

The Russian Plot to Seize Galicia.

(AUSTRIAN RUTHENIA.)

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

Signs of growing Russian activity aiming at the undermining of the Austro-Hungarian rule in the Western parts of the Ruthenian territory, are noticeable everywhere. They can be perceived now not only by a student of Eastern European politics, or one who had occasion to visit personally the parts in question, but by any newspaper reader, in any part of the world. While, however, an uninitiated layman is, as a rule, debarred from penetrating into the inner significance of the developments in Eastern Galicia, Eastern Hungary and Bukovina, this is perfectly visible to one, who, like the present writer, is a native of the "danger zone" itself, and is, therefore, intimately connected with its life and problems. A Ruthenian by race, the writer is alarmed equally with the rest of his people, at the news of the feverish preparations on the part of the Russians, and their renewed determination to deal a violent blow to the cause of the national revival of his race. As one who resided long in England, he is prompted to attempt to arouse the attention of Englishmen to an affair which it is endeavoured to conceal from them studiously; and, although Orthodox and a Russian subject, he does not shrink from exposing this piece of Russian policy, where the whole question of life and death of his people is involved.

V. S.

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ORIGIN OF THE CONSPIRACY.

THE world knows of nothing more artificial than the official conception of the substance of the Russian State. If one takes up an authorized text-book on its history, or a Manual of its Constitutional Law, and reads what is said there about the origins, foundations and the development of the Empire of the Tzars, he will be surprised to discover how ephemeral and unhistoric can be the grounds upon which great political structures sometimes rest.

One of the chief dodges in the official stock of Russian political ideas is the purely "sporting" contention to the effect that the ancient Ruthenian Kingdom of Kiev and Lemberg, which lay both sides of the River Dnieper between the Carpathians and the Don, was not Ruthenian, but "Russian" or Muscovite; and that the Great Northern Empire was not a creation of barely two hundred years ago, but a direct descendent of that Kingdom which flourished from the 10th to the 14th Century. I dare say the point of view may even be not entirely unfamiliar to my reader, who probably is quite accustomed to associate the picturesqueness of the early political life of Kiev and Lemberg with the barbarity of the later historical exploits of Moscow; the Russians took good care that deliberate historical fallacies of this kind should be widely spread abroad. Many English books and encyclopaedias have adopted similar misstatements as an approved version. Who, under these circumstances, can be blamed for not realising that the Russian Empire rose from the union of two distinct Nations, and that this union was not brought about but through an accident and was accompanied by very much bloodshed? Not even all the professors of the Universities in the West of Europe have a clear idea of the *true* history of Russia. Thus, the Russians find themselves at liberty to use these subterfuges as "scientific" arguments at home, in dealing with the demands of the Russian Ruthenians agitating for the restoration of their national rights, and abroad, in diplomacy and journalism.

It is, however, but a portion, although the largest, or the ancient Ruthenian Kingdom—that which lies to the East—that forms at the present a part of the Russian Empire. The western part of it, under the names of the Kingdom of Galicia and

Lodomera, Bukovina and Eastern Hungary enters as a component into the Empire of the Hapsburgs. In the official language of the Russians, "a portion of the Russian (sic!) people remains outside the borders of the Fatherland," and they call the Austro-Hungarian province populated by these "outside Russians" "the outside Russia" or "Zarubejnaia Rossiya."

It must be mentioned here that the Russians, since they have annexed the history of the Ruthenian Kingdom to that of their own Empire, often substitute the words "Russia" and "Russian" for "Ruthenia" and "Ruthenian," now distorting the meaning of the last word, then using the term "Russia" in a double sense. If they are exposed, they seek refuge in a pet theory, according to which the terms "Russia" and "Ruthenia" are synonymous! There is no pursuing the official casuists, who will slip from theory to theory with a remarkable ease, showing that they have no real regard for their own inventions, their only aim being to incorporate, at whatever costs, the Austrian Ruthenia into the Russian Empire. In this case, the wish is the father to the thought.

But *why are the Russians so desirous of obtaining mastery over the Western (Austrian) Ruthenia?* Does this desire spring from the academic idea that what is conceived as an historic heritage must be incorporated into the realm that claims that heritage?

There are more reasons than one for their ambition, the principal one being the shelter afforded by the Austrian part of the Ruthenian territory to the national revival of the race. This revival reverberates across the frontier; it finds its echo among the Ruthenian subjects of the Tzar.

Another reason is the geographical position of Galicia, Bukovina, and Eastern Hungary. These eastern provinces of Austria-Hungary hold the key to the route into the Balkans.

To begin with this, the less important, it will be sufficient to glance at the map of Europe to see how the Carpathian mountain range, bordering Galicia and Bukovina on the west, forms a natural wall, running from the north-west to the south-east where it sharply turns to the west, as if to shelter the peninsula from Hungary. It seems to have been erected there for special purposes of protecting the Eastern invader of the Balkans; by this route the present inhabitants of the Peninsula came in the early centuries of our era to populate their new homes. Regarded as one, the Balkans and Russia face Central Europe by the Carpathian bulwark. What food

for imagination to an ambitious politician who dreams day and night of the Pan-Slavism, and of the war between the Slav and the Teuton ! *

If, however, the annexing of Galicia and Bukovina to the Russian possessions would expose the Balkan States and Constantinople to the Russian armies, whose right wing would be then thoroughly protected from any possible attack by a great power, it is by no means the nightmare of the Muscovite Pan-Slavism (although in that case it would become a real danger) that should be considered here in the first place. For the annexation of the Austrian Ruthenia, if it were possible, might imperil a movement, the further development of which would disperse for ever, automatically, all the Muscovite "Pan-Slavist" hopes.

This movement is the *National Revival among the Ruthenians*. It began in the first half of the last century ; its birthplace was Russia, the Russian part of Ruthenia.

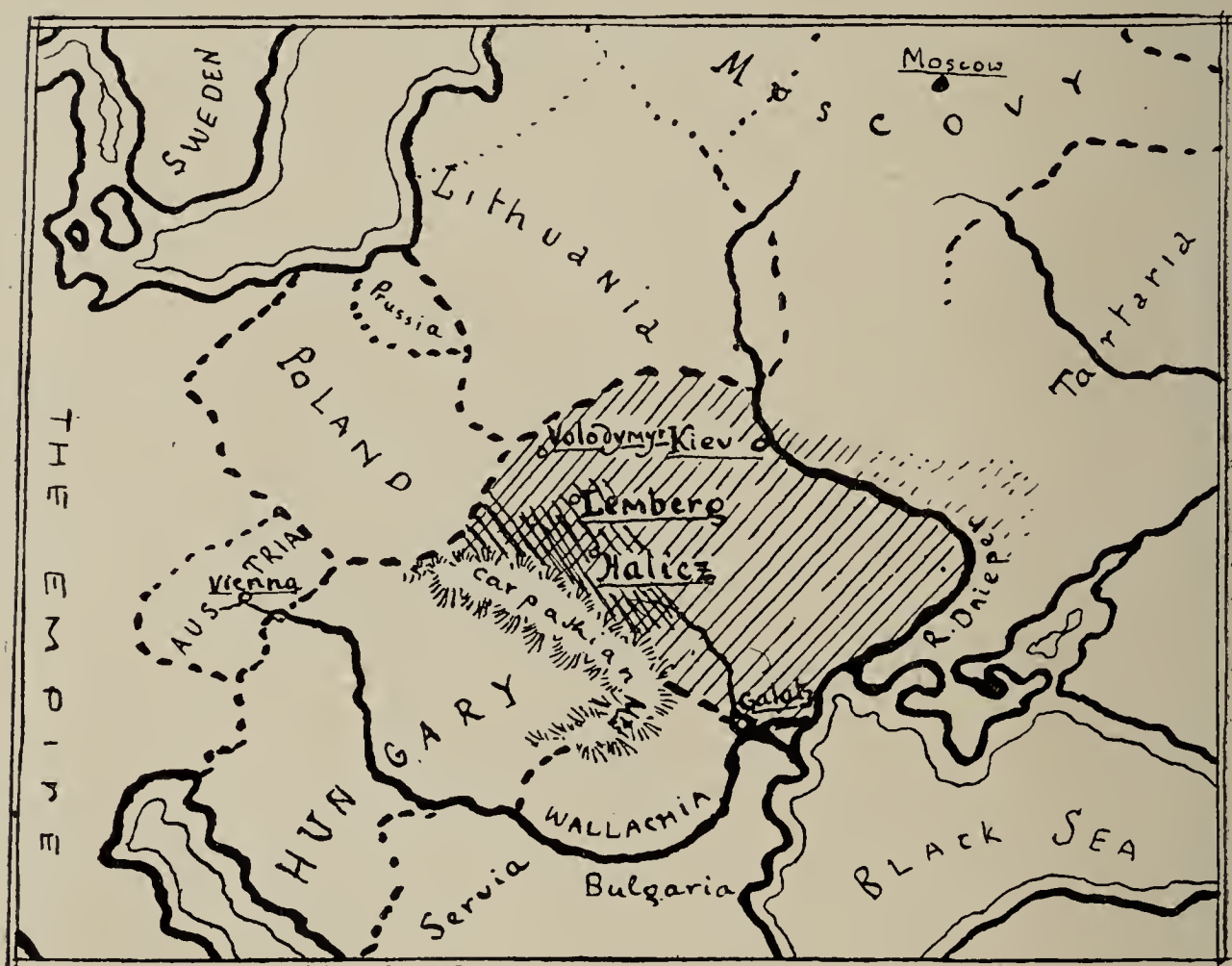
The Ruthenian Race, occupying vast territory in the South-East of Europe, is *one of its oldest and noblest races*. In ancient times they were called Scythians, and were described by Herodotus, who visited their country about the 5th Century B.C. To this day many of their "Scythian" customs and ways survive, linking them with such races as issued from the womb of Scythia to populate Western Europe. One of the native articles of dress, which is closely related to the Scotch "kilt," may serve as an example.

After the open, or "Steppe," part of the country had served for centuries as a passage to all kinds of nomad hordes, who incessantly poured from Asia into Europe, spreading ruin and terror, Ruthenia emerged from the dark, in the 9th Century of our era, as a country whose political organization was rapidly consolidating. A number of capable rulers transformed it in the course of a couple of centuries into the largest and probably the most civilized power of contemporary Europe. In 988 King Volodymyr, the Saint, introduced Christianity ; his successor, Yaroslav, The Wise, erected buildings, some of which remain to this day as masterpieces of architecture ; the successor of this, Volodymyr Monomachos, whose daughter Anne became Queen of France, married Gytha, the daughter of Harold, the Saxon King of England.

* At a meeting of "The Russo-Galician Society" in St. Petersburg on February 4th, 1913, A. I. Savenko, a member of the Duma and one of the leaders of the "Society," urged the Government to remember that Russia's future march to Constantinople lies through Galicia. (Reported in the Lemberg "*Dilo*," March 9th, 1914.)

Kiev on the Dnieper was the capital of that great and famous Kingdom, the size of which was larger than that of the present day Germany; in wealth and magnificence, it rivalled the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire itself.

When in 1240, after having been previously pillaged by the Muscovites (1147), the Ruthenian capital was finally destroyed by the Tartars, the centre of their political life was transferred to the western parts of the country, Galicia.



////// The ancient Ruthenian K^m of Galicia and Godomeria

XXXX The portion of it now forming part of the A-H. Empire

Till 1349 the Kingdom continued to exist as the largest State of Europe. Although its centre was now in the west, its border on the east reached as far as the River Dnieper, and on the south—to the shores of the Black Sea and banks of the Danube.

In the 14th Century and the 15th, weakened and disorganized by the in-roads of new Asiatic nomads (chiefly Tartars) the Kingdom

gradually became disintegrated and was annexed bit by bit to the Principality of Lithuania, which grew strong while the Ruthenians were occupied in defending themselves against the on-rush of the Tartars.

When in 1569 Lithuano-Ruthenia united itself to Poland, and this Power soon after that union, assumed the leading rôle in the newly formed Federated State, Ruthenia found itself practically under the domination of the Poles.

A hundred years later, under the leadership of its "Hetman" or elected ruler, Bohdan Chmelnicki; the Ruthenians* overthrew the domination of the Poles, thereby bringing about the doom of the Polish Republic. They then allied themselves to the Grand Duchy of Muscovy (a country a short time before discovered by some English travellers), preserving their full national independence.

This alliance concluded in 1654 at Pereiaslav (near Kiev), laid the foundations of the Russian Empire, and the Hetman B. Chmelnicki who brought it about, was the real creator of the great Russia, just as he was the primary cause of the downfall of Poland.

The aggrandizement of Muscovy and the rise of the Russian Empire were not, however, among the objects of the Ruthenians when they formed the alliance. Consequently the encroachments of the Muscovites upon their independence, met with a stubborn resistance.

In 1709, under the leadership of their Hetman, Ivan Mazeppa, and in conjunction with the Swedes, under Charles XII., they fought their last battle against the Muscovites and their encroachments upon their independence.

They lost the battle at Poltava.

The 19th century found, in place of the once independent Nation a number of "Governments" or provinces of Russia, with the exception of the western part of the country which once formed the centre of the Ruthenian Kingdom, and now, after having passed through great many intervening stages, has been allotted to Austria-Hungary.

If we wished to speak of the so-called "historic rights," so often violated but nevertheless again and again alluded to when it is desired to justify some act of international robbery, we should assert

* Or—as they were chiefly called then—*The Cossacks*. The Cossacks of Ukraine, or the Ruthenians of the 15th-18th Centuries, must not be confounded with the present day "Cossacks" of Russia, who for the most part bear no relationship to the famous Cossacks of history.

that Austria-Hungary had a much better title to the possession of Galicia, than Russia to the domination of the rest of the Ruthenian territory. For the Crown of Hungary had some well-founded pretensions to the throne of Galicia and Lodomeria. The whole part of Ruthenia, west of the river Dnieper, might be claimed by the House of Hapsburgs, on that ground.

In the beginning of the 19th Century when the Ruthenian national individuality seemed practically extinct and their territory completely incorporated into the body of the Empire under the label of "Little Russia," to the Russian surprise, signs of the Ruthenian national revival appeared.

At first the national movement manifested itself as a literary agitation. It soon, however, began to show its political nature. The demand for the dissolution of the Russian official view of the Empire and the claim for the restoration of the national rights, as guaranteed by the Treaty of Pereiaslav, were clearly foreshadowed.

From Russia the movement travelled to the Austrian part of Ruthenia. When it began to be persecuted in Russia, Austria became its centre.

The attempts to suppress the Ruthenian National Revival in Russia may be divided into two parts: first, before 1905, or before the Constitution was granted, and second, after that date.

During the first of these periods, Ruthenian literature was proscribed, no books, or newspapers were allowed to appear in the national language, except some poetry and tales. Theatrical performances were also prohibited. The use of the name of the country was regarded as treasonable. In contradistinction to other parts of the Empire, the country had to be called in the approved Russian fashion "Little Russia," and not otherwise. The Greek-Catholic, or Uniate religion adhered to by a great number of Ruthenians, was exterminated at the point of the bayonet. During the 19th Century no less than 7,000,000 Ruthenians were driven by military force into the Russian Orthodox Church and compelled to partake of its sacraments. Protestantism largely spread in the country met with similar persecution. The Bible in Ruthenian, published after its prohibition in Russia by the British and Foreign Bible Society, was declared a revolutionary publication and its circulation forbidden. It would be long and uninteresting to enumerate the wanton indignities which the Russians inflicted upon their Ruthenian subjects.

The latter replied to them by supporting *en masse* the revolutionary movement in the Empire. To mention but a few of the

more recent instances, they organized the notorious risings of the peasants in 1901-1902 ; the mass strikes of workers throughout the width and breadth of the Ruthenian territory, during the 1903-1904 ; the revolt of the Black Sea Fleet.

Father Gapon, who led the famous rebellion of the St. Petersburg populace in January, 1905, was a Ruthenian, and so were the majority of the sailors of the rebellious Baltic Fleet.

While compelled in Russia to resort to revolutionary methods, in Austria the Ruthenians were allowed to adapt their national demands to the Austrian Constitution. The Government of Austria-Hungary realized that there was no political virtue in suppressing a race that¹ was bound to survive, and the Ruthenians were accorded a degree of national recognition. Although their position leaves still much to be desired, a normal development of their nationality seems to be assured. In fact, the Austrian part of the Ruthenian territory was frequently called the *Piedmont of the Ruthenians*.

What takes place among the Ruthenians in Austria, naturally finds an echo among their brethren in Russia. The difference in treatment of the national demands by the two Powers is so evident that invidious comparisons are unavoidable. Since the sincerity of the Russian constitutional promises is greatly comprised, any hope for the betterment of the national lot within Russia seems a vain illusion.

In no other case, perhaps, was the Russian constitution quite so hollow a sham as in its application to the Ruthenians. Although nominally, more free they were *de facto* just as shamefully persecuted now as they were before 1905. To quote but a recent instance : the centenary of Shevtchenko, the revered national poet, that was to have been celebrated in March, 1914, was prohibited on the ground of "being undesirable," and prayers for the poet were not allowed to be said in the churches.

A pro-Austrian fermentation is a natural consequence of that policy.

Two courses seem open to the Russians, in view of the rapid growth of the Ruthenian National Revival, which has assumed alarming proportions in relation to Eastern European politics ; these are the emulation of the Austrian policy of toleration and goodwill towards the Movement ; or the alternative course, consisting of its fiercest suppression within Russia, plus the annexation of the Austro-Hungarian parts of the Ruthenian territory and equally ferocious stamping out of the Movement there.

Should Russia be defeated in her second course, which after all is the most probable eventuality, she will have to embark upon a policy entirely new to her and recognise the Ruthenian national claims. This would lead her to concede the full amount of freedom and independence guaranteed to them by their Treaty of Alliance with Muscovy, still on the Statute Book of the Russian Empire. In that case only the Austro-Hungarian parts of Ruthenia—should Austria alter per present policy—might be induced to take a pro-Russian attitude.

However, the question of conceding to the Ruthenians the rights that are their due, is not a very simple one from the Russian stand-point. The Ruthenian race numbers nearly 40,000,000 souls, of which 35,000,000 are Russian subjects. The territory populated by them, **Ukraine**, is one of the richest regions in the world ; and the natural capacities of the race are well recognised. Suppressed and hampered in their careers as they are at the present, they, nevertheless supply the main intellectual forces of the Russian Empire ; they form the best regiments of soldiers ; their country is the granary of the whole East of Europe ; it holds the key to the Black Sea and the most important ports of Tzardom. Given a free scope, they might challenge the very supremacy of the Muscovite race within the Empire. The Muscovites are in the minority. According to the Russian official census, which includes into their number those denationalized factions of the Empire in process of becoming Muscovites, their general number is about 75,000,000. These are faced by 95,000,000 non-Muscovites, who, by the policy of oppression may be kept for a time in bondage but would cast in their lot with the Ruthenians, if these succeeded in over-throwing the Muscovite yoke.

Therein lies the reason why the Russians will go to any length in their efforts to crush the Ruthenian revival, even to the point of war with Austria, rather than submit to the inevitable. It is hard to part with a hegemony, even if its possession is derived from pure accident, and not from any inherent right of the given race.

DETAILS OF THE PLOT.

The Russians are determined to add the Ruthenian provinces of Austria-Hungary to their own Ruthenian possessions.

The decision to that effect was probably formed in St. Petersburg during the second half of the last century, when the Ruthenian national revival became first vigorous.

It was, however, strongly disapproved of by General Kuropatkin, who, when Minister of War, in 1900, expressed himself thus, in his secret report to the Tzar :—

“ Galicia has grown up into a splendidly entrenched camp, connected to other provinces of Austria-Hungary by numerous roads across the Carpathians. The Austrian War department has succeeded in working wonders in preparing the probable area of operations on our side for both attack and defence. If we were successful in war against Austria-Hungary there would then recur the cry for the “rectification” of the frontier. The Carpathian mountains seem formed by nature for a boundary so that the whole of Galicia might become part of Russia. But we must put the position before ourselves clearly and in good time. Should we be the stronger for such an annexation, or on the other hand should we be creating a source of weakness and anxiety for ourselves? Seventy or a hundred years ago a transfer of Galicia might very likely have been of advantage, and have added to our strength But now it could be only torn from Austria by force and therefore unwillingly The Ruthenians of Galicia are not anxious to become Russian subjects The Austrian Slavs are in no real need of our help. Every year they are gaining by persistency and peaceful methods more and more civil rights, which are gradually placing them on an equality with the Germans and the Hungarians. . . . The people of Galicia consider themselves far more advanced than their Russian neighbours. In their opinion it would be a retrograde step to become Russian subjects. . . . Joined to Russia, Galicia might in a lesser degree become an Alsace Lorraine for us just as Eastern Prussia would be !”*

The old general wrote fourteen years ago, when his influence was at its height. Since then, however, his fame suffered such lamentable reverses that his words of warning lost all their weight with the Russian Nationalist politicians.

* Quoted in “The Russian Army and the Japanese War,” London, 1909, pp. 52-55.

On the other hand the National Movement among the Ruthenians grew so strong that the St. Petersburg authoritative circles far from relaxing in their ambitious designs, decided to try and infuse a new life into the somewhat amateurish intrigue that was started in Galicia during the eighties by various Russian politicians.

Count V. Bobrinski, a member of the Duma and the leader of the Russian Nationalist Party, was now selected to conduct the campaign. A descendant of Catherine the Great, a man closely related to the Russian Court, an ambitious personality—he seemed “just the man for the job.”

“The Bobrinski Campaign,” as it came to be known after, began with the convocation of the Pan-Slav Congress in Prague, Bohemia. Although, oddly enough the only language in which the delegates of the brotherly Slav nationalities were able to deliberate, was found to be German; the speeches made were violently pro-Russian and anti-Austrian. As might have been expected, Russia was declared to be the “protector of the Slavonic nations.” The gruesome fate of the Slav races within Russia, I need not say, was not alluded to.

The Congress took place in 1908, and Count V. Bobrinski one of its chief organisers, after its termination, repaired to Galicia, where he tried to make concrete the principles proclaimed in Prague.

Amplly supplied with funds, the Russian emissary founded two journals in Lemberg, the capital of Austrian Ruthenia. The object of these was to do the spade work of the campaign. As the population were not sufficiently interested in the contents of the periodicals to purchase them, they were distributed gratuitously.

Simultaneously, Count V. Bobrinski undertook to canvas every place of importance in Galicia, East Hungary and Bukovina, with the view of making inflammatory speeches against Austria, and trying to influence the population in Russia's favour.

For some time the local Austrian officials ignored this propaganda: being mostly Poles, they had reasons of their own for not appearing to take it seriously. Count Bobrinski's activities, however, aroused the hostility of the Ruthenians themselves, and at their request he was at last expelled by the authorities. His departure was expedited by a shower of rotten eggs and other missiles, considered suitable for unpopular politicians.

Although the parent was expelled, the little brood, consisting of a small “Russophile group” and the twin periodicals, foster-nursed by Russian funds, managed to survive his enforced departure.

To this day they continue their underhand work, in spite of repeated protests on the part of the Ruthenians.

How is it that so dangerous a propaganda was allowed to take root?

We have already mentioned that the Austrian officials in Galicia were mostly Poles. Now, the Russians sought their protection for their propaganda work. They represented to them the revival of the Ruthenian Nation as dangerous, not only from the Russian, but also from the Polish point of view. Themselves the originators of the final downfall of the Polish Nation, they now did not think it beneath their dignity to appear to be concerned for the Polish national interests! By skilfully parading before their eyes the "glorious future" that might await them should they cast in their forces with Russia, they obtained their support for their intrigue in Galicia. A concession of rights to the Polish language and the promise to grant self-government in Russia, were among the tentatives put forward by the Russians. That they proved effective, was shown on innumerable occasions by the Russian, Austrian, German and French press.

The expulsion of Count V. Bobrinski from Austria, far from arresting his dangerous activities, marked the real beginning of the campaign. The Count returned home armed with first-hand information concerning the conditions prevailing in the Austro-Hungarian Ruthenia, which was much more important than the theoretical knowledge possessed by the Russian politicians hitherto. He at once proceeded to form "The Russo-Galician Society" in St. Petersburg, the aim of which was to establish a Russian base for the operations; until then wanting. In Galicia itself it was decided to proceed with the work cautiously and without noise.

While it was left to the two Lemberg journals to discredit systematically in the eyes of the reading public, the foreign policy of Austria, by applying to it the Muscovite "Pan-Slav" yard-measure, the propaganda among the illiterate peasants was concealed under a religious cloak.

Nine-tenths of the Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary belong to the *Greek-Catholic*, or Uniate Church, that was once spread over much larger portion of the native territory than Galicia and Eastern Hungary to which it is confined now, but has since been exterminated in Russia, brutally and replaced by the Russian official Religion. The history of Ruthenian "Unia," this undoubtedly the most striking attempt to bring about the union of the Eastern and Western Christianity, is full of absorbing interest, and it accredits the Ruthenians with one more spiritual achievement of world-wide import, in addition to their splendid work in other directions.

The Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Church, although it employs, in common with the Orthodox, the Eastern Rite, in dogma is at one with the Church of Rome; in fact, it constitutes the "golden mean" between the two churches: it preserves the marriage of the clergy, yet is subject to the Pope.

As the majority of the Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary—some eighty per cent. of them—are peasants, it is the ritual side, not the dogmatic that frequently matters most. Count V. Bobrinski and his colleagues took this circumstance fully into account and conceived a scheme for disguising their political aims under the form of proselitizing, on behalf of the Russian Orthodox Faith.

We wish to lay stress upon the word "Russian" for a great number of Ruthenians in Austria (about 400,000), without being Russian Orthodox, still belong to the Orthodox Faith. The fact that they do not recognize the supremacy of the Holy Synod does not alter the position. With its complete subjugation to the lay authorities, Russian Orthodoxy, better designated as Muscovite, has been always and justly, looked upon in Russia and elsewhere as the vehicle of the Imperial Idea. To spread its influence among the Ruthenians of Austria-Hungary, would in itself mean to win them over to the Russian side, politically. As will be seen, however, the agitators did not mean to confine themselves to the propaganda of Russian Orthodoxy as such, and to trust in its automatic effectiveness in the desired sense, but used it only as a cover for an openly treasonable work.

Exploiting the identity of the ritual, they contrived to effect some conversions among the illiterate peasants of the remote, mountainous regions where they for the most part, centred their work, although even here none of the conversions were genuine.

The Bishop Antonius, of the neighbouring Volhynia (a Ruthenian province in Russia), a close associate of Count Bobrinski, proclaimed himself the Orthodox Bishop of Galicia, and took good care that the converts were well supplied with Russian priests. These were turned out in quantities. Any couple of dozen converted Galicians were entitled to an Orthodox priest—all to themselves. Galician youths were taken abroad, and gratuitously trained, under Russian supervision, for the priesthood. Churches were built by Russian moneys. Their children during their school years were offered free board and lodging in specially established Russian hostels in Galicia. A brood of national renegades, instructed in Russian official religion and stuffed with its political teaching, was carefully reared.

The Russian Rouble was made an efficient bearer of the popularity of the ruler, whose image was struck upon it. The illiterate peasants of the Carpathian Highlands were taught that the portrait on the coins was that of the *Ruthenian Tzar*—the Head of the Orthodox Church! In the prayer books spread by the Russian “missionaries” the prayer for the Tzar, his family, army, and the State, occupied a prominent place. To make this “religious propaganda” at all effective, the Russians studiously concealed the fact that there existed great dissatisfaction among the Orthodox Ruthenians of Russia with the Russian official Church that replaced the ancient native Orthodoxy. They also avoided mention of the persecution the Ruthenians had to endure in Russia from the national point of view.

The sale of Russian prayer books, as well as any other help to the spread of the Russian Church, was made very remunerative. In fact, as was disclosed during the recent trial in Hungary*, there were hardly any “conversions” at all that were not due to pecuniary considerations of some sort or other.

Pilgrimages (subsidised by Russia) to the Holy places in the Empire, were one of methods for bringing the Galician recruits of Russia into periodical touch with the leaders of the movement.†

The method described above—that of “religious propaganda,” as before mentioned, was intended exclusively for the illiterate, who could be deceived by the externals, while overlooking the substance. For the people who could not be led astray by so thin a disguise, yet, being capable of serving a foreign Power, needed but an excuse for compromising with their loyalty, the *openly political* “*Pan-Slav*” *propaganda* of the two newspapers of Count Bobrinski served.

They had on their staff special emissaries of the Russo-Galician Society of St. Petersburg, by which they were led. Day by day, for a period of six years, they worked to undermine the *prestige* of the lawful Government in Galicia. For this purpose they exploited the misrule prevailing there, owing to the fact that the administration of that province was entrusted to the Austrian

* The so-called “Ruthenian Treason Trial” (commenced on December 29th, 1913, and ended March 3rd, 1914) of the eighty victims of the Russian propaganda. No fewer than 247 witnesses were summoned, among them Count V. Bobrinski.

† Thus for example, a report in the Lemberg “*Dilo*” (August 1st, 1913) describes how a party of Galician “pilgrims” was ceremoniously met at the station in Kiev, and received in person by the Governor-General of the Province.

Poles. Every manifestation of oppression, injustice, disorder, or lack of discipline on the part of the *Poles*—and such were found in plenty—was explained to the readers as the sign of the *Austrian* decay and rottenness. At the same time the existing disgraceful state of affairs in Russia, was extolled as nearly perfect.

So far in this little exposition of Russian campaign we have only scratched the surface. Both the "Orthodox missionary" propaganda and the frankly political "Pan-Slav" agitation of the two Bobrinski journals were but two air-shafts, by which the secret Russian political intrigue could ventilate its design. Beneath the surface of things there existed a much more serious machinery. A regular conspiracy for the overthrow of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Galicia and converting it into a Russian "Government," was actively at work.

A certain Yantchevetski, sent to Lemberg from St. Petersburg, superintended the secret operations on the spot; at the same time, the ground was carefully prepared for clever international move. While Count V. Bobrinski continued to be responsible for the general management of the affair, his link with the Government and the "secret fund" became even more intimate than hitherto. The entire Nationalist Press was now at his disposal. Some account of the huge sums of money expended by him upon the Galican undertaking, was given sporadically by the Russian, German, Austrian, and English press*.

The said Yantchevetski, the representative of Count V. Bobrinski in Galicia, deserves a few words to himself. He received his political training in Persia, during the period of the Russian activities there, which was terminated by the bombardment of the Persian Parliament. M. Yantchevetski's official capacity in Persia was that of correspondent to the St. Petersburg "*Novoe Vremya*." In the same capacity he arrived in 1910 in Lemberg, where the present writer had an opportunity of observing that gentleman's "journalistic" occupation. Without going into further detail, it may be sufficient to mention that people are known to the writer personally, whom the Russian Nationalist agent tried to bribe into the service of the Galician plot by offers of large sums of money.

As disclosed by a few chance arrests effected during 1911 in Lemberg,† a vast secret organisation for photographing fortresses,

* For one of the latest references see "*The Daily Telegraph*," March 10th, 1914.

† "The Treason Trial" begun on March 9th in Lemberg, is based upon the evidence produced by these arrests.

bridges and roadways, as well as for collecting any other useful military information existed in the Austrian part of Ruthenia. This organisation formed as it were a back room of the Russian Orthodox Missionary Show. When its roots and ramifications were pursued, it was found to be minutely regulated and directly guided from St. Petersburg. Its inner connection with "The Russo-Galician Society" was beyond doubt, and its subordination to Count Bobrinski was evident. As later certified by a witness at the Trial in Marmaros Sziget (in Hungary) Count Bobrinski was wont to declare in presence of his followers that Russia would not demobilise before the Russian flag waved over the Carpathians.*

Seeing themselves seriously threatened, the authorities of Austria-Hungary ordered a number of domiciliary searches and arrests among the persons involved in the "Orthodox" business (1912). A mass of illuminating evidence—much more than was anticipated—was brought to light. The Russian plot was more than an extraordinary spy-affair. *Store-houses of Russian flags* were discovered; plans for *capturing mayoralties* and other municipal buildings were seized.

Even that was not all. At the first news of arrests in the Austrian Ruthenia an alarm bell sounded abroad, and a cry pierced the political air of Europe—a shriek complaining of "*Religious Persecution in Galicia.*"

The first clarion to resound that cry was the London "*Times.*" In its columns appeared a long letter of Count Bobrinski himself,† who in a masterly fashion approached the British want of knowledge in everything pertaining to the history and the actual position of the East of Europe. The Count spoke of "Russian peasants in Galicia"; he asserted that Galicia played a prominent part in the early Muscovite history, and he substituted "Russian" for "Ruthenian" as much and as often as he liked. He felt that nobody would question his accuracy in England. The statements he made were the wildest ever flung into the face of a deluded public. But the main contention of the conductor of the Russo-Galician plot was to convince the British public that a dreadful persecution of the Russian (!) co-nationals and the Orthodox faith was taking place in Austria, and that *Russian intervention*, if not absolutely imminent, could not be withheld long. The Russian feeling was outraged; Austria was worse than Turkey; the position of Galicia was nearly as bad as that of Macedonia, etc., *ad nauseam*.

* Rep. in "*The Times*," February 7th, 1914 (the dispatch from Vienna).

† Issue of April 10th, 1912.

Other newspapers in England and France gave a wide circulation to the Russian mis-statements, and the Western World was expected to swallow a number of most atrocious lies. Were the Russian conspirators successful in imposing their misrepresentations upon the public mind? They were. They succeeded in so completely mesmerizing the English and French Press that when a few weeks later, the Ruthenians protested against the Russian falsehoods, these were supported by the Russian journalistic friends abroad.

An Englishman went specially to Galicia, where he visited, in company with the agents of Count Bobrinski, the places affected by the Russian agitation; he issued a pamphlet on his return to England, in which he faithfully supported his Russian friends.*

Simultaneously in France, the same misrepresentations gained credence. In Germany alone, where the knowledge of Russian and Ruthenian affairs was incomparably more thorough than in the West, a fairly correct view of the whole affair was taken.

Further attempts on the part of Ruthenians to protest against the Russian impositions, met with a hostile reception in the Press of the Western countries; this was already sufficiently attuned to the requirements of the Russian Nationalism.

The unbiassed voices were refused a hearing by the leading press. They were completely silenced when a few weeks later the chief organs, undoubtedly to the huge enjoyment of the Russians, opened an attack of their own planning on the destruction of things hated by Russia.

The position remained more or less stationary in the condition described above, till the *autumn and winter, 1912-1913*, when the Balkan crisis and the general European tension reached their climax. Then it was evidently decided in St. Petersburg to give a fresh stimulus to the intrigue in Galicia. The Russian Nationalists openly agitated for war with Austria, and their papers were full of incitement and provocation.

The chief object of war with Austria, according to the press, which no longer concealed the hidden desires of the Russian heart, was to possess Galicia. While every description of organ and public speaker, tried by their speeches and utterances to "mobilize the Russian spirit" and create a popular enthusiasm for the "War of Liberation of Galicia," the secret agents of Count Bobrinski in Austrian Ruthenia—under protection of the Poles—worked feverishly preparing for the Russian occupation.

* The pamphlet was subsequently published in Russian, by the Holy Synod (see the report on it in the Kiev "*Rada*," August 16th, 1913.)

We do not speak of such trivial things as spies; these have since long become a common occurrence in Galicia. Even though their number was now increased enormously, it created very little excitement among the well-versed Galicians. The general bolstering up of Russian work during the war rumours, was, however, marked by some new and extremely interesting features.

Nearly every village of Galicia, Bukovina and Eastern Hungary, was honoured by mysterious visitors, who whispered to the peasants that invasion by the "Ruthenian" Tzar was imminent. The population was invited to meet the invader with signs of honour. The invader, it was assured, would take all the land from the landlords, and give it to the peasants. They would be allowed to destroy all the Jews "as oppressors of the people." The "Ruthenian" Tzar was an anti-Jewish, pro-peasant, ruler.*

So active was this propaganda among the peasants, that cases of refusal to pay debts to the Jews, and of miniature "pogroms" were recorded almost every day by the press.

The organized Russian alarms took many different forms. Thus, to remember one more that was fairly common in those days when the outbreak of hostilities was believed to be possible almost at any moment, the Russian agents told the peasants that the Austrian Emperor had decided to abandon Galicia to its fate, and was not going to defend the population against the enemy. The conclusion that was expected to be drawn from these rumours by the peasants, was that they should for their own safety give themselves up body and soul, to the Russians when they arrived.

The acute tension of 1912-1913 has passed, but the pressure of the Russian conspiracy upon the Austrian Ruthenians has not been relieved. The solemn declaration of the Ruthenian Political Council which took place at the height of the crisis, to the effect that they were determined to stand firmly by the side of Austria as the Power where their national aspirations were benevolently treated, hopelessly stuck in the ears of the Russians, who clamoured for Galicia with an increasing howl. If it was left to Austria—they argued—it would become a nucleus of the revived Ukraine State, which would tend to attract to itself the parts of Ruthenian territory now under Russia.

The concessions of the Vienna Government to the Ruthenian demands for the establishment of a Ruthenian University in Lemberg and the electoral reform to the Diet of Galicia, hitherto

* Comp., e.g., the Lemberg "*Dilo*," N. 271 (1912).

dominated by the Poles, although in no wise exceeding similar concessions to other races inhabiting the Empire, were invariably interpreted by the Russian conspirators to the Western Europeans as "attempts on the part of Austria to create difficulties in the Russian path." The whole Ruthenian National Revival, whose birthplace was Russia, was represented as an "Austrian Intrigue!" To make this ridiculous bogey even more dreadful in the eyes of the English and the French who might be disquieted by the rise of the Ruthenian Problem, this "Austrian Intrigue" was proclaimed to be an "Austro-German Intrigue." If to-morrow it was found expedient to call it "an Indo-Chinese Intrigue," we have not a slightest doubt that it would be so named. We do not doubt even that many people would be found who would believe it, although not a single proof were given to substantiate the assertion.

While the Kaiser was approached and entreated to intervene in favour of an anti-Ruthenian policy by Austria, as far back as summer of 1912, and this question was said to have formed the subject of the famous autograph correspondence between the Tzar and the Emperor of Austria in January, 1913, M. Shebeko, the Russian ambassador at Vienna, appointed there last year, seemed to have been charged with a special mission of bringing about the change in the Austrian policy regarding the Ruthenian National Revival. The crushing out of the Movement was named as the price of Russo-Austrian *rapprochement*. To facilitate the task of M. Shebeko, the Russian hirelings in the Western European press with a renewed vigour, perpetrated the Russian concoctions concerning the history and the present state of the Austrian Ruthenia. With the usual hypocrisy this was described as a country which once formed a part of the Russian Empire, and was to this day populated by a branch of "Russian" people.

While such were the activities abroad the representatives of Count Bobrinski in Galicia itself were obeying the supreme command of the hand that so skilfully manipulated the whole affair from St. Petersburg; in carrying out details of the design, they were now modestly petitioning the Vienna Government that the Russian language might be recognised in Galicia on an equal footing with Ruthenian!

"Show them (the Ruthenians) the teeth of the wolf, and the tail of the fox" said once Catherine the Great to her Minister. No doubt, Count Bobrinski has issued the same sort of order to his ambassadors in Galicia.

To lure Austria into the recognition of the Russian language on equal footing with the Ruthenian would mean to sanction the

Russian historical misconstruction, on which they base their pretensions concerning the Austrian parts of Ruthenia. There would be then no difficulty in making anybody believe that Galicia should belong to Russia as a part of the "Russian" territory left outside the borders of the Empire. For who would understand that Russian is a language as foreign to a Ruthenian, as French is to an *Italian*? A race that is fighting for recognition, like the Ruthenians, and which as yet has not obtained it is practically debarred from any means of furthering its own point of view in this mercenary world. In every direction it is confronted by some strong body—political, financial or other—whose interests are found to be injured by its revival. While it usually lacks the chief prop of modern times—money—its opponents can draw upon the secret service funds: all the means or influence—the press, the parliaments, etc.—are at the disposal of the highest bidder. In this auction it is left in the cold. Any absurd invention jotted down by a hired reporter and circulated in the press, will serve as a "weighty argument" against its national recognition.

To admit for a single day the equality of Russian with Ruthenian in Galicia, would stamp this province for a fifty year as a "Russian country." The Russian secret fund would see to that.

We are glad to say that, as is rumoured, the Vienna Government were not persuaded to accede to the impudent suggestions of the Russian ambassador. The result of this was that the Russians seem to have been flung back upon the plan of a military aggression, pure and simple.

Russian war preparations on an unusually large scale are reported by the press throughout the world. It must be, however, borne in mind that since 1913, the strictest censorship of news pertaining to military matters, is enforced in Russia, and that only fragments of information are allowed to find their way into the press.

Certain facts, however, could not be concealed, and it is generally known now that Russian Nationalism has embarked upon an extensive military programme to be concluded in August, 1917. The realisation of this programme, made possible through the financial aid of France, is expected to enable Russia to carry a successful offensive into the territory of her Western neighbours.

Now, there is little doubt which of the three Western neighbours of Russia is especially aimed at.

Although Russian hostility towards the Swedes is incontestable, it is not they; nor the Germans, that are the main object of the Russian military preparations.

The disposition of the troops, and the direction of the new lines of railways, feverishly constructed, make it an open secret that Russia contemplates an attack upon the Empire of the Hapsburgs, namely, that part of it which is populated by the Ruthenians—Galicia, Bukovina, and Eastern Hungary.*

Even while we are writing these lines an increase of 30 % on the previous military budget is voted by the Duma, and a rumour is abroad that a "test mobilisation" has been decided upon in the south-western (that is, in the Ruthenian) part of the Empire, close to the Austrian frontier, at the cost of £10,500,000. Before we are much older, we shall probably see one of these "test mobilisations" turn into a real danger to European peace.

The territory of Ruthenia, in Austria and Russia, has been already long since designated as the future theatre of war. The French military authorities call it "the secondary theatre," secondary to the plains of north-west Russia and East Prussia, where the French see in their fiery dreams the attack of the Russians upon the German rear.† To the French, who are naturally anxious in the first place for their own welfare, the imaginary Russo-German conflict, so strongly desired by them, is the "primary" affair. The appearance of things seems, however, entirely different when contemplated from the Russian stand-point.

Russia cannot afford to quarrel with Germany and Austria at the same time. In fact, she cannot afford to quarrel with Germany alone. In comparison with the Austrians, her position seems to be fairer. Without too much illusion, Russia may be regarded as a fair match for Austria. Should France engage Germany's attention so thoroughly that she would be prevented from assisting her ally, an opportune moment for a war with Austria would arrive.

* In this connection the following quotation from an article on the Tercentenary of Romanoffs, published in "*The Daily Telegraph*" (10/3/1913), may be of interest: "I may here mention," says the St. Petersburg correspondent of the journal, "that three days ago, the one British authority on the religious persecution of Russians in Galicia, and also on the Russian Church in general, Mr. J. W. Birkbeck, who has come here to attend the jubilee festivities, was given a dinner by members of the Duma and prominent politicians, in honour of his recent investigations into the subject on the spot. Russia, it is stated, will be satisfied if before the advent of the next tercentenary her frontiers rest on the Nieman Carpathians, and her egress from the Black Sea is freed from all external control. The last word of Russia in European East is the emancipation of the Black Sea, and it is bitterly regretted by the Nationalists that the most favourable opportunity presented by the Balkan war for the realisation of this necessity has been completely missed by timid Russian diplomacy."

† See e.g. "La France victorieuse dans la guerre de demain."—Paris, 1912.

Although risking her own integrity, Russia might then try, with about 50 per cent. of chances for success, to wring from Austria those provinces, further political development of which would threaten the hegemony of the Muscovite race.

It is quite clear that things are developing in that directions. The London "*Times*" two years ago said that the Ruthenian Question was, at least potentially, one of the gravest questions of Europe. And Mr. H. Steed, the author of a recent book upon the Austro-Hungarian politics, expressed the opinion that the Ruthenian Question may involve Austria-Hungary and Russia in a struggle, even if it does not precipitate a general European conflagration. Mr. Steed only reiterated what has been for years a common belief in Ruthenia itself, where the grave developments, to this day not fully realized in the West, were perfectly visible.*

An anonymous writer in the "*Morning Post*" (June 21st, 1913), in these words described the situation in the South-Eastern corner of Europe :—

"The Austrian Poles think that the gradual loss of influence in Galicia will compel them to consider whether their interests are as identical with those of Austria, as they have hitherto supposed. On the other hand, it is a question whether Russia would be indifferent to the growth of Ruthenian influence and to the development of Eastern Galicia into the nucleus for a future 'Ukraine' State. A completely Ruthenian University and a completely Ruthenian Diet might become centres of attraction for the Ruthenians, or Little Russians of Russia. The Poles believe that the 'Ukraine' movement is bound to lead sooner or later to war between Austria and Russia, and many of them think that this war will decide the fate of Poland. If Austria were victorious the whole 'Ukraine'† might be annexed to Austria, while Russian Poland, and perhaps West Galicia, would be taken by Prussia, as compensation for the increase of Austrian territory. If Austria were beaten she would probably lose the whole of Galicia to Russia, who would make a new 'Government' of the Eastern portion, and include the Western portion in Russian Poland. There is a third

* Their importance was hidden from the Western eye by organised Russian efforts ; one of the means of confusing the issue was to confound it with the religious, linguistic, and other side problems.

† The inverted commas belong to the writer of "*The Morning Post*," who evidently is misled by Russian suggestions to the effect that the name *Ukraine* is of recent and artificial origin. We need hardly say that this point of view is entirely false. The origins of the name by which our country is rightly designated, can be traced to at least as far back as the 12th century. A French writer of great repute, derived it from the Latin *Acheronia*, the term that has been applied to it by the Romans. To the English literature the name is known from at least as early as the 17th century, and maps from that period showing the exact extent of the country can be seen in the British Museum.

possibility, which is occupying the minds of many Poles in Russia, Prussia and Austria—that Russia and Germany may one day agree to divide between themselves parts of Austrian territory more extensive than Galicia. This would be the partition of the Austrian Empire, a partition often said to be inevitable. But those who predict it usually leave the vitality of Austria herself out of their reckoning. The next ten years may be a very important period for all the three Empires which took part in the division of Poland, and may once more show that there is an imminent justice in the History, from which even the most powerful empires cannot escape.”

While the period of ten years may appear short enough to a foreign observer, a Ruthenian cannot help thinking that the hour of reckoning is at hand. Before two or three years are over, we may hear the trumpets sound and armies march to war. In fact, rarely a month passes nowadays that at some period of it or another, a cloud of bloody struggle does not darken the horizon in Ukraine. The population live in constant expectation of an outbreak of hostilities. Trade and commerce are crippled, and foreign credit dead. The people’s minds are turning to different problems, their moods to different tunes. With Shakespeare the Ruthenians could say that—

“Come what come may,
Time and the hour runs through the roughest day !”

To them the coming Austro-Russian conflict means very much. It means the burning of their villages, the destruction of their cities ; it means the turning of their beautiful fertile land into a temporary desert.

It means the utter disorganisation of their economic life for a long period of years before, during, and after the war.

It means also large sacrifices in men. As Russian and Austrian soldiers they will march against each other, and thousands of them, hundreds of thousands, will lay their lives on the altar of the Moloch of War.

Thousands more will suffer death, mutilation, and assault at the hand of invading soldiery.

Can it be wondered, that they await the development of events with the greatest apprehension ?

But the coming struggle means much more to them than simply their sufferings, as the population of the immediate theatre of war.

The struggle between Austria and Russia will decide, for generations to come, their position as a race.

Should Russia happen to be victorious in this coming struggle, and Galicia, in consequence, become a Russian province, their national revival that found its refuge there, after it has been placed outside the law in Russia, would be exposed to the revengeful hand of the Muscovite.

Knowing Russia and its inner soul well, they entertain no illusions as to what would be the fate of their national claims, in that case.*

With the ferociousness which characterized her persecution of their national aspirations within her borders, she would now stamp out whatever national gains they had attained in Galicia.

To bring about those conditions when the Ruthenian National Revival would be within her reach, is expressly the primary aim of Russia's aggressive ambition.

* Sometimes it seems that there is something racial in the fierceness of the Russian intolerance towards other nationalities. "Scratch the Russian and you will find a Tartar" it was said in the good old days.

AN APPEAL.*

The object of the present appeal is to protest before the civilized world the feelings of the Ruthenians in view of the approaching events.

We desire the world to understand distinctly, that those of us who are Austro-Hungarian subjects, have not a slightest wish to become Russian subjects.

In spite of Russian assertions, which, unfortunately, are better known in England and France than our own claims, we wish the public to understand that we, the supposed sufferers, have never complained ourselves of any religious persecution of our co-nationals on the part of Austria.† Any complaints to that effect that were raised, were raised exclusively by Russia.

The Ruthenians of Austria view the Russian advance with utter suspicion and great alarm. *They want Russia to leave them alone.*

This view was expressly stated by the solemn Council of party leaders and public men, held in Lemberg in December, 1912, when it was declared that in case of war, the Ruthenians of Austria will stand firmly by Austria's side. The resolutions of that Council fully representative of everything that matters in Austrian Ruthenia, should be read by everybody who wants to know the truth about the feelings of the people. These resolutions were never forgotten by the Russians.

The Ruthenians want Galicia to remain in the conditions of civilized life ; they want it preserved as the refuge for their national revival.

* As nearly one quarter of a million Ruthenians are subjects of King George in the Dominion of Canada, the author trusts this appeal on behalf of his countrymen may arouse sympathy among the British public.

† Far from that being the case, the protests against Russian impositions never ceased. One of them—that of the Orthodox Ruthenians of Bukovina—may be here especially noticed : it declared in the name of the Orthodox that they were never persecuted in Austria.

In Russia their revival is treated as treasonable. As long as this is so, they cannot afford to see the Austrian part of their country fall into the Russian hands.

In Russia, their national rights were guaranteed to them by the Russo-Ruthenian Treaty of Pereiaslav. This Treaty is on the Statute Book of the Russian Empire, a succession of Russian Tzars have solemnly confirmed it, and it has never been abrogated.

In the Heir of the Russian Throne the office of Hetman or lawful ruler of Ukraine is vested. When Russia will re-establish the autonomy, which is their due, then only she may expect a different attitude on the part of the race as a whole.

Although Orthodox by religion and a subject of the Tzar, Nicholas II. of All the Russias—Great, Little and White—the present writer deems it his duty as a “Little Russian” to lay before the world the circumstances amid which his race is working its way to freedom. Upon the handling of the problems arising out of the national revival of our race, the future of Russia, Austria, and the whole of Europe will depend.

We do not demand the downfall of Russia, nor do we clamour for its dismemberment; but we are determined to see our race restored to its position as a nation. Instead of meddling with Galician affairs and planning of the seizure of the Austro-Hungarian parts of our ancient Kingdom; instead of alarming our compatriots of Austria by its aggressive designs; and alienating at the same time the feelings of loyalty amongst its own Ruthenian subjects, who are 35 millions strong, Russia would achieve a real feat of wisdom in policy, if she showed herself a champion, instead of being an oppressor, of the Ruthenian National rights.

The re-introduction of the Ruthenian language as the language of instruction into the schools, colleges and Universities of the Ruthenian territory in Russia; the restitution of its rights in the Administration, Railways, Post Offices and Law Courts of the Province; the concession of autonomy in legislation, with grant of a local parliament in Kiev—might at least for a time completely satisfy the Ruthenian subjects of the Tzar. This policy would destroy the awkward feeling which now seems to be prevalent among them, that no better national future can be hoped for by them within the Empire.

After all, it must not be forgotten, that the best regiments of Russia are composed of Ruthenians; and that important portion of

her armies—the Cossackdom of Kuban—is an entirely Ruthenian organisation. The majority of the Russian sailors—including all the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet—are Ruthenians. Is it wise so to strain their loyalty by persistent suppression of their national rights, that they should turn their eyes to Austria, as a more desirable Ally?

Russia likes to represent herself before the Western World as the protector of the Slavs, as the champion of their rights, as the greatest Slav Power. How is it then that she never ceases to persecute ruthlessly the Ruthenians, who are the second largest Slav race? Would it not be better for her *prèstige* among the Southern and Western Slavs alike, if she put an end to this ignominious policy?

The Slav policy of Russia is confronted, although it may be so far little appreciated in England, with a strong antidote: the Slav policy of Austria. It is not at all a fact, as is commonly imagined in the West, that Austria's policy is universally hated by the Slavs, while that of Russia meets with a general enthusiasm. Of late years there has been a growing feeling noticeable in favour of the so-called "Austro-Slavism." Austria is no more regarded as "a German Power aiming at the enslavement of the Slav peoples." Slavonic peoples within her borders, have succeeded in attaining a great degree of independence and freedom. Even greater measure of liberty may be attained in the near future. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand is credited with vast schemes for the formation of a huge confederacy of Slavonic peoples under the Hapsburg sway.

These, and like rumours, are bound to act as a strong ferment when Russia's policy is marred by its unceasing persecution of the second greatest Slav people.

The friends of Russia abroad, who wish to see it strong, united and efficient, cannot hold any different views than those which animate its truly loyal subjects: that Russia should abandon her adventurous ambition regarding the Austrian parts of Ruthenia, and should at the same time completely alter her present policy towards her own Ruthenian subjects. Then she need be in no danger that her richest provinces may be attracted to Austria, and she will reap a fresh harvest of the Ruthenian loyalty, which may serve her an excellent turn.

As a matter of fact, there is every reason to think that Tzar's personal feelings toward the Ruthenians are quite symphathetic. He clearly manifested it on several occasions. If, however, the

policy of Russia upon the Ruthenian problem is such as described in the preceding lines, it is a blunder provoked by the extremists of the Russian Nationalism.

Count V. Bobrinski is one of those men who will be responsible in the first instance, for having steered Russia on to the rocks.

V. STEPANKOWSKY.
