense of public duty as always redeems the possession of moderate wealth, these are all eager for a change. Sooner than we may think these people are going to speak out in unmistakable terms. What is their attitude to the Ukraine? Their program will probably prove to be more thorough than that traced out by Bishop Nikone in the Duma before the war.

1. To allow the use of the Ukrainian language in elementary schools; that all teaching be given in that language, at least during the first two years.

2. That teachers in such schools should be Ukrainians, or at least persons who know the language of the Ukrainians.

3. That in Ukrainian public schools the Ukrainian language and history should be taught as well as the Russian language and history.

4. To cease to persecute and fetter the association *Prosvita* throughout Ukraine and all other educational institutions which are spreading knowledge by means of brochures and books written in the Ukrainian language.

5. That the suppression of such associations be effective only after a decision of a court of law based upon regular trials and not by way of administrative or police decision.

The satisfying of those demands will no longer prove sufficient to the Ukrainians however and a full amount of home-rule will be demanded.

As to the others who, in a smaller or larger degree, may remain or become Austrian subjects after the war, the intellectual, cultural and local autonomy granted to their kin of Russia would be a matter of rejoicing, since they who enjoyed those rights to a large extent before the war have earned by their

loyalty to the Austrian Constitution the right to expect the removal of the last obstacle to their national development—that is the superposed rule of the Polish officials and great landowners of Galicia.

The Ukraine has no need to be afraid of Russia once the best elements of the Russian people come into their own. All these are negative arguments however; they merely show cause why the Ukrainians who dwell in comparative freedom under the flags of the Anglo-Saxon countries should not be anti-Allies *a priori*. There are other arguments, based on facts, not on expectations. What has Germany to offer the Ukraine? What has been the record of Prussia as a ruler of subject races since 1871? The gaps can here be filled in by any student of Continental history.

One might object here that Austria is not Prussia. I need not use the argument that there have been since the war unmistakable signs of a *mainmise* upon Austrian inner and external policy by both Prussia and Hungary. The record of Prussia in Poland and in Alsace is an open book. And even if the Ukrainians of Austria could improve still further their lot by their own efforts, they do not expect to see the whole nation reunited in the Austrian federation.

The future of the Ukrainians, however, will surely not be decided according to their private or collective feeling as to which side is in the right in the European War. If they show now suspicions of, and antagonism to, not only the Russian Government which they have good reasons to mistrust, but to Russia's forced allies as well, have they no excuse for that attitude?

England and France must live in the same world after as before the war. A nation, either independent and autonomous or enjoying some system of devolution, friendly to Great Britain, strong enough to count, not strong enough to harbor dreams of expansion or conquest, holding the North-Western shores of the Black Sea, is an asset which should not be neglected, and upon the amity of which a safe policy might be built. There is, however, no hope for the Ukraine unless it be based upon the common good-will of all nations including England. France an Italy on the one side, Austria and Turkey on the other, and no doubt also of Roumania and Bulgaria. A good deal of the future lies in the hands of the Ukraine people themselves, but they need some help abroad. No better help can be given by the friends of the Ukrainian nation than publicity. The Ukraine is a splendid country; its people have moral, spiritual and physical qualities which are absolutely personal and distinct. Let them discard their natural resignation and advertise boldly their claim to a national existence.

But the future depends also to a large extent on the conscience of the neutral nations; if indeed, such conscience is still alive in the world. The neutral nations are shirking the issues at stake, the neutral nations are blinding themselves deliberately and following one or another of the belligerents in their endeavors to right themselves before history. One or two of the nations now at war may eventually right themselves in their own eyes, it is doubtful whether they will right themselves before history, unless the world is left better after the war than it was at the start. If the subject nations of Europe remain subject nations, if the smallest of them (the Ukraine with its population of 38,000,000 is far from being the smallest of them), is still a subject nation after the war, then the last excuse will have been taken away from this wild butchery. Admitting that one of the causes of the war was the Teutonic belief in a mission given by God to the German people, there was also an obvious attempt (for it takes two to make a quarrel) on the part of Russia to force the hands of her allies, allies obtained under false pretense, against the conscience of those allies, against their better judgment, against their own interests. Even, since Russia has proved unable to help, as she ought to have helped, had she been ruled by a humane, efficient or merely an intelligent government.

The British friends of Ukraine and they are many, they comprise all those who

have either studied the question or visited the land, because to know the Ukraine is to love it, these British friends do not fall into the error, which has been repeatedly exposed, of thinking that the Ukrainians are siding with their enemies. Why should the Ukrainians side with either party in a quarrel about world-supremacy between England and Germany, a quarrel which has grown out of the war from the original conflict, such as the Ukrainians saw it, a conflict between Russia and Austria as to who should dominate the Slav-world outside of the Russian Empire. So far as the Ukrainians were concerned, there could be no comparison between the treatment received at the hands of Austria, and the treatment they receive from Russia. In spite of the attitude of a section of the Polish aristocracy, the Ukrainians of Galicia were considerably happier than their brothers across the Russian frontier. Since Germany is Austria's ally, the wonder is that the Ukrainians are not more emphatically pro-German, since, we must not forget it, the Russia-Austrian side of the war is the only side which matters to them. A peasant nation like the Serbs, where each man owns his own, and where no man cares for his neighbor's property, what have the Ukrainians to do with world supremacy, sea power, or the right to make the negroes of central Africa salute one flag or the other? They ask for very little, but even from progressive countries, that little which they ask seems to be denied them. I have hinted above at the fact that an almost tyrannical attitude has been taken up by the Canadian government against the three or four hundred thousand Ukrainians in Canada. Is it that the Christian charity, the kindness, the good nature, the inborn resignation of the Ukrainian people call for harshness on the part of all governments that have to do with them? Is it merely ignorance? After such publications as this, rather meant to dispel ignorance than to expose cases of harshness, in presence of these persistent and well conducted efforts of the Ukrainians of America to put their case before the Anglo-Saxon world, there is no longer any excuse for anyone who takes interest in international politics to ignore the claim of the Ukrainians, or to foresee any terms of peace which do not make provisions for a most unhappy and misunderstood nation.

BEDWIN SANDS.

The Ukrainians In the United States.

For over thirty years the Ukrainians have been pouring themselves in masses to the hospitable shores of the United States, their immigration before that period being of no numerical significance.

The first Ukrainian immigrants to this country came from the northern part of Hungary, being forced to emigrate by distressful economic situation, and induced to it by the agents of different American mining and transportation companies. Later on the migratory fever took hold of the Ukrainians from Galicia, first of those inhabiting the most westerly part of that province, then gradually, year after year, reaching more and more easterly parts until it extended its influence to the frontiers and passed to Russia, where it continued to operate most miserably among the Ukrainian population. The miserable and almost intolerable condition of the Ukrainian farmers, the lack of manufacturing and mining industries, the persecutions practised by the Polish nobility and bureaucracy upon the Ukrainian nationality—in Galicia; a similar economic situation, coupled with severe oppression of the Ukrainian national movement and the Protestant churches by the Government in Russia;—these were the causes, which contributed towards the rising of this mass movement among the Ukrainians.

It is extremely difficult to tell how many Ukrainians have come to the United States during the thirty years of the Ukrainian immigration. This is due partly to the fact that the Ukrainians are known in different countries by different names: "Russnyaks" in

Hungary, "Ruthenians" (or Ruthenes) in Austria, "Little Russians" in Russia. It must be also remembered that the Ukrainian immigrants, on their coming to the United States, cannot yet speak English or make themselves properly understood to the immigration authorities. For these reasons, the report of the Immigration Commission, created by the act of Congress of February 20, 1907, according to which 147,375 persons of the Ukrainian nationality have come to the United States during the period 1899 to 1910, must be considered very conservative. Taking as the basis for our calculations the undisputable fact that during the last 40 years some 40 to 50,000 Ukrainians were coming annually to the United States, we must admit that there are at least six hundred thousand Ukrainians in the United States at the present time.

About one half of those immigrants are farm laborers or unskilled workmen. Out of the other half, the strongest numerically groups are those of servants, carpenters and joiners, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, miners, locksmiths, and masons.

As to the distribution of the Ukrainian immigrants, the greatest part of them, perhaps upwards of 30 per cent, live in the state of Pennsylvania. The States of New York and New Jersey follow next, each of them possessing about 10 per cent of the Ukrainian immigration. Then follow: Ohio, Illinois, North Dakota, and the New England states.

The Ukrainians from North Dakota are mostly farmers, while the Ukrainians in Pennsylvania are usually employed in mining industries, and those in other states in manufacturing industries. The number of the Ukrainian businessmen is proportionally small. Grocery stores and saloon-keeping, according to the general rule among Slavic races, is a stepping-stone whereby an entrepreneur comes from mine or factory into business.

As for their religious inclinations, the Ukrainians from Hungary and Galicia are mostly of the Greek rite of the Roman Catholic Church, the Ukrainians from the Austro-Hungarian province of Bukovina are mostly of the Orthodox Church, while those from Russia belong in their majority to the Russian Orthodox Church. There are, however, among the Ukrainian from Russia many of different Protestant churches, mostly Baptists, known in Russia by the name of "Stundists". The Catholics of the Greek rite in the United States are governed by special bishop of their own, whose seat is in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The level of literacy among the Ukrainian immigrants is very low when compared with the literacy of the American people, though it is considerably more favorable than the literacy among the Ukrainian masses in the old country. This drawback, however, they try to repair by every possible means. Although in many places where there is a greater number of Ukrainians, there exist parochial schools, nevertheless the Ukrainian children attend the American schools as well and get there knowledge of the English language and American institutions.

The grown up people have organized in every place some educational society, reading circle, citizens' club or the like. These societies and clubs existed independently from one another, but during the last few years there was evidence of a strong movement among them towards a uniform organization of those societies throughout the entire nation. The greatest step towards this end was done by the First Ukrainian Congress in America, which was held in New York City on October 30 and 31, 1915.

The same Congress decided also to inaugurate the union of the several Ukrainian fraternal benefit associations, which for many years past have been giving death and sickness benefits to their members and thus largely contributed to the raising of the standard of life among the Ukrainian immigrants. Those associations usually publish newspapers, pamphlets and books thus instructing their membership concerning American conditions, and helping them to become useful American citizens.

ENIL REYKOV.

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The Ukrainians in Canada.

The Ukrainian immigration to Canada began some 30 years ago and the mass immigration of these people also of considerably later date, than their immigration to the United States.

They came mostly from the Austrian province of Galicia; and in smaller numbers from the Austrian provinces of Bukovina, from the northern part of Hungary; and the south-western provinces of Russia. The causes which stimulated their emigration were the same as in the case of the immigration to the United States, to wit, the lack of land and industries, political oppression, national, and in some instances even religious persecutions, on the one hand; the attractions offered by the vast areas of virtually free land without people, abundance of chances and opportunities, religious and political freedom, on the other hand.

It is extremely difficult to state accurately the number of the Ukrainians who have come to Canada and especially of their Canadian born children. In the official reports on immigration, there appear as the names of nationalities the names "Galician" and "Bukovinians", though these words may signify solely the persons coming from the respective Austrian provinces, and not their race, or nationality, since Galicia is populated by three distinct nationalities, viz. Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews; Bukovina by Ukrainians, Germans, Romanians, and Jews. Besides the names of non-existing nationalities of Galicians and Bukovinians, with which names were ticketed many Ukrainians, there is also the name of the Ruthenian nationality, the name applied usually to the Ukrainians from Galicia. These circumstances render our calculation about the numerical strength of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada a most adventurous enterprise. We hope, however, to make no mistake when placing their number at 400,000 persons.

Many of these immigrants stay for some time in the industrial cities of the eastern provinces of the Dominion, usually in the sea-ports of their landing, in Quebec and Montreal, or in other industrial Canadian centres, as Toronto, Winnipeg, and other "melting-pots of immigration". Then they usually purchase land or enter homesteads, and become farmers, known for their tenacity and perseverance. They occupy in compact masses many districts of the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.

Denominationally they belong as a rule to the same churches to which they used to belong in the old countries, viz. to the Ruthenian Rite of the Roman Catholic, to the Bukovinian Orthodox, or Russian Orthodox Churches. There are, however, among the Ukrainians also many adherents of different Protestant Churches. The Canadian Churches of Ruthenian rite of the Roman Catholic Church are governed by their own bishop in Winnipeg, Manitoba, who is independent from the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the Dominion.

The political and educational organizations are their start. Ample educational facilities are offered by the governments of individual provinces usually maintaining bilingual schools with great benefit for the immigrant. The immigrants from their own initiative organized many educational clubs, reading circles, enlightenment societies, and the like.

The Ukrainian press of Canada consists of some ten newspapers, all of which are weekly publications. Their publishing companies do not restrict themselves to the publication of the newspaper, but usually extend their activities to non-periodical publication of books,

pamphlets, and almanacs, which always find many purchasers and readers among the prospering Ukrainian immigrants, eager to progress and educate themselves.

Emil Revyuk.

The Ukraine Before the Treaty of Pereyaslav.

Etymological science has lost much of its value since we have taken to deducting mere possibilities from insufficiently ascertainable bases. There are several presentations of the origins of the Slav race in general and of the Ukrainian nation in particular. All are supported by scientific men. All are almost equally plausible. It does not matter very much which we select. The most poetical is that which derives the first Slav population of what is now the Ukraine from a union between the Sarmats and the Amazons. "Scythians" is the name by which the Slavs of the Ukraine were known to early civilized Europe. Passing from such history of the Scythians as is revealed in the pages of Herodotus it were best to pose a while at the beginning of the Rurik period. For many years the various Slavonic tribes which inhabited North and Eastern Europe led a more or less nomadic existence. Those who dwelled in what is now known as the Ukraine, tired of dissensions and continuously threatened by the Kazars, made a direct appeal to the Normans or Varangians to whom they were already paying tribute. "Great is our land, and nothing is lacking therein with the sole exception of order and justice. Bring us these gifts and rule over us." Rurik, the Norseman, with his *druzhina* or warriors, answered this appeal which we may infer he had himself inspired.

Admitting the thesis that they possessed once in Asia a common mother-tongue, it is nevertheless true that upon their settling in Europe, the Slavs were already divided into two main groups, one Western the other Eastern. Vends, Bohemians, Poles and Slovaks belonged to the first, Muscovites, Bulgars, Serbo-Croats and Slovenes, to the second, the Ukrainians (Ruthenes or Malorussians) with Kiev as the centre of their activities acting as intermediary between Poles and Muscovites. They were pagans, that is polytheists, at their origin in the same way as the Greeks and the Norsemen. Lacking so far the realism which the latter gave to their Walhalla and the poetry with which the Greeks adorned their Olympus, the early Ukrainians of the Kiev kingdom had nevertheless an efficient gallery of mythological gods and goddesses. Volodimir, a descendant of Rurik, had erected on a cliff dominating the Dnieper a statue of Perun. It had a silver head and a beard of gold. Perun was the same as Indra, god of the ether in India, and Zeus or Jupiter. When Volodimir who was later accepted as Saint by a grateful Church became a convert to Christianity (990), he caused the statue to be pulled down, had it soundly thrashed in the presence of the people and thrown into the river where he ordered his subjects to follow in order that they should be baptized.

Esold and Dir, brothers of Rurik, are the first recorded rulers of Kiev. Oleg, having murdered them, began the series of incursions for which the Slavs of the Ukraine were to become the dread of Byzantium. He succeeded in getting a fleet of two thousand ships to the shores of the Bosphorus. Thor, the son of Rurik and the successor of Oleg attempted also to obtain ransom from the Greek capital, but was beaten off by the Gregorian fire. His second venture was more successful and he only withdrew after having concluded one of the earliest recorded treaties of commerce, his becoming the "most favored nation." Sviatoslav, his son, defeated Peter, the then Czar of Bulgaria, at the request of the Greek Emperor, Nicephorus Phocas. Having conquered Pereyaslav, the Bulgarian capital, he occupied later Philippopolis, but refused to hand over his conquest. John Zimisce, the new Cesar, had to defeat Sviatoslav before the latter accepted to return to Kiev. He was killed however by the Petchenegs on crossing the Dnieper. His mortal son, Volodimir, convinced of the superiority of Christianity, led another attack upon Byzantium, (the sixth or seventh in record on the part of his dynasty) in order to compel the two Emperors of the time, Basil and Constantine, to send him a number of priests to evangelize his people. They submitted to force only and gave him in addition Ann, their sister, for a wife.

Under his son, Yaroslav the Great, the last remnant of the Caucasian Petchenegs, a warlike tribe which has, since the days of Rurik, severely hampered the consolidation of the Norman-Slav State, were finally defeated. Yaroslav is the first king of the Ukraine who corresponds to the idea we have of kingship in modern history. Kiev, enriched by wars and trade alike, assumes the proportions of a capital. Yaroslav's sister is married to Casimir of Poland; his three daughters to

Harold of Norway, Henri I of France and Andrew of Hungary.

How the people of the Ukraine lived at that period can easily be conjectured. Peasant proprietorship, enlivened by occasional summonses to fighting, was the common lot. The institution of the jury by Yaroslav however, shows that, as can be proved in several other ways, the Ukraine of the 14th and the 15th century, enjoyed more liberal conditions than at any later period under Muscovite or Great Russian rule. Neither Yaroslav, however, nor any of his predecessors can be said to have established his rule over the whole of the Ukraine in the sense that his subjects numbered all the people of the same tongue and customs who were the direct ancestors of the Ukrainians of to-day. Tchernihov and Halich for instance had still their own rulers. The tendency had nevertheless been, since Oleg, towards combinations of clans and gradual amalgamation. Under Volodimir Monomach, who married the daughter of the Emperor Constantine Monomach, the kingdom was further extended. Of his long and earnest life much good could be written. His last recommendations to his sons alone shows that a ruler he must have been and what degree of civilization his people must have enjoyed under his reign.

"Neither fasting nor the life of a recluse can secure eternal life for you, but charity can. Never forget the poor; feed them. Be the fathers of the orphans. Allow neither innocent nor guilty to be put to death, for there is nothing more sacred than the life of a Christian. Love your wives but give them no power over yourselves. Try ever to increase your knowledge; my father, before even leaving his palace, spoke five languages. This desire for learning is a characteristic of our people which is much admired by strangers."

What application was made of Volodimir's exhortations can best be illustrated by the fact that for thirty years after his death, various members of the Rurik family fought or quarrelled over the possession of Kiev. A little later in 1223 began the Tartar invasions.

Novgorod was then the only rival of the Kiev kingdom. It was the most Northern sphere of Norman influence, and there was constant rivalry in the 11th century between Kiev and that town with results which were almost invariably in favor of the Ukraine kingdom. It extended at that time from North of the Kuban to the river San, which still to-day divides the Poles of Western Galicia from the Ukrainians of the Eastern part of that province. In the north the kingdom went as far as the Big Lakes and the tributaries of the Volga. At the time of the death of Yaroslav in 1054, the three most important centers of control were Kiev, Tchernihov and Pereyaslav. It cannot be insisted too much upon the fact that the whole intellectual and political activity of Eastern Europe centered in Kiev at this period. All immediately however began to be felt the pressure from the advancing Turks, and the balance was upset between Kiev, Novgorod, and her other rival, the youngest of the states, Muscovy. Muscovy, that is the Great Russia of to-day, began in the wilderness of the North Volga, and its early population was composed of Slavs, that is Poles, Ukrainians, and perhaps even Bohemians. These mixed to a considerable extent with Finns, whose territory it was, and later with Mongolians from the East. The rulers of that mixed family belonged to a younger branch of the dynasty that ruled Kiev. So much for the kingdom of Kiev being the cradle of the Russian Empire.

Tchernihov having least suffered from the Turkish invasion, it gradually assumed the part that the house of Kiev had so far played. Then came the Mongolian invasion of 1239 and Tchernihov in turn had to pass the hand to the principality of Halich-Volhynia. The population of the more northern parts had fled south before the successive invasions and helped the rapid development of national life and progress in that part of Volhynia and the Sub-Carpathian districts ruled at the time by Prince Roman and his son Danilo, the latter receiving the royal crown from the Pope for having first mooted the idea of a general crusade against the Tartars.

The state of Halich-Volhynia became thus gradually the center of the intellectual and political life of the Ukraine. Not for the last time in Ukrainian history do we see Halich-Volhynia take the place of the larger and more prosperous part of the Ukraine in the hour of stress and difficulty. When the present war broke out, there was no doubt that the whole intellectual and national life of the Ukraine was centered in Galicia and Bukovina. In 1336 Poland and Hungary joined hands and put an end to the West Ukrainian state. Thus two more of the hereditary enemies of the Ukrainian nation make an early appearance upon the scene. The love of the Ukrainians for Poles and for Magyars is hardly more perceptible than their affection for the Great Russians. Poland and annexed Halich and Kholm. The loss of the latter district two years ago when the

Russian government separated it from the Polish province of Russia, was resented by the Poles and qualified as sheer robbery. It should be considered as a restitution enforced by the Muscovite state. We see at times the most dishonest trustees preventing other dishonest persons from enriching themselves at the expense of their charges.

The Lithuanian dynasty was causing its influence to be gradually felt, and soon the Lithuanian princes found themselves masters of most of Eastern Ukraine. One thing must be emphasized; it is that, having conquered the kingdom, they accepted the religion, the nationality, the old social system, the local traditions, and the culture of their new subjects. The Ukrainian princes willingly accepted the suzerainty of the grand-dukes of Lithuania; for their rule was human and their force seldom failed. During the second half of the 15th century, the central and eastern regions of the Ukraine take an official place among the ordinary provinces of the principality of Lithuania. The treaty which had earlier joined together Lithuania and Poland was, however, bringing thoroughly unfortunate results for the Ukrainian population. In fact it was the characteristic national failure of the Poles to rule themselves, or any subject nation, a characteristic which gradually permeated better-ruled Lithuania—which caused the Ukrainian leaders for the first time to turn their eyes towards the despised but gradually growing Duchy of Muscovy. The religious question complicated matters. The Ukrainian aristocracy still followed the Greek rite as received by their fathers from Byzantium. Muscovy also, in so far as it had a religion at all, was of the Greek persuasion. The people of the Ukraine, however, were falling more and more under the influence of Polish landlords, and Latin Catholicism was fast spreading among them. This apparent division between the Ukrainian aristocracy and the Ukrainian people, is for the first time noticeable in the annals of the Ukraine. The division is no less pronounced in the 20th century, with here and there a few exceptions when a few descendants of the Ukrainian aristocracy are riding themselves of their Muscovite and Polish attitudes and taking up their place in the ranks of the nationalist parties.

From the middle of the 16th century, the Ukraine suffered from the blight of Polish institutions and lost gradually its remnants of strength. Apparent progress, a certain brilliancy and outward polish there certainly was. But demoralization was already taking place. About 1609 the Lithuanian part of the Ukraine (Volhynia, Eastern Podolia, Podlasky, Kyjev) being annexed to the Polish republic, Polish aristocrats came in numbers to reside in the new territory; they gradually influenced, absorbed, or destroyed the Ukrainian aristocracy. The death or rather the long but nevertheless temporary slumber of the Ukraine as a nation dates from the first decade of the 16th century.

This in spite of a serious attempt on the part of the middle classes of Western Ukraine to bring about an awakening of the national conscience before it was too late. These merchants, united in guilds (especially the guild of Lemberg, reorganized in 1540 and in 1546) were not merely most active in the commercial sense, but were the only remnants of the Ukrainians to preserve anything like a social, intellectual, and religious life that was also national.

When they in turn acknowledged failure, the Cossacks of the Ukraine in the East had already taken up the fight. The first Cossacks were the militia of Eastern Ukraine fighting untiringly the Tartar hordes and acting as it were as advance guard of civilization in the East, even though it must be admitted that the Cossacks were not free from that thoroughness in warfare which causes many innocent victims to suffer. They gradually increased their influence westward, the center or the heart of their republic being the *Sitch*, on the lower Dnieper. The heavy burdens of Polish rule pushed towards them an enormous number of Ukrainian peasants from Western and North Ukraine. In the words of Professor Michael Hrushevsky: "The Cossacks considered themselves an independent-political power. They made treaties with neighboring States, offered them their help and services, and at the same time posed as representing the national interests of the Ukrainian people."

There is now a general agreement as to the origin of the word Cossack. It is a Turkish word (as the Turks pronounce it, *Cazak*). It means partisan, franc-tireur, or any soldier who makes war on his own account. Such were the first Cossacks established on the shores of the Dnieper. The main aim of their institution was to make a living out of their defending the frontier of the Ukraine against all comers, and whether piracy entered into their calculation or not need not deter us from expressing a certain admiration for the manner in which the Cossacks had evolved what was in reality a state of their own. Some of the Cossacks, the most advanced towards the outskirts of the country, were the Zaporogians, but we must not fall into

the error of thinking that all the Cossacks were Zaporogians, even though all were at first Ukrainians. In the fertile plains of the Ukraine unfortunately often devastated there were other Cossacks less uncouth in their ways, who lived with their families, settled on the soil and fighting only occasionally. These were the great majority of the Cossacks. The Zaporogian Cossacks of the *Sitch* lived a life of their own. No woman was admitted to their camp, and their possessions were restricted to their boats and arms. When they had pillaged a town or a country, then they quickly sold to the Jews (who acted as their camp-followers and general provision-dealers) all that could be sold, and they hid carefully the gold and silver. Sometimes they threw it into the waters of the Dnieper, often also they buried it in the soil. The other Cossacks lived in perfect intelligence with the Zaporogians among whom most of them had friends or relatives. They considered the Zaporogians as their vanguard or outposts. In the words of Prosper Merimee "the camp of the Zaporogians had no fixed population, young men went there to learn the science of warfare or the arts of the pirate or to perpetrate some deed of violence; then they left the camp again to hoard their booty and live in peace for a time. Most Zaporogians had their wives or their lands in one or another of the Ukraine provinces, and most of those whom we now call Little Russians went in their youth to campaign with the Zaporogians."

The Cossacks were divided into regiments the effective of which was not to be increased beyond a certain number. Thus was the difference emphasized between the two classes of the Ukraine. Some were Cossacks, that is soldiers who enjoyed considerable freedom; the others remained peasants. The distinction however could hardly be kept rigidly. There was no time when the Cossack regiments did not count more men than they were entitled to, and whenever a Ukraine peasant considered himself ill-used by a landlord, there was always a place for him in the ranks of the Cossacks. Moreover the Hetman of the Cossacks, although sometimes nominated by the Polish kings, was really the elected but absolute master of the country and gradually became its deliverer. Stefan Bathory, the Hungarian who had done so much for the glory and prosperity of Poland, had done his best to prove a fair ruler to the Ukraine, but none of his successors followed his example. Ignoring all titles and rights they treated the Ukraine as conquered land and distributed the soil among their favorites. They also instigated religious persecution. The result was that revolt upon revolt followed, until the day when Bohdan Khmelnytsky took up the war against all oppressors of his land. If he was a fierce warrior and a crafty negotiator, he certainly lacked foresight. Playing off the Poles against the Muscovites or the Turks, he fell in the traps of Muscovy and signed in 1654 the peace discussed but little respected treaty of Pereyaslav. We must however keep in mind what was the main idea of Hetman Khmelnytsky upon the momentous negotiations. He wished once and for all to snatch away from the Poles the whole of the Ukrainian lands or at least as much of them as would prove possible—and to accomplish that task he needed the help of Muscovy. He was strongly opposed by the Church leaders of Kiev who were not in favor of any alliance with either of the two enemies of the Ukraine. On the contrary they were in favor of a Union or Federation of all the Eastern Orthodox States of Europe. Thus was mooted for the first time the idea of a free Republic composed of various nations. It seems as if the possible solution of Southern Europe troubles had been first conceived by these Ukrainians bishops.

BEDWIN SANDS.

Letters from friends.

FROM BJOERNSTIERNE BJOERNSON, THE WELL KNOWN SCANDINAVIAN DIPLOMAT, NOVELIST AND PLAY-WRIGHT.

To-day still and even in Europe there exists a people of more than 30 millions who, in the name of State necessity, is deprived of his tongue and nationality, oppressed and ill-treated in every possible fashion.

Over 25 millions of these men belong to Russia, 4 millions to Austria.

Of all the terrible forces of the imperfection of our Christian religion and of our civilization, this is beyond any doubt the most terrible; The chariot of Jaggernaut of State-necessity can still on the mere word of a ruler be dragged about by docile troops over the broken individuality of a whole nation.

We are led to believe that those who have long ago lost faith in this cruel idol have retained the illusion that it is necessary for others. Otherwise how could we understand their attitude? The Christians of

Russia and Poland—where are they? They form nevertheless a Society of justice and mercy. And our own pacifists who go from banquet to banquet, do they never feel themselves upset by the tears and the sorrow of these millions? Yet it is the initial principle of peace which is here violated, the sacred right of national individuality. Why does not the science of political law speak openly through its most authorized representatives? Or philosophy through its own spokesmen? Why do they not tell us that this is a shameful inheritance of the darkest period of humanity, that it is to the advantage of no one to martyrize and to debase the soul of a people? On the contrary it is damaging to all. Who may know the possibilities which are latent in the individuality of a nation?

Does Russia become greater by wasting herself in vain efforts to melt down and to remodel a nation of 30 millions instead of deriving advantage from the free development of so great a people? Of all the nations in Russia the Ukrainians manifest at the present time the most pronounced spirit of revolt. This spirit of revolt is no stronger than would have been the creating and conservative power of this people if it had been allowed to live its own life on the land which belongs to its children.

Can the Poles of Austria defend their own nationality better in the midst of foreign nations more numerous than they are by oppressing at the same time four million Ruthenians? Four million men who could have been at the present time their faithful allies.

Until to-day the Poles have enjoyed much sympathy in the south, the west and the north of Europe. But let it become known everywhere that the Poles, while struggling for their own liberty and unity are oppressing a weaker nation and the sympathy and the admiration shall vanish.

It is already thus with us who know the facts and our imperative duty is to propagate the knowledge of these facts further still. The great and unconquerable Ukrainian nation deserves to gain gradually the friendship of all free peoples. On their feast days and when of a evening they sing at home, on the soil of their ancestors, their popular songs which are so moving, it is necessary that they should know that they are no longer alone, that far and wide they are heard. It is necessary that they should know that their plaints are echoed by our compassion and our indignation—until they become irresistible.

FROM MR. JOSEPH KING, M. P. WHO IS A LIBERAL MEMBER OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT WHERE HE SITS AS A LIBERAL FOR NORTH SOMERSET.

29 September 1915.

He was born in 1840 and was educated at Longham School and Trinity College, Oxford. Studied theology under Dr. Fairbairn at Amole College, Bradford and at Giessen University, engaged in religious and social work one of the founders of Mansfield House University Settlement; was called to the Bar Inner Temple, 1890.

To the Readers of "Svoboda".

For long I have watched, and, as far as I could, I have encouraged the Ukrainians who in distant America and in Canada have joined their labors and hopes to our Anglo-Saxon civilization, and who yet have remained true to the national aims and aspirations of their divided, oppressed, yet noble relatives in South Eastern Europe. We British believe and intend that if victory in this War is ours, each Nation shall have a chance to develop itself on the lines of its own language, religion, traditions and customs. "Live and let live," an old English motto, is the *Mot d'ordre* for nationalities.

Let the Ukrainians everywhere claim their rights and a united national life. I tell them if they appeal thus to my Country, their appeal shall not be uttered in vain.

FROM MR. CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, PROFESSEUR A LA SORBONNE.

Here is a people, one of the most numerous of Europe and yet one of the least known. It has not even a name assured. It is called Little-Russian to distinguish it from the mass of the Russian nation. It is called Ukrainian because it inhabits the boundary between Poland and Russia. One of its branches bears the name of Ruthenian. It was never joined into one whole nation and it never enjoyed a lasting State.

It has always lived in exceptionally disastrous conditions. The Cossack Republic formed in the plan of the Dnieper by its free warrior-peasants was never recognized as the equals of monarchies. The people of the Ukraine dispersed between two bellicose neighbours had but the choice between two

masters: the Poles and the Muscovites. The Polish aristocrat took his land and reduced it to the condition of a people of serf-peasants, they showed themselves very harsh masters who treated the men and abused the women. The Russian government submitted it to a police-absolutism and to a political and ecclesiastical censorship.

In the XIXth century this oppressed people was revealed to the world by the force of its artistic gifts. The Ukrainians have become the first singers of Europe; the vaulted Russian music it is the music of the Ukraine and it was a Ukrainian: Gogol, who opened the road for the Russian novelists of genius.

At length the Ukrainians have taken consciousness of their community of tongue, customs, sentiments and temperament; they desire also to have their own literature.

The Russian reaction has brutally repressed this desire in 1876 by the interdiction to publish books in the Ukrainian language.

Can we imagine the French Government forbidding Mistril to publish in Provencal his poem of *Miraillet*? The revolution of 1905 caused this odious measure to be recalled but the literature of the Ukraine remains at the mercy of the Russian censorship.

The publicity which France will give to their misery, by intimidating their prosecutors, will help to diminish the abuses of power from which they suffer.

FROM MR. WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

January 4, 1916.

Mr. Miroslav Sichinsky,
Secretary, Ukrainian Federation
of the United States,
New York City.

Replying to your favor of December 31, just received I would say that the literature I have received from time to time on the Ukrainian movement in Eastern Austria and Southern Russia indicates how desirable it is for large countries containing peoples of different languages and customs to allow them reasonable self-expression.

Whether it will ever be practical to establish and maintain separate nations on so simple a basis as the possession of community of speech and institutions is a problem that the present war may help to solve.

One thing at least is certain: if the Ukrainian peoples have the strength of aspiration and purpose, the courage of mind and heart, the zeal and force of conviction, needful to win and uphold their position as a nationality to be recognized and respected, whether within existing political boundaries or independent of them, they will command the moral support of the liberty-loving in every land.

FROM MR. MARMADUKE PICKTHALL, THE WELL-KNOWN NOVELIST AND EXPERT ON TURKISH AND EGYPTIAN MATTERS.

To the Secretary of the Ukraine Committee, London.

I am delighted to hear that a special English number of *Svoboda* is to appear shortly. Anything which may tend to make the Ukrainian nation, its aspirations and achievements known in England is welcome. It is not too much to say that nine-tenths of the British people have never even heard the word Ukraine. If they can once be interested in the subject, I am sure that many will become enthusiastic partisans of a people so deserving of our sympathy.

As a friend and lover of the Turks, I greatly wish that you could manage to impress on the Ukrainian leaders the importance of the Turkish question in relation to their propaganda, and the friendly sentiments of the Young Turks towards the ideal of an independent Ukraine.

FROM MR. JACOB WITTMER HART, MAN, PROFESSOR AT THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

December 13, 1915.

My dear Mr. Raffalovich:

"I am very glad to learn that it is your intention to bring out an English number of one of the most important Ukrainian organs printed in this country, as I believe this may be of value in calling the attention of Americans who are not of Ukrainian extraction to the claims of this people deprived of its national existence."

There was a time when I believed that the great basic factor in national consciousness was the possession of a distinct language, and there is no doubt the Ukrainians have this element of separate existence, as anyone may learn who compares the language used

in "Svoboda" with the language of any book or newspaper printed in the language of their Russian rulers. My studies of the language of this people, my translation of a number of pamphlets from foreign scholars on the subject of their wrongs, as well as my own researches in this field, for the purpose of printing a set of articles on the subject, have convinced me that justice cannot be done to the Ukraine unless Russia can be made to grant to the Ukrainian people a very much larger measure of home-rule than they have ever in the past enjoyed.

But there is another element in national consciousness that I have, since learnt to value more highly than that of a common language. Perhaps language is the most important factor (and certainly it is more important in this connection, than race) in the formation of race consciousness, but the essential point that entitles a race now to my mind, to independence of another race, is the acceptance of the belief that it is another race. The thing that makes me an American is not the fact that I speak the American language, nor that I am a native of this country, but the fact that I believe I am an American and therefore feel a kind of relationship with the other dwellers in the same land. And on this basis, namely that they feel they are Ukrainians, and do not wish to be considered as Russians or as a part of Russia, the Ukrainians should be granted home-rule and whatever further degree of independence from Russia they may desire.

At present the direction of my studies has carried me away from the Ukraine for a while, but I hope soon to be again engaged in preaching the cause of the Ukraine to my fellow countrymen.

FROM MR. PETER ROBERTS, SECRETARY, YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Miroslav Sichinsky, Secretary,
Ukrainian Federation of the United States,
165 West 122d Street, City.

Dear Sir:

Your letter asking my opinion about the Ukrainian movement in Eastern Austria and Southern Russia is before me.

I am not intimate enough with the movement to express an opinion. I know in part the suffering of the people, because of oppression from landlords and excessive taxation. I believe in the Ukrainian people; some of the best men, as far as intellectual acumen and breadth of vision, whom I have met among foreign-speaking in America have been of this race. I believe a great future would open up before the Ukrainians, providing they had greater freedom, capable and conscientious leaders, and capital to invest, so as to develop the agricultural and industrial possibilities of the land which they occupy. As a general principle, I stand for freedom, and believe that every race ought to have such political, social and religious freedom as will best serve as its medium for self-expression and self-realization. It is a wrong against any race to have another people thrust its opinions and laws and institutions upon them and retard the development of a subject people.

These are general principles, but I believe they should apply to the Ukrainians just as to other subject races in Europe involved in this terrible war.

FROM MR. EDWIN E. SLOSSON, LITERARY EDITOR OF "THE INDEPENDENT".

To the Ukrainian National Council
Jersey City, New Jersey.

September 24, 1915.

Gentlemen:

Thank you for sending me literature on the subject of the Ukrainian movement. I attended the meeting at Cooper Union the other night and was much interested in the proceedings. I hope that you will keep me informed of any new developments as I may wish to discuss the matter editorially some time in *The Independent*.

SAYS ANNETTE M. B. MEAKIN, FELLOW OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

In soil, climate, architecture, costume, character, customs and language Little Russia differs from Great Russia to a degree that has not perhaps been sufficiently recognized, either by students of the Slav race or by travelers from the west of Europe, who have given us their impressions of the country as a whole.

(Russian Travels and Studies, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1906.)

A Scrap of Paper.

THE UNION BETWEEN UKRAINE AND RUSSIA.

Revels at Zrento by the Poles the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky turned his thoughts towards the possibilities of a permanent defense based upon a Muscovite alliance. Muscovy was no less eager. On the 8th of January 1654 Vasyl Buturlin and the others envoys of the Tsar Alexis arrived at Pereyaslav. They presented themselves before the Zaporogues and addressed the Hetman handing him presents from the Tsar. On the same day terms were discussed between the envoys and the army in the Cathedral. In February Khmelnytsky sent a special mission to Moscow to complete the treaty. After an agreement (more or less forced upon both sides by the Polish danger) had been reached Bohdan Khmelnytsky took the oath on February 19th, 1654. The treaty took the form of two acts. A charter from Alexis, the articles of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

The apparent contradiction between the two was not regarded as such at the time for very little was then known about the niceties of international law. Had the obvious intentions of both parties been set down in writing by 20th century lawyers many hard comments would have been spared.

The articles are considered as an agreement between two parties; the charter is taken as a favor granted by the Tsar.

Be that as it may the treaty of Pereyaslav must be considered as a whole. It was binding enough for the time and defined the mutual relations between the Ukrainians and the Muscovite Tsars. The real political meaning of this treaty remains still a difficult problem for the theorists of the international law, because several questions were left unsettled and others were far from being clearly stated. The first clause of the "Articles" guarantees for the Ukrainians full local autonomy in all directions generally, in the financial domain inclusively. The article 5 guaranteed to the Ukrainian people the right to enter into independent diplomatic relations with other nations. The articles provide for the free election of the supreme head of the Ukrainian nation, the "hetman", the complete independence of the judicial tribunals, and the full autonomy of the Ukrainian Church.

These and other stipulations prove beyond all doubt that the Ukrainians entered into the union with the Muscovites on a footing of equality. Especially clear from this and the subsequent treaty emerges the fact that the hetman was recognized by Russia not only as the chief of the Zaporogues army but also as the freely elected head of a free people. The gist of the treaty is the independence guaranteed to both parties to it. Both parties should retain their special social and political structures. The only evidence of the union should be the person of the monarch, certain common financial affairs, and the negotiations with Poland and Turkey, which according to the "Articles" were to be carried by both parties in common. No wonder, therefore, that Prof. Sergeevich, a Russian, in his "History of Russian Law" characterizes the union of Ukraine and Russia as a personal union.

HOW THE COMPACT WAS KEPT.

A period of three years divide the date of the treaty and the date of the death of its author, the hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. But this short period gave him full opportunity to learn the real intentions of the Muscovite government towards his nation.

The promises, made to the Ukrainians to solemnly, were never kept and perhaps were never intended to be kept. The military support, promised in the treaty, was really never given and the Ukraine was forced to continue the struggle against her enemies single handed. The next hetman was Vyshkovsky, who sent upon his election delegates to Moscow, when the charter of Khmelnytsky was immediately confirmed. But in practice the Russian policy was well marked, it was the intention of the Muscovite rulers to curtail the Ukrainian rights and to appear on the stage only when their own rights were involved, that is at the time of the making of the treaties, in order to take a lion's share in the partition or the rearrangement of the territories.

Vyshkovsky attempted to break away from Moscow and to make an alliance with the Poles. But the Ukrainians, placed as it were, between the devil and the deep sea were doubtful. In 1659 George Khmelnytsky was elected hetman and again the treaty of Pereyaslav was confirmed. In 1683 Bruchovskiy, the new hetman, concluded with Moscow the treaty of Buturlin which confirmed the previous arrangements.

In 1688 he went personally to Moscow being the first hetman who took it upon himself to do so. He was prompted by his desire to submit directly to the head the grievances of Ukraine. No lasting results followed.

however and he also in turn denounced the treaty.

Manushchich succeeded him at the election held at Hlubok in 1689 and again all the articles were confirmed. In 1672 at Konopish Samoilovich was elected hetman and the articles were once more confirmed while new engagements were also entered upon.

In 1674 at the occasion of the reunion of the Ukrainians lands of both sides of the Dniپر (the separation that followed the rule of Bohdan Khmelnytsky), new articles were read and ratified at Pereyaslav.

In 1687 the hetman Samoilovich was dismissed by the electorate and replaced by Ivan Mazepa.

During all these years however no hetman had found it possible to uphold all the rights of his people against Muscovy. Nevertheless everyone of them had had the letter of the treaties reasserted after his election even if the spirit of them was little respected.

With Ivan Mazepa however the situation changes for the worst. The new hetman found that the insidious penetration of the Muscovites in Ukraine had weakened and demoralized the Ukrainians while at the same time the power and strength of Muscovy was waxing stronger.

He obtained nevertheless confirmation of the previous arrangements. But the form was already changed. It was no longer a alliance between equals. There were desires formulated by the Tsar and a formal acquiescent reply from the Zaporogian army.

MUSCOVY DESTROYS THE POLITICAL AUTONOMY OF UKRAINE.

The leading principles of the Muscovite policy was now well established. In studying this early period of the Union the Russians historians base themselves upon a part of the facts and upon circumstances. That basis is not altogether honest. Neither facts nor circumstances constitute all the truth. For instance it is said that hetman after hetman revolted against his Tsar. How the elected representative of a whole people whose predecessors have each and all concluded a treaty with the person of a neighboring monarch can he be said to have revolted? Can a free man, freely elected as the free chief of a free nation revolt, and if he revolts, against whom?

What the hetman did was to protest forcibly against an illegal and persistent interference on the part of the Tsars of Muscovy or their representatives. That the corruption brought about by the latter forced these protests helps us to precise the facts and to qualify the circumstances. Mazepa in his turn attempted to withdraw from agreements which it was not intended by the other party to respect. His defeat at Poltava at the side of Charles XII of Sweden the chivalrous ally of the Ukraine showed plainly on which side was the force—and as usual right had to bow before might.

Peter the Great had at last the chance for which he had longed. The Russian Empire was founded. It was to last more than two centuries. Its disintegration in the course of the next few years might have been prevented if he and his successors had used their victories in the British way. Unfortunately Peter the Great and all his successors except Peter II wished plainly to alter the mutual relations, to destroy the guaranteed independence, to abolish the autonomy granted, and to change the Ukraine into a Russian province. To work was immense, and required many years and persistent energy for its completion. It was never completed because injustice can seldom be carried to a successful issue.

As the first victim of the Russian aggressiveness towards the Ukraine fell the right of the "hetmans" to negotiate with foreign powers, and the free election of the highest Ukrainian officers. The Tsars first began to influence the elections of hetmans with corruptions, frauds, and intimidations. Then the right of election of hetmans was taken away; the hetmans were to be appointed by the Russian Tsars. Finally, Catherine II abolished this post altogether.

With the limitation imposed upon the free election of the hetman and his powers, went also the limitation placed upon other autonomous Ukrainian officers. This policy was carried out until all of them ceased to exist, and the Ukraine became a part of Russia, divided into Russian provinces, governed by Russian officials who were appointed arbitrarily by the Russian Tsars.

RUSSIA DOES AWAY WITH THE SEPARATE UKRAINIAN ARMY.

The Ukrainian administration organization was based upon, and united with, the military organization of the country. The famous armies of the Ukrainian Cossacks might have become a serious obstacle to Russian schemes. The Muscovite government, therefore, tried by all means to demoralize this power. By setting the army against its commanders, its force of resistance was broken. Then

thousands after thousands were sent out of the country to defend the Russian provinces, to build military roads and cities in swampy regions where most of them died. Finally their fortified camp on an island of the Dniester River was taken by surprise and destroyed, and the remains of the once free soldiers deported to colonize far provinces of the Russian Empire.

ABOLISHING THE AUTONOMY OF THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH.

The autonomy of the Ukrainian Church was the next victim. The Muscovite Tsars had granted it in express words by the article VI of the Pereyaslav Treaty, but they immediately tried to abolish it, because the Church played at that time a propitious role in the history of every nation, all teaching, printing and literary production, in fact, being connected with her. To subject the intellectual life of Ukraine to the Muscovite influence, the famous Ukase of 1720 was published prohibiting the publication in Ukraine of any book other than of religious nature. Gradually, all the estates of the Ukrainian Churches were taken up by the Russian Orthodox Church, and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Church was subjected to the Russian Patriarch of Moscow. The Ukrainian Church ceased to exist, and the Russian Orthodox priests in Ukraine, as a rule, became a formidable Russifying instrument as well as an element of obscurantism and darkness.

SOCIAL ENSLAVEMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN MASSES.

The Ukrainian Cossack movement had succeeded to a great extent in freeing the masses of the Ukrainian people from the serfdom imposed by the Polish nobility. At the time of the Pereyaslav Treaty the Ukrainian farmers were not serfs, and remained free for many years after it. In order to break the unity of the Ukrainian people, and especially to crush the influence of their educated classes, the Russian government on the one hand made all efforts to Russify them and diffuse them among the nobility and bureaucracy of Russia, and, on the other hand, tried to pass as the friend of the Ukrainian lower classes, and to pretend that all the curtailing of the Ukrainian autonomy was being done to protect them from Hungarian and from the Southern Slavs, borrowing from them all and making it its own. More valuable still and making its own, Mr. Bolinsky in his study of the Epic of the Army of Prince Ihor, because Mr. Bolinsky belonged to the enemy camp, being himself a Great Russian. The *Ihor Song* shows in a well marked fashion the southern origin. The graceful form of its language remains as parts of the actual idiom of the Little Russians. But what tells most in the favor of a Ukrainian origin of the song is the mode of life of the people that is shown there. There is something gentle, noble and human in the mutual relations of the characters in the poem. Everything there makes one think of Southern Russia where one finds actually something so human and so noble in the family-life, where the relations are based upon affections and woman enjoys her rights. It is the very reverse of what takes place in Northern Russia. The family relations there are marked by coarseness; woman is reduced to the state of some sort of domestic animal and love is altogether absent from marriage. Compare the ways of living of the Little Russian peasant with that even of the middle-classes, of Muscovy and you will be convinced we are that the *March of the Soldiers of Ihor* has a southern origin. Yet when the opera based on it was represented in New York and London, even though one of the leading parts was taken by Didur, himself a Ukrainian, the ignorant Press insisted on ascribing "Russian" opera, "Russian" life and "Russian" history.

THE PROCESS OF DENATIONALIZATION IN FULL SWING.

The end of the 18th century witnessed the first signs of the national revival in Ukraine, which really took place about the middle of the following century. Promising as it was, it was mercilessly suppressed by the Russian government by means of most drastic measures. The leaders of the movement were persecuted, arrested and imprisoned or exiled; their works censored, the language itself placed under ban. In 1776 the Draconic Ukase of 1776 was published, which forbade to publish in Ukrainian any work other than those of a historical or literary nature. It imposed the duty of using Russian spelling, and forbade Ukrainian concerts and theatrical performances. What by this decree was left unrestricted was made so by strict practise of the censorship.

The "Constitution" of 1906 brought about certain ameliorations but they were shortly afterwards frustrated by different unconstitutional ordinances and international treaties, oppressive for the Ukrainian language, literature, and nationality.

The Ukrainian national movement escaped final doom only thanks to the fact that a small portion of Ukrainian territory was not under the Russian rule. In the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina Ukrainians had some opportunities to develop their culture. Notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in their way by the autocratic regime of the Polish nobility and the central government of Austria they managed to emancipate themselves economically and politically and to make this insignificant part of the Ukraine her real Piedmont. To destroy this last refuge of the Ukrainian movement was one among the other objects of Russia in the present war. This effort was the last act, on Russia's part, in her relations towards Ukraine, relations which had been so honorably inaugurated by the Ukrainian in the Pereyaslav Treaty, and has been by the Tsars so shamefully violated for 200 years.

EMIL KEYVYUK.

The Literature of the Ukraine.

THE ORIGINS.

In spite of the numberless restrictions placed upon the Ukrainian literature by what the Russian apologists would term the necessities of political discipline, there have been in the last century sufficient and even plentiful indications that the "peasant language" can bring forth a distinctly national and by no means unworthy literature. This apart from the older Ukrainian literature and especially from that wonderful collection of folk songs and epics which, almost unequalled in its richness and the wholesomeness of its poetry.

The most precious literary treasure of the Ukraine is of course its oral popular poetry, that is made up of traditions, songs, narratives and proverbs verbally transmitted by the peasants. The characteristics are a lively lucidity and a sad yet virile tenderness. A poet who has made a special study of it, Bodenschedt said that the Ukrainian popular poetry marked itself out by its delicacy as well as by its elasticity especially when compared with the crude and brutal songs of the Moscovites. "One is compelled to admit that the people who can sing such songs and find pleasure in them cannot be said to have remained at a lower degree of intellectual development." Professor Hambaum translated, and commented upon, the songs of the Ukraine in several of his publications. There was especially in the *Revue Polistique et Littéraire* a passage quoted from a report presented to the *Congrès Littéraire* at Paris in 1825 by Michailo Drakomany. In these tales and simple narratives," says M. Hambaum of the traditional prose-literature of the Ukraine "better still than in the epic songs one can realize the Little Russians' character, that spirit sometimes gay and teasing like in tales of pines and poplars; sometimes gloomy like in their ghost stories. Passionate in their claims for justice and liberty against the landowners, attached to the ancient superstitions, as to the ancient heroes, giving free play to their vagabond imagination, pursuing freely the *Fire-Bird* or *Nastasia the Beautiful*, reflecting in their infinite variety the dreamy fantasy of the Germans, the piquant liveliness of the Southern nations, the humorous melancholy of the Great Russians and in spite of all preserving their own originality in truth. Little Russia is altogether different from Russia, from Germany, from Hungary, and from the Southern Slavs, borrowing from them all and making it its own. More valuable still and making its own, Mr. Bolinsky in his study of the Epic of the Army of Prince Ihor, because Mr. Bolinsky belonged to the enemy camp, being himself a Great Russian. The *Ihor Song* shows in a well marked fashion the southern origin. The graceful form of its language remains as parts of the actual idiom of the Little Russians. But what tells most in the favor of a Ukrainian origin of the song is the mode of life of the people that is shown there. There is something gentle, noble and human in the mutual relations of the characters in the poem. Everything there makes one think of Southern Russia where one finds actually something so human and so noble in the family-life, where the relations are based upon affections and woman enjoys her rights. It is the very reverse of what takes place in Northern Russia. The family relations there are marked by coarseness; woman is reduced to the state of some sort of domestic animal and love is altogether absent from marriage. Compare the ways of living of the Little Russian peasant with that even of the middle-classes, of Muscovy and you will be convinced we are that the *March of the Soldiers of Ihor* has a southern origin. Yet when the opera based on it was represented in New York and London, even though one of the leading parts was taken by Didur, himself a Ukrainian, the ignorant Press insisted on ascribing "Russian" opera, "Russian" life and "Russian" history.

What is called the common inheritance of Russian and Ukrainian literature because of its being written in the old slavonic language, (that is truly speaking, in old Bulgarian), Yaroslav's Laws of the Rus', Volodimir Monomachus' Instructions and the Gospel Ostromir, were nevertheless the work of Ukrainians. This of course does not apply to the *Song of Prince Ihor* which was written in Ukrainian. The chronicle of Nestor itself contains much that was not of the church language but Ukrainian. Two thirds of the so called early Russian Literature had a Ukrainian origin. Even so far as the time of Peter the Great who surrounded himself with Ukrainians who wrote in the Muscovite dialect, the same may be said of Russian literature.

The popular democratic Ukrainian literature began in the Kiev region about the 10th century. That was the time when the Bible was first introduced by the Byzantine missionaries whose presence had been requested by Volodimir the Saint. The Bible was then in the language of the Bulgars, sufficiently akin to that of the Ukrainians to be understood by them but nevertheless different and therefore foreign. The Church language was exclusively employed at first in the early *Chronicles*. But gradually words and idioms peculiar to the Ukraine found their way into the written language. The *Chronicles* such as that of Volynia-Halitch show that tendency very markedly. The religious and dogmatic narratives is often interrupted to make place to military exploits, dialogues, long discourses, popular tales, proverbs, excerpts and pieces from epics and even by verse. This and others such as the *Chronicle of Nestor* and, as we have seen, the *Song of Prince Ihor* are claimed for the early literature of Russia. The claim is an absurd one. The early Russian Literature must be sought in the Northern States of Novgorod, Tver and Pskov which later merged into the Duchy of Moscow.

Kiev, Lemberg (Lviv), Lutsk, Ostrog—all Ukrainian centres—had flourishing schools at a time when Muscovy was still a barbarous state. The students wrote verses. Mysteries, like the French scholars of the early Middle-Ages and translated or adapted many western works of a similar character. The written language was falling into line with the spoken tongue. Kiev had its popular *hittos* or historical chronicles. The Cossacks had their popular rhapsodies sung by *Kobzars*, the minstrels of Ukraine. These bring us one step nearer towards modern Ukrainian literature.

Many of the Bylinas, or epic folk-songs of Russia which date from a time of which history tells us very little, are of Ukrainian origin. While, however, they were doubtless at one time familiar enough in the Ukraine as in Russia, from Archangel to the Black Sea, they have lingered only in the most remote parts of the dense-forest lands of the North. When in recent years collectors attempted to awaken the echoes of songs that took their birth under the Golden Gate of Kiev, they found no response but from the huts on the shores of Lake Onega. It is doubtful if, even in these hamlets sheltered as they are from the influence of civilization by vast and almost impenetrable swamps, these *bylinas* can now be heard.

If the people of the Ukraine have like most other nations, lost their priceless *Sagas*, they are to some extent compensated by the possession of a unique species of folk-songs known as *Dumy*, and with which we must perforce here classify the *Dumky*, the *Pismy* or *Spirnyky*, the *Kolomeiky* and the *Shumky* or songs of the salt-caravanners. An examination of these melodies shows them to adhere with remarkable fidelity to the old Greek or Church modes. The mode which occurs most often is the ionian while the lydian and the dorian are tolerably often met with. These were doubtless quite adequate to express the placid dignity of the ancient epic stories. The Ukrainian peasant who is of an intensely poetical nature, has turned for comfort in his affliction to his songs. The Ukrainian folk-songs are easily recognizable by the peculiar curve of the melodies which are not remarkable for their variety, in fact they bear a strong family likeness to one another, but are quite different from any other folk-tunes. To compensate for lack of variety they are wonderfully flexible in the hands of the singers and can be varied from verse to verse to suit the changing meaning of the words. This pliancy is due to the invertebrate character of the melodies, the accent of which usually falls on the weak beat. The late Mikola Lissenko who has made extensive researches to which he has provided appropriate and scholarly accompaniments has preserved with remarkable fidelity the ingenuity and curious rhythm of the originals.

Until recently the *dumy* of the Ukraine were sung by blind minstrels called *Kobzars* who wandered from town to town like the Troubadours and Bards in Western Europe, sure of an enthusiastic welcome wherever they appeared. There was nothing transitory or fugitive about the *Kobzars*. They seemed always to belong to the Steppe; they were psychologically united to the Ukrainian landscape and the Ukrainian village-green. The *Kobzars* went through a regular apprenticeship to their art and were competent musicians. They accompanied their songs on a stringed instrument known as the *bandura*, belonging to the family of the mandolin. It is a large instrument with usually twelve strings, of which six are long and thick and are attached to pegs in the neck while the remaining are fastened by studs to the edge of the finger-board. The six bass strings pass over the finger-board itself like the violoncello and can be stopped. The others are used to play the melody and in many cases far exceed the number of six which is however the most frequent. The tone of the *bandura* is soft and sweet and in this account better suited to the accompaniment of the *dumy* than the *lira*, another instrument used in Ukraine.

The singing of the *Kobzars*, like that of all modern Ukrainians (for the latter are one of the few peoples who preserve their village choir-singing to this day) is the important part and the music must not overwhelm the singer because it is the words of the song that the Ukrainian peasant wishes to hear. The songs of the Ukraine have this political importance, that they contributed more than anything else perhaps, in keeping the national fire alive. The effect of the *dumy* in particular is so remarkable that the most strenuous efforts have been made by the Russian authorities to suppress them. The *Kobzars* were and are still hounded about from place to place and, apart from eastern Galicia, their singing must be done like the preaching of Martin Luther, in a barn, with the greatest secrecy. The printing of the songs was forbidden, unless the words were translated into Russian or into French. Ukrainian editions had however been published in Lemberg and, since the revolution, also in Kiev. There is an extensive collection of them in the form of gramophone records and these are easily procurable.

MODERN UKRAINIAN LITERATURE.

It is usually said in cursory attempts at a study of the Ukrainian literature that its modern expression dates from 1798 when Ivan Kotliarevsky published his *Aeneis*. The assertion is correct but misleading. There had been Ukrainian writers during the 18th century like Tansky and Nekrashevich. There were others not less active although perhaps less gifted at the time of Kotliarevsky, Kyvka, a Ukrainian precursor of George Sand, Gogol the Elder and Hulak-Artemovsky. They, with Kotliarevsky, created during the first half of the 19th century a new poetry, a new literature and a new theatre in that "peasant dialect," the beautiful, musical and rich language of the Ukraine. Their efforts however were mostly pioneer-work and the name of Kotliarevsky will suffice to emphasize the importance of that period which precedes and from which proceeds directly Tarass Shevchenko, the purest star in the Ukrainian history. Kotliarevsky's parody of the *Eneid* described in amusing fashion the progress of Eneas and the inhabitants of Troy—that is, the poet transferred the unhappy state of things in the Ukraine to the city of Troy and applied to the Trojans, the sympathetic features of the scattered Cossacks hounded from their nest of the Zaporozhian *Sitch*. The force and the rhythm of the language used by the author helped to arouse and renew the intellectual activity of the Ukrainians. *Natalia Poltava* and the *Magician-Soldier*, two of the popular pieces of Kotliarevsky which are still acted to this day by various Ukrainian troops, created the new Ukrainian drama with subjects drawn from popular life. Thus from the very beginning the Ukrainian literature emerges straight from the soul of the people, making an instrument of victory of the very fact that might have led to their death—the continuous desertion through generations of some of its educated young men of the wealthier classes—expressed the people; it is written for the people and by sons of the people. About the same time there were also Maximovich, Kodakosky, Tseretev, Sredniyevsky, Lukashevich and Bodiansky who, fired by the energy of the others, began the publications of collected extracts from the oral popular literature. At the same time they cooperated in the re-establishment of a thorough study of the language spoken by the Ukrainian people. In 1826, Baulich-Kamensky published a history of the Ukraine in the Russian tongue. This could not have been possible but for the preliminary works of the above-named writers.

The movement was launched; the revival was under way. Under the impulse which was kept up in Russian Ukraine and in Galicia owing to the efforts of Shaskevich, Vahilevich, Holovatsky and Ustianovich visible results were already apparent. Then professor Bodiansky published his *Cossack Chronicles*; Metelsky and Kostomarov were gathering the monuments of the popular literature and publishing original poetry and translation in Ukrainian of the classical poets of Western Europe. The literary and scientific men of Kharkov were already discussing the idea of a national restoration of the Ukraine. While Fedkovich in Bukovina, Dukovich in Hungary and many others in Galicia were gathering the riches of their national folk-lore, Tarass Shevchenko was growing to manhood as the chattel and serf of a German landowner, Engelhardt, by name, in the province of Kiev.

There was from 1861 a monthly review published both in the Ukrainian and Russian languages under the title of *Osnova*. It contained geographic, literary, philologic and other articles of value from the national as well as the artistic point of view. Talented Ukrainian writers, such as Bodiansky, Shevchenko, Hlibiv, Kostomarov, Kulish, Storozhenko and one of the most sympathetic of them all, Mme. Markovitch (Marko Voutchok) were the contributors. "One of the father's novels (*Maronossy*) was first translated in Russian and later in French when, translated by Mr. P. J. Stahl, it appeared as a feuilleton

in *Le Temps*, then as a volume. In spite of the unfavorable conditions under which the Ukrainians were struggling in Russia the number of these poets and writers became more and more considerable. Shevchenko, however, overshadowed them all. More than any other poet he deserves the title of popular. His wealthy but thrifty owner Herr Engelhardt decided one day to send young Tarass to the Russian capital where he might pick up sufficient knowledge and improve a natural aptitude for painting, to bring him later considerable profit. In Petrograd Shevchenko was introduced to the painter Brulov who, with Jukovsky the poet, helped him to buy himself out for two thousand and fifty rubles. Shortly afterwards, having completed his studies at the Academy of Arts, Shevchenko published in 1840 his first volume of Ukrainian poetry under the title of *Kobza*. In 1844, already famous throughout the land, the painter-poet settled in Kiev where he was made acquainted with Kostomarov the professor of Russian History and Kulish a young ethnologist of repute. The influence exerted by the freed-slave-of-genius over his two countrymen renewed and intensified their love for the people and the common hatred for the state of servage under which Shevchenko's own sisters and brothers were still living. The three friends, often dreamed of a restoration of the Ukraine on a pan-Slav basis but certainly not under the rule of Russia since the Great Russians had less Slav blood than any of the other Slavs and since the absolutism of their government prevented any possible thought of progress. In one of his poems Shevchenko condemned that Russian policy of conquest which swallowed up small nations one after the other and prevents their free expansion. "From the Moldavia to the Fin all this world is silent in all its tongues." In 1842 a Ukrainian student betrayed the Ukrainian dreamers of a better world; later on Yosefovich assistant administrator of Kiev handed over to the police Kostomarov's manuscript on the Slav Federation which the latter had lent him as a friend. Kostomarov, Kulish and several others were exiled but for Tarass Shevchenko was reserved the cruellest punishment. He was sentenced to ten years' military service in the Orenburg disciplinary brigade in the Kirghys Steppes—a punishment that broke him body and soul. By special order of the Czar he was allowed neither paper nor ink and a year after he had completed his sentence he died. Besides his verses which he wrote every child in the Ukraine knows by heart he also wrote his autobiography which is by the way now being translated into the English language by Mr. P. Silver. This was partly in the form of fiction partly in the form of a diary. Much also can be learned about him in his own lyrical verses and his epic poems. In his "Bandits" he left a splendid memorial to those heroes who in 1668 prepared a St. Bartholomew's Eve at Uman for their Polish oppressors and made a final attempt to shake off the foreign yoke and to gain freedom and independence for their native country. His ballads of the Ukrainian Steppe with the magic of its landscapes and its romantic traditions is infused with fresh life. Thousands of Ukrainian pilgrims visited Shevchenko's resting place at Kanev on the Dniester but this was forbidden in 1914 by the Russian government who had the mound carefully guarded by soldiers.

The Review *Osnova*, so brilliantly edited by Kulish with the help of his friends, stopped publication at the death of Shevchenko. That time was the second year of that period 1854 to 1862 which comes as a breathing space in the midst of the perpetual tragedy which is Russian life. The national activity was apparent on every side. Private national schools, free teaching by students in the villages, hundreds of books both popular and scientific—the activity had many sides. This emancipation was short lived. In 1862 all the national schools were closed. At the same time several young teachers were sent abroad to study. In 1863 the government forbade again the use of the Ukrainian language in the primary schools as well as the printing of the religious books and popular songs in that tongue. Shortly afterwards priests were forbidden to preach in Ukrainian. Such names however, as those of Alexander Konisky, Anna Barvinok (the wife of Kulish Boris Hrinchenko, Olena Pchilka are more than enough to adorn any literature.

There remained Galicia and Bukovina where there was no lack of talent since Isidor Vorobkevich (Danilo Mlaka) had taken up his pen. The works of Ivan Franko, a poet of great talent who is still alive today are the best known abroad but the sketches and stories of Stefaniak and Michailo Yatsiv, of Bohdan Lepsky, of Vasyli Shchavratsky and Olga Kobylanska are also worthy of note. Since the Revolution of 1905 the Ukrainians of Russia are witnessing once more a new expansion of their national theatre and literature. Even the shortest of studies cannot fail to give the name of Ivan Levitzky and Pannasy Mervy whose works depict the life of the people of Konisky and Staritsky, poets and publicists,

Lesha Ukrainka and Chrestia Alchevka, of Olies and Samilenko the lyrical poets and of Michael Kotsulinsky and Volodimir Vengyenko the novelists. These activities unfortunately brought about a renewal of the most stringent regulations for the Ukrainians of Russia. As to those of Galicia and Bukovina their land was laid bare by the Russian armies during the war; all their liberties were closed down and emptied and all the books in Ukrainian were destroyed. Once more we are witnessing signs of folly on the part of a government who seem to think that the soil of a nation of over thirty-five million people can be destroyed by violence.

All the names mentioned in this study are those of nationalist Ukrainians (and many of them have been omitted whose names should have been mentioned) but there was a period in the history of the Ukraine when certain Ukrainians professed to believe, some in the possibility of Russia changing the spots of her coat, others in the likelihood of the Ukrainians' democratic genius permeating the whole of Russia. To that period we owe Gogol and perhaps Nekrasov, two of the greatest writers in the Russian literature and to-day Korolenko follows a similar faith. Gogol was an avowed Ukrainian, proud of being one and most of his writings were of the Ukraine, just as Tschekovsky and Botniansky later were to do in the field of music. Whatever Gogol and Tschekovsky and the others might have thought concerning the financial and other prospects of Ukrainian writers who refused to seek the larger public assigned to those who used the Russian language, there is no doubt that the others have chosen the nobler part. Anything that tends towards the uplifting of the masses and towards their interpretation to the world at large is a noble task. That task is the one that men like Shevchenko, Drahomanov, Hrushevsky, Lissenko and Franko set to themselves. No Russian government can destroy that.

BEDWIN SANDS.

The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

The Ukrainians (Ruthenians) of Galicia and those of Hungary belong mostly to the Greek or Byzantine Rite, celebrating all the ceremonies of the Church according to the forms laid down by the Church of Constantinople. Their ancestors were converted to Christianity in that Rite and they have used it ever since. Many of those in Bukovina and nearly all of those in Russia are united with the schismatic Orthodox Greek Church. All of them, whether Catholic or "Orthodox," are of the Greek Rite, which has come down to them from their forefathers.

The Greek-Catholic Rite is the Rite of St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Gregor Nazianzen, St. John Damascene and St. Cyril. Sixteen of the Popes have been of this Eastern Rite.

Prior to the year 1054 the Catholic Church was undivided throughout the Eastern and the Western Roman Empires. In the East the people generally followed the Greek or Constantinople form of saying mass and administering all the sacraments, and used the Greek language chiefly in the church services. In the Western part of Europe they followed the Roman form and used the Latin language. Political and theological dissensions ensued, based principally upon misunderstandings, and in 1054 the Church of Constantinople was excommunicated for disobedience or schism. That made a break between the Eastern and Western parts of the church, although the Eastern separated church still retained all the essentials of Christian doctrine and belief defined up to that date. Matters only grew worse with the lapse of time, although reunion took place twice for a short period in the General Councils of Lyons (1273) and Florence (1438). The Greek Church, with the exception of a few in Italy, remained in schism; the differences between the two churches being only on two or three points.

The Ruthenians followed to some extent the fortunes of the other portions of the Greek Church. They, however, started in unity with Rome and afterwards came back to that unity, where they now are, and through it all they kept their Greek rite undisturbed.

The ancient root language of the Ruthenian and other related peoples is the Old Slavonic, or Church Slavonic, which stands to them very much like the Latin language does to the Italians, French or Spaniards. It is their church tongue, and it is the root from which their modern languages are derived.

When the Slavonic language became one of the liturgical languages of the Catholic Church, the conversion of the Slavonic tribes went on with great success. The offices and liturgy of the Greek rite so translated into Slavonic have remained substantially the same down to the present day, and are used practically in the same form as Sts. Cyril and Methodius left them, in the ninth century.

All the church books in Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia and in Austria-Hungary (whether in the Greek Catholic or the Greek Orthodox churches) are printed in the old Cyrillic alphabet and in the Old Slavonic tongue. The translation is accurate and follows the Greek almost word for word. As has just been said, the Greek Church did not sever its relations with Rome until 1054—nearly 100 years after Sts. Cyril and Methodius—and the Slavonic Church did not follow it until nearly 200 years later, so that there was one united Catholic Church using the Cyrillic alphabet and the Slavonic language for almost 400 years after the conversion of these Slavs to Christianity.

On the 6th day of October, 1596, the union between the Eastern (Greek) Church and the Western (Roman) Church, was formally proclaimed and ratified throughout all the Ruthenian and Russian speaking part of Poland. A large number of the Greek bishops and their priests and people immediately went over to union with Rome. Besides the bishops who were present at the Council of Brest-Litovsk, the Bishop of Kholm in 1597, the succeeding bishops under the jurisdiction of Kiev during the following twenty-five years, the Bishop of Munkach in 1646, the Bishop of Peremyshl in 1691, the metropolitan of Lemberg in 1700, and their flocks, became obedient to the Holy See, and the majority of all that vast reunion has remained steadfast ever since.

The Ruthenians are now firmly established in America. In the United States they number over half a million, and in Canada there are over two hundred and twenty thousand. Every steamer brings more of them and as they have raised large families, the native born of Ruthenian parentage increases steadily. They are hard working and eager to get on and become steadily Americanized.

The Ruthenian immigration began about 1880, chiefly to Pennsylvania. As they increased in numbers they brought their church here too. In 1884 Father Ivan Volanski, the first Ruthenian Greek-Catholic priest in America, came from Galicia to Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. In the following year he built the first unite Greek-Catholic church there. Two years later another church was built at Hazletown, Pa., and the year following two more at Kingston and Olyphant, Pa. In the following year (1889) two more were established at Jersey City and Minneapolis. The priests who immediately followed Father Volanski were Revs. Zeno Lachowicz, Constantin Andrukovich, Theophan Obyskevich, and since then the Ruthenian clergy have come in greater numbers, and the building of churches and schools has gone in with increasing success. Many very fine churches have been built in Pennsylvania.

Owing to the large cost of real estate in New York City the Ruthenian-Greek Catholics were late in establishing a church here. But in 1905 Ruthenian-Greek Catholic Church of St. George (originally on 20th Street but now on 7th Street, near Cooper Union) was first organized and made such progress that they purchased a larger building from the Methodists, and in 1912 the Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Church of St. Mary's was also organized. In Yonkers there are two Ruthenian-Greek-Catholic churches: St. Nicholas of Marya and St. Michael the Archangel. In Peekskill there is a Ruthenian Greek-Catholic missionary chapel. In Brooklyn there are two Ruthenian Greek-Catholic churches: St. Elias and the Holy Ghost. In Jersey City and in Bayonne there are two Ruthenian Greek-Catholic churches, that of St. Peter and Paul on Sussex Street, Jersey City, being a beautiful specimen of Russo-Greek Byzantine architecture built by the Rev. Fr. Fidhoretzki, the present Rector of St. George's church in New York.

There are now about 160 Ruthenian Greek-Catholic churches in the United States and some 40 more in Canada, as well as numerous missionary stations in both countries. The Greek Catholic clergy here number 180 priests and one bishop, and in Canada one bishop and 46 priests. The American-Ruthenian Greek-Catholic bishop is the Right Rev. Soter Orlynski, of Philadelphia, Pa., appointed by the Pope in 1907, and the Canadian bishop is the Right Rev. Nicolas Budka, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, appointed by the Pope in 1912.

ANDREW SHIPMAN.

Russia And the Galician Campaign.

In order to show forcibly that the Ukrainians, especially those of Russia, show no stubborn antagonism on their part or on that of the Russian people it is necessary to quote from some of the speeches delivered in the Duma of Empire by delegates of the Russian people. The only result of these protests however was the dissolution of the Duma. The calling of the Russian parliament served only one purpose as usual, that of drawing money from England, France and the United

States. Political leaders were listened to in courteous silence and advantage was taken from the strong feeling they expressed to persuade the world at large that Russia was a free country.

The money came in and the Duma was dismissed to be trotted out again when an imperious need of money from abroad causes the Czar's government to realize the necessity of throwing more dust into neutral and friendly eyes.

Mr. Miluykoff, leader of the Constitutional Democratic party protested several times against the Russian attitude toward the Ukraine.

"In spite of the law on religious tolerance Russian sectarians were persecuted for their religious beliefs, solely because some missionaries declared their religion to be the religion of the Germans. There was a naive and foolish attempt upon the nationality and religion of the population of Galicia which at the time had just been conquered. The sum of Russian officialdom was sent to administer Galicia. Apart from having estranged from us the Slavonic Ukrainian population of Galicia these reptile officials have attempted to obscure the halo of this great war of liberation. Theirs was an attempt upon the ideal of the future independence of small nationalities which is animating ourselves and our Allies."

"In the name of unity what have your authorities done in Galicia? The army had hardly the time to tread upon the soil of Galicia when the Russian Administration, with Mr. Gregus at its head and with the protection of count Bobrinsky and Chikhacheff, members of the Duma who I believe are now present, commenced introducing the elements of real Russian rule in this province..."

On the 7th and 8th of September 1915 during the debate on censorship more protests were formulated. Mr. Skobelev said "Of the Ukrainian press nothing but the memory of it is left. Over 20 periodical publications, from the dailies to the scientific monthlies, have been suppressed... The millions of Ukrainians and Jews were cut off from the whole world in the midst of world wide events. We are in duty bound to give back to the masses of the Jewish and the Ukrainian peoples their native tongue and their native press." Mr. Miluykoff spoke then again: "I shall not stop to relate how the Ukrainian press was treated in Galicia, but what about Kiev and Poltava? There, too, eleven publications were destroyed. I shall not dwell on the details; they are given in the interpellation which is before us. Now just note, this is done at a time when a portion of Ukrainian population passes under the rule of our enemies, when on the other side of the frontier a new and free Ukrainian literature is springing up and one can imagine what tendency it is developing. And our Ukrainian press, here, which was manifesting its patriotic spirit and was organizing the population for the fight against the enemy had been destroyed and can no longer, by interchange of ideas with its readers, counteract the influence of the Ukrainian press on this side of the frontier."

More interesting still to American readers and more telling perhaps in view of the well-known moderation and of the diplomatic cautiousness of the speaker is the speech delivered on September 4 in the Upper Chamber of Russia by Baron R. R. Rosen former Russian Ambassador at Washington. "We cannot win the sympathy of the civilized world unless we bring our internal front, so to speak, on a level with the political ideas of our valiant Allies and apply them in the administration of our border provinces and in the government of the nationalities forming part of the population of Russia. There are two diametrically opposed methods of government. One is the method adopted by our Allies. Its results were seen in the enthusiastic outburst of patriotism throughout the self-governing British Colonies... The other method is that of the German... In our policy towards our border provinces and towards the so-called non-Russian nationalities we have to the greatest detriment of the real interests of Russia followed closely the German system of government. We have even improved upon it by an addition of medieval religious intolerance."

Ethnographic Map of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Nation,

published in Lemberg, 1894, by the "Society of Public Education" ("Prosvita").

The first glance at this map calls our attention to the fact that the Ruthenian-Ukrainian nation, numbering at present more than 30 millions, inhabits a vast territory from North-East Hungary in the West as far as the Donetz and upper Kuban in the East, and from the Pripiet and Soje in the North as far as the Black Sea in the South, that is to say the basins of the upper Theiss, of the Danube, of the Bug, of the middle and lower Dnieper and of the northern Donetz. Very compact in the West in Hungary, in Austria and in South Russia properly called Ukraine, the Ruthenian-Ukrainian population competes with the Great Russian element and extends by scattered islets towards the Ural through the governments of Saratov, Samara, Orenburg in Siberia and recently even into the basin of Amur.

The limits of the compact Ukrainian population which we have just indicated (with the exception of the Cossack Country of the Black Sea which was not colonized by the Ukrainians until the end of the 17th century) were almost the same at the beginning of the 9th century of our era and probably in still more remote times. Kiev, the most ancient of the Ukrainian cities at that time, already presented the ethnographical and even the political centre of a federation of tribes known under the name of Russia. Towards the 13th century the Slav colonization in the basins of Oka and Volga, peopled at that time by Finnish tribes, etc., had given origin to a new race, which, being subordinated to the Russian princes, had also taken the name of Russia, but which had an ethnical and ethnographical character altogether different. Organized in the beginning of the 13th century into a political organization and strengthened by the enlarging of its territory, this new race formed, about the middle of the 13th century, a state under the sovereignty of the Tartar khan. This state, which called itself Russia, but was known in Western Europe under the name of Muscovy, transformed itself later into the Russian Empire. Southern Russia was separated from this Empire until 1654. Annexed after the overthrow of the Tartar domination to the duchy of Lithuania, this country, already bearing the name of Ukraine (Ukraina), had become at the end of the 14th century a province of the Polish kingdom, more or less autonomous, and remained in the sphere of European civilization. Perpetual tendencies of the Polish, however, to convert the Ukraine to Catholicism and to bring the masses under subjection were the cause of a series of revolts and finally the cause of a revolution which drew this vast territory away from Poland. Ukraine, set free, placed itself in 1654 under the protectorate of the Muscovite Tsars on the condition that its autonomy would be respected in all its integrity. This protectorate, however, soon transformed itself into subjection, and at the end of last century Ukraine witnessed the deprivation of all its political independence and its annexation to the Russian Empire under the name of Little Russia. Only one part of the Ukraine or of the ancient Russia of Kiev namely Eastern Galicia, always remains separate and at the present time forms a region of the Kingdom of Hungary and of the Austrian Empire.

The understanding of these historical vicissitudes is necessary for the realization of the strange phenomena, which take place even up to this day, when questions arise concerning the ethnology of Ukraine. On the one hand certain Polish writers do not cease to affirm us that the Ukrainian people is only a variety of the Polish nation even regarding the purely ethnographical view while the Hungarian statisticians do not hesitate to count the Ruthenians of the Carpathians among the Magyars. On the other hand the official Russian ethnography is unwilling even to recognize the existence of Ukraine, and on the ethnographical map of the Slav peoples published a few years ago under the auspices of the Slavophil Society of St. Petersburg, we do not even find the name of Little Russians; all is Great-Russia since White Russia and Ukraine are concealed under the color which denotes the Russians.

The publication of the map of M. Velychko seems to clear up many difficulties which might arise on account of all these political incursions in the domain of ethnography. The first step in this direction had already been taken by the eminent geographer, M. Elisee Reclus, who has given an ethnographical map of Russia in his "Universal Geography". The map of M. Velychko will also repair a few faults emanating from the rather intricate terminology, which he employs very readily. Thus, for example, in the official list of languages admitted for international telegraphic relations we find the Ukrainian language repeated twice: once as Little Russian and again as Ruthenian. In the first case the mention is after the Russian sources, and in the other case according to the German usage, because the official language of Russia does not recognize the Ukraine, while Austria is willing to recognize the Russians in her provinces only under the latinized name of Ruthenians. It certainly is necessary to possess some historical and philological learning in order to find one's way out in all this ignominy.

However, the Ukrainians (Russians, Russians, Ruthenians, Little Russians, Tcherkassians, etc.) form a separate nation, whose character is sufficiently well determined by the anatomical, ethnographical and linguistic peculiarities. The anthropometrical studies, although very few in number and in the present time insufficient (we only have the measurements of Kopenkitch, Emme, Diebold, Krasnov, Kov, Talko, Hryncowicz, Hiltchenko, etc., made on a very limited number), in all cases show us that from the anatomical point of view the Ukrainians distinguish themselves by a (very) marked brachycephaly (their cephalic indicator varies from 82.4 to 84.8) by a tall stature (according to Diebold, from 1649 to 1700 mm) and by a complexion more or less dark, (according to M. Emme in the government of Poltava there were 19.1% light and 38% dark, according to Hiltchenko, 45.8 light, 31.7% dark and 22.4 medium). According to these peculiarities, M. Dr. E. T. Hamy traces them as well as the Bohemians, the Slovaks, the Slovians and the Serbo-Croatians to the group of Slavs of the South-West, brachycephalic, dark and of tall stature, which group he distinguishes from another in the North-East (Slavs of the Elba or Wendes, Poles, Great Russians and White Russians) characterized by a less marked brachycephaly, by a shorter stature and by a complexion more or less fair. From the ethnographical point of view, the Ukrainians distinguish themselves markedly from their neighbors. Their costumes, their dwellings, their habits, their traditions popularizing the same through the whole extent of their country, are altogether different. In fusing themselves by unconscious transitions with the White Russians in the North and in that way mingling the Carpathians with the Slovaks, they distinguish themselves vividly from the Poles and the Great Russians in the North west. But that which has been studied the most, were their linguistic peculiarities, ascertained by the works of M. M. Maximovitch, Bodiansky, Lavrovsky, Potebnia, Jitzetky, Miklosieck, Schleicher, Jegic and our honored colleague M. Abel Hovelague. Hence I have no longer need to dwell on that point. As you well know Messrs, it is exactly the linguistic principles which form up to the present time the basis of the classification of the Slav peoples. M. Velychko has drawn up his map according to these principles chiefly, but since the linguistic peculiarities correspond exactly with its anatomical and ethnographical peculiarities, we may well consider his works as an ethnographical map in the greatest sense of that word.

• Hilde Reclus: Géographie Universelle V. 490.

The National Resources of the Russian Ukraine.

The Ukrainians occupy that part of the Russian Empire which is most richly endowed by Nature. One can really say without gross exaggeration that Russia's natural riches are concentrated in the South, which is populated by the Ukrainians.

First as to agriculture. This branch of industry is, carried on in northern and middle Russia under greater difficulties due to long and hard winters, but still more is due to the lack of good farming soil. The country, which is occupied by the Ukrainians, and which is therefore called Ukraine, is in three fourths of its surface, the renowned black earth zone, famous for both its fruitful black humus and healthy climate, favorable to agriculture. The Ukrainian provinces of Kiev, Podolia, Poltava, and in part Kharkov constitute agriculturally the most advanced regions. The total area of the Ukraine is to that of Russia as 1.6, but the farming lands of the Ukraine amount to more than 32 per cent of all the farming land of European Russia. Out of the total area of the Ukraine, 53 per cent are farmed, while in Europe only France has a higher percentage (56%) of farmed land.

Owing to those circumstances, the Ukraine ranks highest among all the countries that comprise the vast Russian Empire, as to the annual agricultural production. Wheat, rye, and barley are the staple crops of Russian agriculture, and the annual production of the Ukraine of these products amounts to one-third of Russia's output. As to other farm products, the Ukraine's position is also very conspicuous. Beetroot for instance is especially cultivated in the Ukrainian provinces of Podolia, Volynia, Kiev, and Kherson; those provinces together yield five-sixths of the sugar beet production of all Russia. The Ukraine produces almost all the tobacco of the Empire, and she has the largest and finest orchards and vineyards of European Russia.

As to live stock breeding one-third is to be found in the Ukraine. Sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry come, in fact, in 50% from the Ukraine.

Ukraine is also famous for the large annual amount of game, and her sea fisheries in the Black Sea and in the Sea of Azov yield 54,000 lbs of fish yearly.

As to the mineral resources of Ukraine, they are also well to the fore. In 1905, she yielded 31,000,000 q. of iron, or 60 per cent of the total output of the entire Russian Empire. She furnishes one-third of Russia's productions of manganese, or one-sixth of the world's production. She produces all the mercury or Russia. The coal deposits in the basin of the Donetz produced 130,000,000 q. hard coal in 1905, or 75 per cent of the total production of European and Asiatic Russia. The importance of Ukraine's production of petroleum, ozocerite, peat, phosphorus, kaolin, and other specimens of the mineral wealth, is also very great.

These immense natural resources furnish splendid opportunities for the development of manufacturing industries, as this may be seen from the vigorous growth of the metallurgical industry since 1860. As a matter of fact, 62 per cent of Russia's annual production of pig iron, 58 per cent of Russia's production of steel, come from Ukraine.

These few facts may furnish sufficient indication, if not proof, of Ukraine's economic significance to Russia. Moreover, they explain also very eloquently the notorious oppressive methods used by the Russian government against the development of the national self-consciousness and the national independent culture of the Ukrainians, the native people of the land, without the riches of which Russia would be forced to develop her own economic resources of the Ural and of Siberia. This does not suit her Government since it lacks capital and since any further growth of the working class in Russia proper means the beginning of the end for the bureaucracy and the Court cliques.

Emil Reyvoux.

Help the Ukrainian Innocent War Sufferers.

AN APPEAL TO AMERICANS AND TO THE UKRAINIANS LIVING IN AMERICA FOR HELP TO REBUILD THE VILLAGES OF EASTERN GALICIA, NORTHERN BUKOVINA, AND PARTS OF RUSSIAN UKRAINE.

An area bigger than Serbia and Belgium together have been ravaged by the Russian invasion and laid utterly bare by the Russian retreat. Millions are homeless and now either living from day to day in Austria or starving as refugees in Russia or driven into a Siberian exile or hiding in the forests of the Carpathian mountains. Old men, women and children in the midst of this second winter of the war which was not of their seeking have lost the roof over their heads. When the children stretch out their thin arms and cry for bread, their mothers can only answer with tears. The fathers of these children were in too many cases killed or maimed in this war which forced them to fight against their own relatives belonging to other governments.

Whole villages and towns have been destroyed, the church often standing alone in the midst of ruins. The cattle and the corn were taken away; the plough is rusting for want of use; epidemics due to starvation have spread throughout the land.

Have not the Ukrainians a claim on your heart? Funds of all kinds have been raised for various sufferers, victims of the war between Great Powers. The Ukrainians alone have been ignored. Whether or not the governments of the world are so they have received nothing but the surplus from funds raised for other peoples. They are valuable and peaceful immigrants in America, belonging to an oppressed nation once free and respected for its high civilization and its love of intellectual culture; will their kith and kin appeal to you in vain? Will Ukrainian mothers be able to give their children something more than tears? Or must the terrible tragedy of Russian brutalities be told in full in order to excite sympathy? It is not the way of the Ukrainians to reemigrate. Are they not used to ill-treatment and persecution?

They have no aristocracy or great artists of international fame to plead their cause. The very name of their country and of their nation is almost unknown since they belong to Russia and Austria. In the latter country they occupy a province of Galicia which is often thought to be a wholly Polish province.

Ten dollars will keep ten families alive for a week. A few hundred dollars will rebuild a whole village and provide the implements of labor, the cattle and seeds, without which it were impossible to start life again.

A Ukrainian Relief Fund for the War Sufferers has now been started under the auspices of the Ukrainian Federation of the United States, composed of Americans of Ukrainian descent, and of Ukrainian emigrants who have already taken up their first papers of naturalization in this country.

The contributions to the Ukrainian Relief Fund should be sent to the address of the Treasurer Mr. Simon Yablowsky, 85 Grand St., Jersey City, N. J.

Tales of the Old World.

IF THE FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH HAD ONLY HAD A LITTLE MORE IDEALISM CONSUELO VANDERBILT WOULD BE A FULL FLEDGED QUEEN.

By LA MARQUISE DE FONTENAY.

William K. Vanderbilt's daughter Consuelo, Duchess of Marlborough, might have been Queen of the Ukraine (mutatis mutandis), and as such have played an important role in the great international conflagration now in progress had the first Duke of Marlborough possessed a little more imagination and idealism. These are qualities in which the Briton is as a rule deficient, and it may be recalled that Lord Beaconsfield always lamented their absence in the fifteenth Earl of Derby as having caused that peer to decline the Hellenic throne when it was offered to him by Greece in 1863 before being tendered to Prince William of Denmark, who accepted it and reigned at Athens as King George I.

In 1706 Peter the Great sent a special envoy to the first Duke of Marlborough offering him the Principality of Kiev and restoration in his favor of the kingdom of Ukraine if he would use his influence with Queen Anne to persuade her Government to intervene in behalf of Russia with Sweden. But neither the offers nor the promises appealed to the Duke. He realized the stormy and turbulent nature of the people over whom he would have had to rule and the constant worry in which it would have involved him with Poland, which always oppressed the Ukraine Cossacks.

The Churchills in those days, like the head of the house of Stanley in 1865, lacked imagination. If the victor of Blenheim had accepted the offer of Peter the Great many interesting problems of the near East would not

have presented themselves later on. If the Ukraine kingdom had been reestablished in his favor, if the dreams of Mazepa and of Bohdan Chmelnycki had become realities, it is even possible and probable that the present war might have been averted.

THE POWER SLAV.

Ukraine is an immense territory in the southeast of European Russia, having Kiev as its centre. The population is of a purer Slav type than the Muscovite and numbers anywhere from twenty-five to thirty millions in Hungary, Bukovina and Galicia, while on this side of the Atlantic there are over a million of them divided pretty equally between the United States and Canada. In olden times Ukraine was a bone of contention between Poland, Muscovy, Lithuania and Turkey. In London and in Paris in the days of Oliver Cromwell the English and French public were well acquainted with the struggles of the Ukrainian Cossacks to free their country from Polish rule, the *Mercurius Politicus*, a journal printed in London, devoting a particularly large amount of attention to the subject.

In 1654 Ukraine sought the alliance of the Muscovite throne against their other enemies, and a treaty was concluded, which has never been repudiated, and for the matter of that not very much respected, especially where the rights of the Ukrainians to retain their own language, and their own particular forms of creed, which is that of the Unit Church, are concerned.

For the last twenty years or more the secret agents of the Dual Empire have been unceasing in their efforts to stir up trouble against the Muscovite Government among the Ukrainians in Russia, while in self-defence Russian agents have been in a similar way endeavoring to excite the Ukrainians of Bukovina and of Galicia against the Hapsburg monarchy.

(The Evening Sun, Febr. 26, 1916.

Matthew Arnold (1822-1888)

Extract from "The Strayed Reveller".

The Poet describes the ancestor of the Ukrainian of to-day, first as the Gods see him, then as the poets see him.

The Gods are happy
They turn an all sides
Their shining eyes:
And see below them
The earth and men.

They see the Scythian
On the wide Stepp, unharnessing
His wheel'd house at noon.
He tethers his beast down, and makes his
Mares' milk and bread [meal
Baked on the embers,—all around
The boundless, waving grass-plains stretch
[thick-starred.

With saffron, and the yellow hollyhock
And flag-leaved iris-flowers.
Sitting in his cart
He makes his meal; before him for long miles,
Alive with bright green lizards
And the springing bustard-fowl,
The track, a straight black line
Furrows the rich soil; here and there
Clusters of lonely mounds
Topped with rough-hewn
Grey, rain-beleaved statues, overpeer
The sunny waste.

These things, Ulysses
The wise Bards also
Behold and sing.
But oh, what labour!
O Prince, what pain!

..... they see
The Scythian;—but long frosts
Parch them in winter-time on the bare Stepp.
Till they too fade like grass; they crawl
Like shadows forth in spring.

Matthew Arnold.

A Ballad of Eastern Galicia.

'Twas war! the King had given the word.
The martial music beat,
And all the roads of Europe heard
The tramp of warrior feet.

Poor Yurko, knowing naught of Kings,
Went forth to reap his corn.
The birds flew up on startled wings,
A thunder shook the morn.

The singing armies crashed and broke
They trod the corn to mud;
The forest flamed and died in smoke.
The grass was thick with blood.

Headless as driving tempest-clouds
The armies rolled away;
Alone, among the stricken crowds,
Poor harmless Yurko lay.

Now, who shall make the moorland yield,
Or wring from earth her bread,
When he who guides the plough afield
Is lying stark and red?

Can ghosts of slaughtered men rise up
To show the corn in dream?
Or shall they lead the kine to sup
Out of a poisoned stream?

The surge of battle ebbs and flows,
But famine has no tide.
Too late the starving folk arose
And wrecked their ruler's pride.

They bade him, like a carrion-hound
Go feed among the slain;
But many a year went darkly round,
And half the race were underground.
Before the yearning fields were crowned
With peace and golden grain.

Rosalind Travers Hyndman.

The Ukrainians Hope to Obtain Liberation After the War.

The demands of the Ukrainians are not difficult to follow. In the Russian Ukraine they suffer from oppression, persecution and the stifling of their national life due to a desire to Russinize them. In the Hungarian Ukraine they are not even admitted to exist! In the Austrian Ukraine they have at least the possibility of securing full liberties. In Bukovina, while in Galicia they have practically the same rights; but in effect these are considerably restricted by the Polish aristocracy dominating the Polish Western as well as the Ukrainian "Ruthenian" Eastern Galicia.

The Ukrainian people emphatically assert their right to decide alone of the future of the territory in which they form the majority whilst guaranteeing the religious and cultural autonomy of the minorities therein.

Realizing, however, that this ultimate aim may not be accomplished in the near future and not unmindful of present conditions they set down the following possibilities:

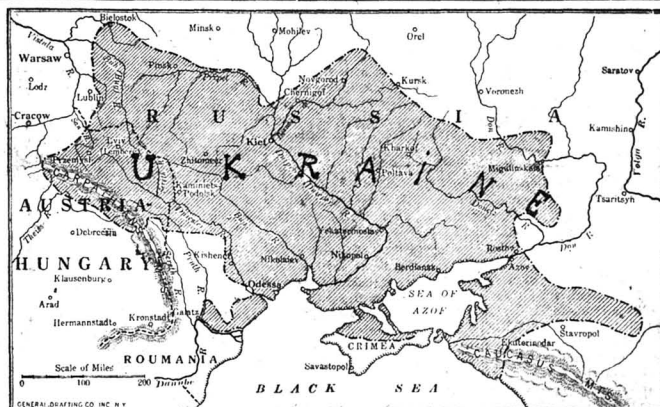
I. If the status quo be preserved.

(a) That the Ukrainian territory of Austria-Hungary be transformed into one Ukrainian province with an independent Diet where the Ukrainian nation, as a partner in the Austro-Hungarian Federation, may work its own national and economic salvation independent of Polish Western Galicia and of the Roumanians, the Magyars and the Austro-Germans of Bukovina and Hungary.

(b) That the principle of Ukrainian nationality be at last recognized by Russia and entered once far all into the official Statute-Books and that Ukraine should enjoy at least such measure of autonomy as Finland enjoyed before 1900 (time of Bobrikoff) the conditions of union of these two countries being that autonomy had been guaranteed by the Czar or his envoys to both. (1854 to the Ukraine, 1809 to Finland).

II. If the war results in the acquisition of Galicia and Bukovina by Russia, that at least the same small amount of national self-government enjoyed before the war by the Ukrainians in these provinces be guaranteed to all Ukrainians by the Treaty of Peace.

III. If Austria should conquer part of the Russian Ukraine, that an autonomous Ukrainian State be provided for by the Peace Congress to be made up from as much of the original Ukrainian territory as will secure common consent. This along with the establishment once more of the Kingdom of Poland and of a free Lithuania would prove to be not only to the advantage of the most interested powers, Austria, Russia, Germany and Roumania but it would also benefit the rest of the world and tend to make the European equilibrium more stable.



THE MAP OF UKRAINE.

The Ukrainian Exile.

(Freely rendered from the verses of BOHDAN ZALESKY.)

Joy and faith and hope are fled,
All the dreams of youth are dead;
I, a lonely singer, stand
Watching by the hollow fire
Visions pale of pale desire
In the stranger's land.

Western airs of dew and cloud
Shadow-laden, like a shroud,
Fold, the glowing heavens away;
Yet in dreams I see the wide
Oriental stepp, and ride,
Through the arch of day.

Green, illimitable plain,
Drowned in Sun, the vast Ukraine!
Here the Spirit, unconfined
Swoops on eagle wing, or stays
Where the busy cattle graze,
Or listens to the wind.

The wind that murmurs here to-day
Rose in pastures far away,
By flood and foreign ground,
Sweet with Asian, strange perfume
It whispers o'er the grassy tomb
And Scythian burial-mound.

O melancholy wind! it sings
A dirge of iron, warrior-kings
Deep-laid in long ago;

And bears, through living flowers and sun,
The plaint of all things dead and done
Forgotten pride, forgotten woe

Rosalind Travers Hyndman.

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