

# THE SAGA OF UKRAINE

An Outline History



***THE AGE OF HEROISM***



THE  
SAGA  
OF  
UKRAINE  
AN OUTLINE HISTORY

VOLUME TWO

The Age of Heroism

by MYRON B. KUROPAS

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# CHAPTER ONE

## THE RISE OF THE KOZAKS

### *Significant Dates In:*

#### **Ukrainian History**

Hetman Dmitro Vishnevetsky (1550-1563)  
Construction of Sitch (1550-1552)

Hetman Bohdon Ruzhinsky (1575-1576)  
Hetman Christopher Kosinsky (1591-1593)  
Uniate Church Established (1595)  
Hetman Gregory Loboda (1593-1596)  
Battle of Lubny (1596)  
Hetman Sameilo Kishka (1600-1602)

Hetman Peter Sahaidachny (1614-1622)

#### **World History**

Council of Trent (1545-1563)  
Cervantes (1547-1616)  
Phillip II of Spain (1556-1598)  
Francis Bacon (1561-1626)  
Elizabeth of England (1558-1603)  
Galileo (1564-1642)  
Shakespeare (1564-1616)  
Huguenot Wars (1562-1598)  
Defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588)  
Henry IV of France (1589-1610)  
Feodor of Muscovy (1584-1598)  
Boris Goudonov of Muscovy (1584-1605)  
Edict of Nantes (1598-1605)  
James I of England (1603-1625)  
"Time of Troubles" in Muscovy (1604-1613)  
Jamestown Founded (1607)  
Romanovs Rule Muscovy (1613)  
Thirty Years War (1618-1648)  
Pilgrims Land at Plymouth Rock (1620)

### **A. THE EMERGENCE OF THE KOZAKS**

Poland's efforts to Polonize the Ukrainian population of western Ukraine had been effectively stymied by the establishment of the Orthodox brotherhoods. Here, through the efforts of energetic and powerful patrons and the dogged determination of the Ukrainian people, all that was Ukrainian, language, culture and national feeling, was being carefully preserved.

Towards the beginning of the 16th century and perhaps sooner, another national revival was taking place in the steppes of eastern Ukraine. Slowly and almost imperceptibly, a small band of Ukrainian pioneers was building the foundation of a new nation and their effort was heralding the approach of a new era in Ukrainian history, "The Age of Heroism."

These early frontiersmen came to be called *Kozaks*\* and the era in which they lived was one of the most colorful, brilliant and striking periods of Ukrainian history. The Age of Heroism was that period in which the national energies of the Ukrainian people reached its highest intensity. If the Age of Royalty was the culmination of the Ukrainian cultural genius, the Age of Heroism marked the culmination of Ukrainian political and social creativity. It was during this period that the most characteristic features of the Ukrainian national psyche, positive as well as negative, were revealed and found their fullest expression.

The Kozak was recruited from the best and most active elements of the Ukrainian population; it was only natural then, that he should soon become the leading spirit in the Ukrainian nation.

## B. THE ORIGIN OF THE KOZAKS

The origin and process of formation of the Kozaks was very gradual and escaped general notice. For this reason it is difficult to ascertain exactly when and where the movement began. We are aware, however, of some of the factors that precipitated the Kozak movement and eventually led to its ascendancy over the whole of Ukraine.

1) *Changing Political Conditions*—One of the most important consequences of the *Union of Lublin* was that all Ukrainian territories were reunited under one state. Kiev, Siversk, Volynia, and Podilia were united with Galicia and Kholm.

In theory the Union of Lublin had united Poland and Lithuania but in practice the two experienced no great changes in their relations to one another. The Lithuanian landlords enjoyed their connection with Poland but insisted that the independence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania be preserved. In time the nobles of Lithuania were successful in forcing Poland to annul the act of union and to sign new terms which omitted any clauses providing for the incorporation of Lithuania. Realizing that the Lithuanian gentry was reticent to sacrifice their country's independence, the Polish crown decided to annex Lithuanian lands quietly and without blood-shed. The Polish king simply declared that Volynia and Pidliashe belonged to Poland and commanded the senators representing these areas to take seats in the Polish parliament. The Polish king made this declaration at a time when Lithuania was helpless to interfere. Encountering no real resistance to this bold move, Poland soon annexed the provinces of Bratslav and Kiev as well. By 1569,

\*Kozak and Cossack are synonymous terms. The former spelling is preferred by the author.



"The Kozak Way" offered the Ukrainian peasant an opportunity to retaliate against the Polish landlord.

Lithuania had lost its importance in the Polish-Lithuanian state and only the Ukrainian lands of Bereste and Pinsk remained in her hands. Now, with the exception of Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine, all of Ukraine was ruled by Poland.

The immediate effect of Poland's seizure of Ukraine was, as it always had been, ruthless Polonization. The Polish landlord was master in Ukraine once again and Polish language, culture and religion were being forced upon the Ukrainian people. Ukrainians were faced with two alternatives — rebellion or flight. They chose the latter and thus began the great Ukrainian emigration eastward.

2) *The Tartar Threat* — The remnants of the Mongolian Golden Horde had settled in the Crimea. Here, under the direction of a military dynasty, the Tartars massed a strong and powerful army that was soon to plague the Polish-Lithuanian empire. With the blessings of Muscovite Tsar, Grand Prince Ivan, the Tartars began their long series of attacks on Ukrainian frontier towns. They met with little opposition from the Polish-Lithuanian government both because of the internal strife within the kingdom and because of the latter being at war with Moscow. The local Ukrainian districts could offer only token resistance to the Tartar onslaughts and the resulting devastation went unchecked. Beginning with the infamous sack of Kiev in

1482, and followed by a long series of attacks which lasted over a period of some years. eastern Ukraine was laid waste. In time, the province of Kiev was virtually uninhabited and wild animals ruled the lower Dnieper valley.

3) *Natural Wealth*—A third factor which played a significant role in the growth of the Kozak Nation was the great natural wealth of Eastern Ukraine. This rich wilderness had gained the name of “Ukraine” (borderland) because it was on the border of the civilized Christian world. Written accounts of the 16th century are full of exaggerated tales about the natural wealth of the region describing the soil as being so unbelievably fertile that it yielded a hundredfold. There was no need to sow seed every year since a harvest sown in the autumn yielded two and three crops the next summer. The rivers were full of fish and wild horses were killed for their hides and the meat was thrown away; wild goats roamed the forests by the thousand.

The country soon attracted brave souls who dared to occupy the steppes in spite of the danger of the Tartar sword. Every spring emigrants from Kievan Polisia and Northern Volynia moved to this region and existed by fishing, hunting and bee-keeping. As the inhabitants increased in number they organized hunting expeditions into the steppes returning in the fall with great supplies of hides, honey, fish, horses and cattle. In time, they were greeted by Polish border officials who demanded the best of the supplies in payment for the privilege of hunting in these parts. As a result of these demands, the more daring individuals did not go home for the winter but remained in the steppes or wintered in the vacant castles of the lower Dnieper.

### C. THE KOZAK WAY (KOZATSTVO)

Thus, because of religious and political persecution by the Poles, the ineffectual handling of the Tartar menace by the Polish government, and the great natural wealth of the area, more and more Ukrainians found their way to the valley of the Dnieper. Here they organized into little bands and came to be called “Kozaks”, a Turkish word meaning “free warriors.” Their rugged frontier way of life eventually led to a unique and colorful existence known as “The Kozak Way” or “Kozatstvo”.

Constantly on guard against Tartar attacks, the Kozak learned to lead a Spartan existence. He grew accustomed to cold, hunger and the lack of life’s necessities. These privations did not bother the Kozak for he held luxuries and petty pleasures in contempt and only the barest of necessities were considered worthy of a Kozak.

Later, with the establishment of permanent fortresses or *sitches*\*, the Kozaks organized themselves into a half monastic, half military community, an Order or Brotherhood of warriors with a code of rules and customs that were confirmed by tradition and adapted to the severe conditions of permanent warfare.

Anyone of Christian faith, regardless of nationality, could join this democratic military society. Runaway serfs joined aristocrats seeking adventure.

\*Pronounced “seeches” (plural), “seech” (singular).



A lonely Kozak surveys the results of a recent Tartar raid.

and the unique community grew. No women were allowed in the Sich and as each man took the Kozak oath of allegiance he was told to forget his past and his name, for a new name was given him. The spirit of the Kozak organization was that of frontier equality. No aristocratic titles were permitted and the Kozak recognized no other authority than that of his *Hetman* (commander-in-chief), freely elected by him and his brother Kozaks in a general assembly (*Rada*). The power that each Hetman was able to wield depended upon his own personality and ability. If he was able to gain the respect of his brother Kozaks he could enjoy great influence; if not, he was soon deposed and replaced. Gradually, as more and more competent Hetmans were elected, the authority of the Hetman came to be more highly respected. Formal evidences of esteem such as the presentation of a horsetail standard and a jeweled mace (*bulava*) accompanied the office. The Kozak army developed into a well disciplined body and depositions of a Hetman became less frequent. In time of war the Hetman held the power of life and death over each Kozak.

The center of gravity of Kozak organization came to be located in the lower Dnieper region "below the rapids" or "Zaporozhe". In their communications the Kozak armies called themselves the "Zaporozhian Host" but also made frequent use of the title, "Zaporozhian Order of Knights" (*Lytsari*).

The Kozak Host was divided into regiments with a colonel (*polkovnik*) in charge. Other officers (*starshina*) were known as *sotniks*, *atamans*, and *osauls*. All military correspondence was in the hands of the secretary (*pytsar*).

Many Kozaks maintained families and farms outside of the Sich. Here they worked during the seasons of agricultural pursuit, returning to the Sich when a campaign was in preparation. In addition, many Kozaks were skilled craftsmen, carpenters and blacksmiths and kept little shops outside of the Sich.

*Beauplan*, a French engineer in the Polish service, left us the following description of the Kozaks:

"There is nothing common about the Kozaks except their uniforms. They are energetic and sagacious, not greedy for wealth, but valuing freedom immeasurably; they are powerful of frame and easily endure heat and cold, hunger and thirst. In war they are noted for their endurance and courage, but are light-hearted, for they do not value their lives: they are of handsome appearance, alert and strong and nature has endowed them with good health, for they are seldom subject to any diseases, rarely dying of sickness unless in very old age, and in the majority of cases they end their lives on an altar of fame — killed in war."

#### D. HETMAN DMITRO VISHNEVETSKY (1550-1563)

Among the first organizers and leaders of the Kozaks was OSTAP DASHKEVICH, starosta (elder) of Cherkassy from 1514 to 1535. Besides Dashkevich history has preserved the names of PREDSLAV LANSKORONSKI, starosta of *Khmelnik*, and BERNAT PRETVICH, staosta of *Bar*. Legends about these first Kozak leaders were introduced into the Kozak Chronicles where they are referred to as the first Kozak Hetmans.

As more and more Ukrainian nobles migrated eastward, the Ukrainian gentry began to take an interest. One of the first noble families to move into this area were the *Vishnevetsky*s of Volynia. The Vishnevetsky family forced the heirs of *Michael Hlinsky* to sell them their rights along the river Sula. Later, the Vishnevetsky's, with the approval of the Polish king, acquired a tract of land that extended from the boundary of Muscovy to the mouth of the Dnieper.

About 1550, Dmitro Vishnevetsky decided to build a strong permanent fortress in the Zaporozhian region that could serve both as a means of protection for all Kozaks and as a center of political power respected by neighboring governments. The Sich was completed in 1552 on the island of *Khortitsia*.

Vishnevetsky planned to make the Zaporozhian Kozaks masters of the Dnieper valley. His aim was to expel the Tartars and in order to realize this aim, he called upon the Lithuanian Duke *Sigismund August* for help. But Sigismund feared Tartar retaliation and Vishnevetsky was forced to seek aid from Moscow. In 1556, Vishnevetsky, at the head of Kozak and Muscovite forces, led an expedition against the Tartars. The Crimean Tartar Khan was out-raged at this bold act and was determined to destroy the Sich. After a long series of campaigns against the Sich, the Tartars forced the Kozaks to retreat to *Cherkassy*. In 1558, *Vishnevetsky* rallied his forces and, with Muscovite aid, renewed his attack against the Tartars. This time Vishnevetsky was victorious and eager to press his advantage. He planned to attack again,

riding Ukraine of the Tartar menace forever. Moscow, however, was worried lest Vishnevetsky himself become too powerful and refused further aid; the Hetman was forced to abandon the Tartar campaigns.

Returning to Ukraine, Vishnevetsky was soon involved in a revolution in neighboring Wallachia. Supporting a Wallachian pretender, Vishnevetsky was captured by the opposition and turned over to the Turks who rewarded Vishnevetsky with a violent death.

Vishnevetsky's exploits marked the beginning of the Kozak state. The Kozak host continued to grow in number and in strength and Vishnevetsky's policies were continued by his successors. Vishnevetsky became a legend of the Kozaks and his name has been preserved in popular Kozak songs where he is known as "*Baida*."



The awarding of the bulava to the new Hetman was accompanied by much pomp and circumstance.

## E. THE REGISTERED KOZAKS

As the Ukrainian masses gained a stronger faith in the Kozaks, and as more and more recruits joined the Kozak ranks, the Polish government attempted to restrict Kozak activity. Beginning in 1540, the Polish government sent repeated orders to their frontier officials warning them against aiding the Kozaks. These instructions were largely ignored, however, since the Kozaks afforded the only protection against the Tartars. Nevertheless, the Poles persisted in their efforts to control the Kozaks.

A serious attempt was made to "register" the members of the Kozak Host and to make them servants of the Polish Crown. They were promised extra pay and privileges for their service. The Polish Crown was willing to register only a select number of Kozaks hoping to cause dissension among those who were not selected. In 1560 the king even appointed a Hetman and a judge to govern Kozak affairs. These officials met with untold difficulties simply because the registered Kozaks had never received their promised pay and were therefore loath to listen to directives from the Crown, while the non-registered Kozaks continued to live as they pleased.

## F. HETMAN BOHDAN RUZHINSKY (1575-1576)

Kozak raids against the Mohammedan infidel continued. Vishnevetsky's successor, *Bohdan Ruzhinsky*, a local Volynian prince, found little difficulty in massing enough Kozaks for a mission against the Tartars and Turks. In addition to the regular Kozaks, registered and non-registered alike, the Ukrainian peasant was always willing and able to take up arms for a worthy cause. The Osauls had but to make the rounds of the market places and squares of all the villages and towns and there, standing up in a cart to shout at the top of their voices:

"Ho you beer-brewers and wine-makers! Have done with your beer-brewing, dawdling on stove-ledges, feeding the flies with your fat carcasses! Come and win knightly fame and honor! And you ploughmen, you sowers of buckwheat, you tenders of sheep, you lovers of women! Have done with following the plough and mucking up your red boots with mud: have done with running after women and wasting your knightly strength! The hour is come to win Kozak glory!"\*

Bohdan Ruzhinsky was celebrated throughout Ukraine for his wars against the Tartars. He died while capturing the Tartar stronghold of *Aslam-Kermen*.

## G. HETMAN CHRISTOPHER KOSINSKY (1591-1593)

The leader in the first important Kozak war was Christopher Kosinsky. After part of his estate had been seized by another landlord, Kosinsky and his Kozaks warred against the nobles and gentry that had become more and more overbearing. Soon Kosinsky and his Kozaks became masters of the entire Kievan region. Later they entered Volynia, conquered city after city and forced the landlords to recognize Kozak authority over their estates and subjects. The most powerful of nobles, Catholic and Orthodox, Polish and Ukrainian, were humbled and compelled to respect the Kozak organization and its freedom of action.

\* Gogol, N., *Taras Bulba*.



"Ho you beer-brewers and winemakers! Have done with your beer brewing, dawdling on stove-  
ledges, feeding the flies with your fat carcasses . . . the hour is come to win Kozak glory!"

This change in the direction of Kozak activity, away from the Tartars and the Turks and towards the landed gentry, can only be explained by the change which had taken place in the Kozak composition. Kozak ranks were now filled with those who had become discontented with the new social order and the introduction of serfdom. They were anxious to avenge their loss of freedom and the oppression of their lands.

#### **H. HETMAN GREGORY LOBODA (1593-1596)**

After Kosinsky's death, Gregory Loboda assumed the Hetmanate. The Kozaks had become masters of eastern Ukraine. They had supplies, a strong army, and enjoyed the popular support of the people. Unfortunately, the Kozaks had come by their new power in easy fashion and found it difficult to adjust to their new role of leaders of the Ukrainian nation.

Besides the Zaporozhian Kozaks, now under Loboda, another Kozak group had developed on the boundary of Volynia and Bratslav. This group was led by SEVERIN NALIVAİKO, a native of the city of Ostrih and a capable leader.

Nalivaiko had for a time been among the military followers of *Prince Constantine of Ostrih* and had been forced to fight Kosinsky and his Kozaks. This, many historians believe, made him break with the Prince and go off on his own but the Zaporozhian Kozaks never really forgave him for his action against them. Nevertheless, Nalivaiko and Loboda were able to com-



A KOZAK ENCAMPMENT. Photo Courtesy of: *Ukraine in Pictures*.

bine forces and in 1594 attack Moldavia and force the Moldavian prince to renounce the overlordship of the Turkish Sultan. In 1595 Nalivaiko and Loboda captured several Turkish towns among them *Bilhorod, Tialmia and Kiha*. That same year the Kozaks returned to Ukraine and exacted contributions from the exasperated nobles of Volynia and Podolia. The Kozak attacks upon the Polish landed aristocracy gave new life to the Ukrainian peasants. Emboldened by the exploits of the Kozaks, they refused to obey their landlords and in many places openly revolted.

1) *War of 1596* — The Polish government was at last forced to take active measures. Early in 1596 the Polish king commanded *Stanilaus Zolkiewski* to undertake a punitive expedition against the Kozaks. Zolkiewski's plan was to divide and conquer. Playing on the distrust that still existed between Loboda and Nalivaiko, Zolkiewski first attacked Nalivaiko's forces and assured Loboda that he need have no fears of a similar attack if he did not come to Nalivaiko's aid. But Loboda was not fooled and, with the aid of a Kozak contingent under MATVEY SHAULA, he set out to join Nalivaiko. The combined Kozak forces defeated the Poles first at *Bila Tserkva* and later at *Hostry Kamin*. Zolkiewski continued the fight. Retreating and attacking again, Zolkiewski prepared to lay seige to a Kozak stronghold at *Lubny*. Once again Zolkiewski tried to spread dissension in the Kozak ranks and this time the Polish intrigues were more successful. It wasn't very long before the animosity between the Zaporozhian Kozaks and the followers of Nalivaiko flared up anew. During one of the Kozak council meetings, Loboda was killed and many Kozaks came to believe that this was Nalivaiko's handiwork. Loboda was succeeded by HETMAN KREMPISKY and the Polish seige continued.

In the Dnieper region, meanwhile, new Kozak forces had been mobilized under the leadership of PIDVISOTSKY and were rushing to Lubny. The beleaguered Kozaks had no way of knowing this, however, and after suffering terrific Polish bombardment for days, they decided to meet the Polish terms. Nalivaiko was taken prisoner after his attempted escape was stymied by followers of Loboda. He met a violent end at Polish hands a year later. Shaula suffered a similar fate.

After the Kozaks had laid down their arms, Zolkiewski demanded more than the terms of surrender had called for. When the Kozaks refused to allow Polish lords to take back those Kozaks who were escaped serfs, Zolkiewski slaughtered the defenseless Kozaks. Only a handful of Krempsky's Kozaks managed to escape to the Zaporozhian region where they were joined by Pidvisotsky's contingent.

### I. HETMAN SAMEILO KISHKA (1600-1602)

Following the disastrous defeat at Lubny, the Polish government abolished all of the rights of the Kozak Host and even issued proclamations which



A KOZAK SCRIBE OF THE 17th CENTURY.

abolished the Brotherhood itself. The hetmans who succeeded Krempsky, VASILEVICH, NECHKOVSKY, BAIBUZA, sought to restore Kozak rights by playing up to the Polish Crown. Since Poland was not involved in any war, however, there was no reason to restore Kozak liberties.

Hetman Kishka was able to revive the Kozak spirit by undertaking several expeditions against the Turks along the Black Sea Coast. It wasn't very long before Kishka found himself in a position to bargain with the Poles and to better the conditions of the Kozaks.

1) *The Moldavian Wars* — In 1600 *Hospodar Michael* of Wallachia had attacked *Hospodar Mohila* of Moldavia. The latter had been on friendly terms with Poland and the Polish government felt obliged to come to his assistance. Poland was not in a position to undertake the aiding of Mohila by itself and had to ask for Kozak assistance. Hetman Kishka agreed to help but only on the condition that the Kozaks be exonerated of all blame for past acts, that all of their former rights be restored and that the government protect them in the future against oppression by the governors and other Polish officials of Ukraine.

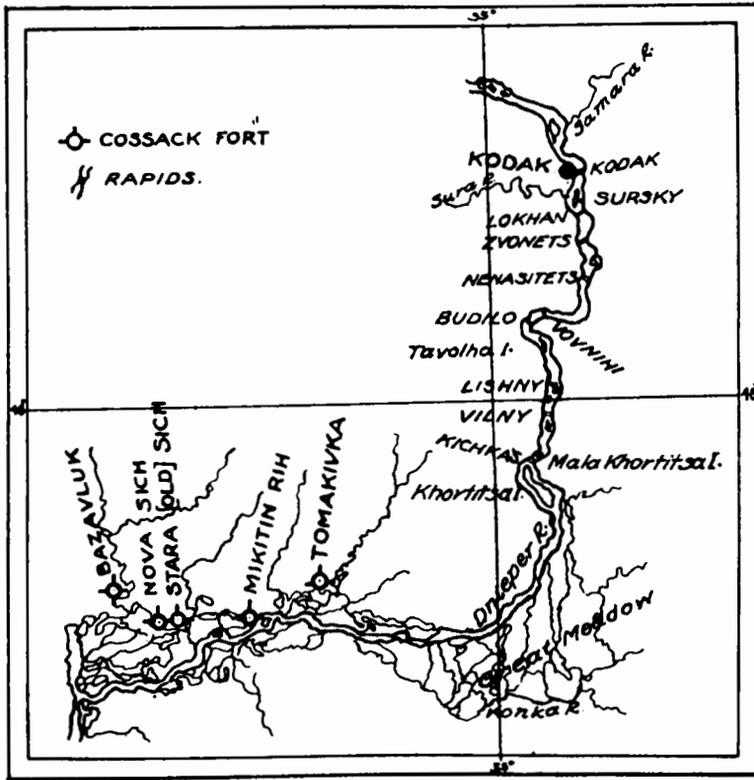
2) *The Livonian War* — The battle in Moldavia went well and soon the Kozaks were called upon to aid the Poles in still another battle. This time the battle was against Sweden over some disputed territory in Livonia (Lettland). The Kozaks were able to bargain for more concessions from the Polish Crown but it was hardly worth their while. The Livonian War proved to be an especially terrible one. Hetman Kishka was killed and the Kozaks changed hetmans several times in quick succession since it was difficult to keep the Kozaks content under such trying conditions. In spite of the fact that the Poles lost the war, the Kozaks were able to return to Ukraine in 1603 and to enjoy most of the liberties they had before the fatal Battle of Lubny.

## **J. KOZAK EXPANSION**

1) *The First War Against Muscovy* — With the death of Ivan the Terrible, Muscovy entered an era called the "Time of Troubles." Various claimants to the Muscovite throne appeared and the resulting chaos left the Tsardom open to attacks from outside of its borders.

In 1609, the Polish king decided to lead an expedition into Moscow and to establish himself as tsar. He asked for Kozak assistance and the Kozaks responded not in hundreds or in thousands but in tens of thousands. It is estimated that over 30,000 Kozaks participated in the first war against Moscow. The Polish King was not able to maintain his position in Muscovy indefinitely however, and by 1613, the Muscovites were driving the Poles out of Muscovy.

2) *Kozak Naval Expeditions* — The Kozak Host was soon expanding its activities to include naval warfare. Kozak sea expeditions against the Turks were vastly increased from 1613 to 1620. Travelling in their primitive but speedy little boats called *Chaika*, the Kozaks soon became the most feared scourge of the Black Sea. They continued to menace the powerful Turkish



DNIEPER RIVER

fleet and to bring havoc to scores of Turkish expeditions. Beauplan left a vivid description of the naval tactics employed by the Kozaks:

"If by chance they meet Turkish galleys or other ships they act as follows: As the boats of the Kozaks are only two and a half feet above water, they see the higher galleys before they themselves are seen: therefore, they lower their sails and approach from the west, headed north, keeping their eyes on the clearly visible ships of the enemy at all times. At midnight they row with all of their might toward these ships, while half of the crew prepares for battle. Then the enemy suddenly discovers that eighty to a hundred ships have surrounded his ships which are overpowered and captured. From the captured ships they take money, military supplies, cloth and anything that does not spoil at sea, after which they sink the ships with the people still aboard."

In all of their expeditions against the Turks and the Tartars, the Kozaks were always a welcome sight for Christians in Mohammedan captivity. In 1616, for example, the Kozaks attacked *Kaffa*, principle slave market of the



HETMAN PETER SAHAIDACHNY  
(1614-1622)

Middle-East and freed thousands of slaves. Others were freed in raids on various places along the Black Sea Coast. In describing the exploits of the Kozaks in behalf of Christianity, *Kievan Metropolitan Boretsky* wrote:

“When the Kozaks go to sea prayers are sent up to Heaven, for their first aim is to fight the Infidels in the name of the Christian faith. Their second aim is to free captives. No one in the world showers such benefits on Christian captives as they do: not the Greeks with their ransoms, nor the King of Spain with his powerful fleet. How much have the Kozaks achieved, owing to their courage and intentness of purpose. What with other nations ends only with fine words and high-flown speeches, the Kozaks put into action.

#### **K. HETMAN PETER SAHAIDACHNY (1614-1622)**

Though the Kozaks made sport of the Turks and gained worldwide renown for themselves, their exploits caused the Polish government much consternation. With each new attack on the Turks, the Sultan ordered more of his army into Ukraine and the Poles were worried lest these minor Turkish invasions turn into an all out war. Poland decided to renew its efforts at controlling the adventurous and free-wheeling Kozaks.

It became the policy of Hetman Peter Sahaidachny to avoid war with Poland over Kozak rights, to make promises of good behavior and to wait for a time when Poland was in need of Kozak assistance once again.

Sahaidachny had been educated in the school at Ostrih and later as a Kozak officer had distinguished himself in the Moldavian, Livonian and Muscovite wars. He was an able administrator, a shrewd politician, alert and energetic, not given to carousing and a man of few words.

1) *The Second War with Muscovy* — Sahaidachny's chance came in 1617. *Crown Prince Wladyslaw* of Poland, dethroned as Tsar of Muscovy during the “Time of Troubles,” had re-invaded Muscovy with a small force and was badly in need of military assistance. Sahaidachny came to his aid with a force of 20,000 men. Wladyslaw was defeated but the Kozaks were in a better position to bargain for a more amiable settling of their affairs.

2) *The Polish-Turkish War* — Kozak raids against the Turks did not stop



"Letter to the Sultan", a famous painting by Repin. According to the story, Repin was inspired to paint the work after reading a historical document, a letter written to the Turkish Sultan by Koshovyi Hetman Ivan Sirko. The letter is still preserved:

*The Kazaks of the Dnieper to the Sultan of Turkey:*

Thou Turkish Satan, brother and companion to the accursed Devil, and Secretary to Lucifer himself, Greetings!

What the hell kind of noble knight art thou? The devil voids, and thy army devours. Never wilt thou be fit to have the sons of Christ under thee; thy army we fear not, and by land and on sea we will do battle against thee.

Thou scullian of Babylon, thou wheelwright of Macedonia, thou beer-brewer of Jerusalem, thou goat-flayer of Alexandria, thou swineherd of Egypt, both the Greater and the Lesser, thou sow of Armenia, thou goat of Tartary, thou hangman of Kamenetz, thou evildoer of Padoliensk, thou grandson of the Devil himself, thou great silly oaf of all the world and of the netherworld and, before our God, a blockhead, a swine's snout, a mare's —, a butchers' cur, an unbaptized brow, May the Devil take thee! That is what the Kazaks have to say to thee, thou basest-born of runts! Unfit art thou to lord it over true Christians!

The date we write not far no calendar have we got; the moon is in the sky, the year is in a book, and the day is the same with us here as with thee over there, and thou canst kiss us thou knowest where!

and the Sultan decided to act. He dispatched an army into Moldavia as the first step in an all-out war with Poland. Anticipating more attacks, Zolkiewski and the main Polish force marched to Wallachia in hope of receiving Wallachian support. But the Wallachians discovered how weak the Polish army was and refused to intercede in Poland's behalf. Zoliewski was forced to return to Poland. On his way back, however, his army was surprised by the Turks and completely annihilated and Poland was left with a token force to defend itself. Her fate rested solely in the hands of Sahaidachny.

In addition to its efforts to limit the activity of the Kozaks, Poland had antagonized the Kozaks in still another way. Hoping to eliminate the Orthodox

faith entirely, the Polish King had been systematically appointing Uniate bishops to fill vacancies left in Orthodox sees. Polish efforts were so successful that by 1610 there remained only one Orthodox bishop for all of Ukraine, *Tisarovsky of Lwiw*. It was only after Sahaidachny was able to convince *Patriarch Theophanes* to visit Kiev on his way to Moscow that the situation was alleviated. Sahaidachny had to guarantee the Patriarch protection against the Poles before Theophanes agreed to consecrate a Ukrainian metropolitan and five bishops. Now Sahaidachny waited for Poland to agree to recognize these Orthodox churchmen before he would agree to come to Poland's aid.

Poland agreed to honor the Ukrainian demands and Sahaidachny went to war. Joining the remnants of the Polish army at *Khotyn*, the Kozak Host put up such a tremendous battle that the Turkish Sultan was forced to sue for peace. The Kozaks had saved Poland and perhaps all of Europe from the Mohammedan.

But the Polish character had not changed. Having no further need of the Kozaks who had been weakened by their fierce struggle at Khotyn, King Sigismund ordered the government commissions to renew the statutes of 1619, commanded that the Kozak army number no more than 3,000 men (all others to be returned to servitude) and refused to consider the Orthodox situation until the Seim of 1623. Hetman Sahaidachny never lived to see that day. Wounded at Khotyn, he died on April 10, 1622.

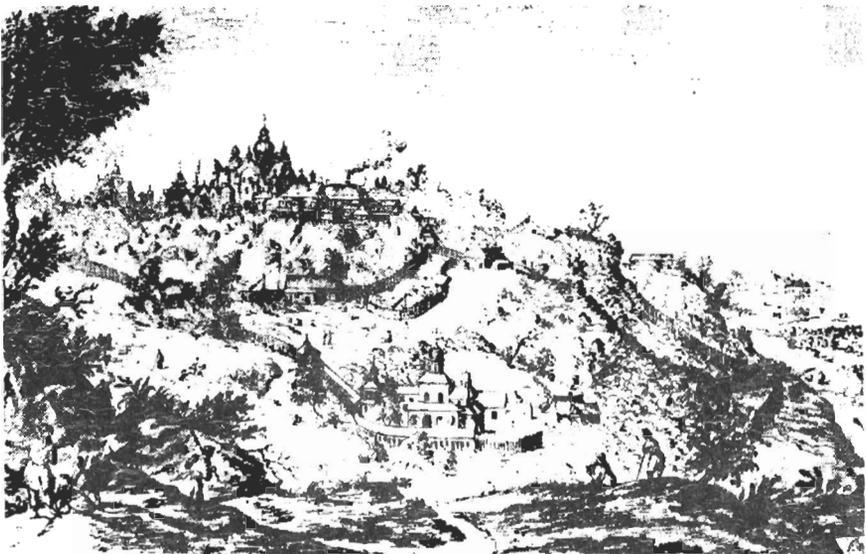
Ukrainian historians rate Sahaidachny very highly. V. Antonovich felt that: "Owing to his political flair and tact, Sahaidachny was a most remarkable man for his age, and extremely useful to the national development of the Ukrainian people. He returned to the Ukrainian people the use of their traditional electoral principle in ecclesiastical as well as in secular affairs, a principle very deeply embodied in the instincts of Ukrainians. In doing so, Sahaidachny provided Ukrainians with a method and with strength for their future struggles for national existence."

## K. THE CULTURAL REVIVAL OF KIEV

For three hundred years Kiev had remained in the shadows of oblivion. In the 16th century Kiev was only a frontier fortress in which a military garrison was stationed and to which a few inhabitants clung. Among these ruins several monasteries had remained as reminders of the glory that had been Kiev. The most important monasteries that still remained were: *The Monastery of the Caves*; *The Pustynko-Nikolaevsky Monastery*; and the *Mikhailivsky Monastery*. Even here, however, the former literary and educational significance that was Kiev was lost for the abbots and priors were generally persons who bought their positions from the king and cared little for learning and enlightenment.

The Church Union forced the Orthodox population of Ukraine to concentrate its efforts upon those church offices that were still in their hands and to fill these offices with qualified men.

The Uniates attempted to seize the Monastery of the Caves but were repelled by force of arms by NICEPHOROUS TUR. When Tur died in 1599, ELISHA PLETENITSKY was elected abbot. Pletenitsky quickly restored



THE MONASTERY OF THE CAVES IN KIEV

order to the ancient monastery. He handled the wealth of the institution with extreme care severely cutting down on the expenditures for food and drink. In 1615 Pletenitsky purchased a press, printing the first book a year later. Within a period of 15 years, from 1616 to 1630, the new press at the Monastery of the Caves printed more books than had been printed in all of Ukraine up to that time.

Pletenitsky invited leading Ukrainian savants from Galicia to take up residence in Kiev. In time, a Brotherhood was formed and its members included people from every class. The entire Kozak Host became members of the Brotherhood which served as ample insurance against Polish intervention in the affairs of the Brotherhood. Membership in the Brotherhood also served the interests of the Kozaks for now they were more readily accepted by the upper classes of Ukrainian society.

As the Brotherhood grew, the Monastery of the Epiphany was built and a school was constructed. IVAN BORETSKY, a former teacher of L'viv and a future metropolitan became the first rector. By the time of Hetman Sahaidachny, Kiev had developed from an isolated backward community to the leading center of Ukrainian national life.

## L. LIFE IN GENERAL

We have already described at some length, the way of life of the Kozak Host. A vast storehouse of historical material, largely compiled from the chronicles and commentaries of visitors to the Ukraine of this period, exists today. It is to these sources that we now turn to complete our picture of life in Ukraine during the 16th and the first half of the 17th century.

1) *Ukrainian Villages* — The following information was recorded by ERICH LASSOTA VON STEBLAU, the legate of the emperor Rudolph II to the Ukrainian Kozaks.

- a) *Lwiw* — “Lwiw is the capital of Galicia. The city is the seat of an episcopal cathedral, a governor, a garrison and a county administration. There are two castles: one inside the city, the other outside on a high hill which affords a view of several miles. In this city there is a very rich trade.”
- b) *Pryluky* — “Pryluky, a great and new fortified city with a castle; it has 4,000 horses on the river Desnytsya. . . . The city is surrounded by beautiful and fertile lands and pastures, on which here and there are little odd-looking buildings with gun emplacements, wherein peasants take cover when surprised by the Tartars and defend themselves. Every peasant going to work in the fields carries a musket on his shoulder and a sword or hatchet at his side for they are always in danger of an attack by the Tartars and are never safe from them.”

2) *Courting Customs* — Beauplan, the French engineer spent over 17 years in Ukraine and left behind much information concerning life in Ukraine during this time. One of his more interesting descriptions concerns courting customs.

“The maid that is in love goes to the young man’s father’s house, at such a time as she judges she may find the father, mother, and gallant together. Coming into the room, she says, *Pomahay Bozhe*, that is, God bless you, the common salutation used at entering their houses. Having taken her place, she compliments him that has won her heart, and speaks to him in these words, *Ivan, Fedir, Demitre*, etc. (in short she calls him by one of these names, which are most usual among them); perceiving a certain goodness in your countenance, which shows you will know how to rule and love your wife, and hoping from your virtue that you will be a good *Hospodar*: These good qualities make me humbly beseech you to accept of me for your wife. Then she says as much to the father and mother praying them to consent to the match. If they refuse her, or make some excuse, saying he is too young and not fit to marry, she answers she will not depart till she has married him, as long as he and she live . . . after some weeks the father and mother are forced not only to consent but also to persuade their son to look favorably upon her, that is, as one that is to be his wife.”

3) *Life of the Peasant* — Beauplan described the general lot of the peasant as follows:

“The peasants there are very miserable, being obliged to work three days a week, themselves and their horses, for their lord . . . besides all this to carry wood for the said lord and a thousand other jobs they ought not do: besides the ready money they exact from them, as also the tithe of their sheep, swine, honey, and all sorts of fruit, and every third year the third beef. . . . Yet this is not all, for their lords have an absolute power, not only over their goods, but their lives: so great is the prerogative of the Polish nobility (who live as if they were in heaven, and the peasants in purgatory) so that if it happens that those wretched peasants fall under the servitude of bad lords, they are in a worse condition than a galley slave.”

## M. THE UKRAINIAN SPIRIT

With the rise of the Kozaks, the Ukrainian national spirit was revived. Fearless, bold and extremely conscious of his right to be free, the Ukrainian

Kozak gained world wide fame both as a loyal friend and as a ruthless adversary. No greater tribute can be paid a warrior than to have his enemy praise him. Such was the case with the Kozaks. A Pole, *Bartosz Paprocki*, writing in 1572 and speaking to the Polish people, described the Ukrainian nation in these glowing terms:

"Among the Podilians (Ukrainians of Podilia) there is none to say who is master and who is serf, they have not a penny's worth of conceit. They do not wear expensive clothes, yet they are covered with glory far more precious than clothes. The fame of the people is spreading over the world, and it will stay with them though Poland may die. What Hercules did, none could do, not even the terrestrial gods; yet every Ruthenian (Ukrainian) could do the same. Samson tore the lion's mouth: the exploits of our time are a simple thing for the Ruthenian. The horrible Turk opened his mouth but the brave Rus thrust his hand therein. When Turkey rushed upon Poland with a mighty army, it was stopped by the Ruthenian force. The Ruthenians hurl themselves off the precipice of war forgetting all else, and if they attain victory, we shall be covered with glory. Be grateful for the glory they bring you, although you are not with them in the military expeditions: do not cast a jealous eye upon their wealth, as every time they fight, you are sitting somewhere in your parks."

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## Review Exercises

### A. Fill in the Correct Word or Phrase

- The three main reasons for the formation of the Kozaks were:
  - \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_
- The Kozak followed a way of life known as \_\_\_\_\_.
- The term "zaporozhe" means \_\_\_\_\_.
- At first the Polish government was in favor of the Kozaks because they offered the Poles \_\_\_\_\_.
- Later, when the Kozaks became too powerful to suit Polish tastes, the Polish Crown attempted to undermine Kozak morale by requiring a certain number of Kozaks to \_\_\_\_\_.
- The early Kozaks generally confined their warring activities to \_\_\_\_\_.
- The revival of Kiev as a leading cultural center was begun by \_\_\_\_\_.
- The first Kozak war against Muscovy began in that period of Russian history known as \_\_\_\_\_.
- For the early Kozak, the greatest honor he could ever hope to attain was \_\_\_\_\_.
- A refuge for all Ukrainians regardless of name or class was the \_\_\_\_\_.

### B. Match the Correct Letter with Each Statement

- |   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| 1. _____ Turkish word meaning "free warrior".                         | A. Chaika       |
| 2. _____ A Kozak fort.  | B. Vishnevetsky |
| 3. _____ A Kozak secretary.   | C. Sitch        |
| 4. _____ First Kozak war with Muscovy.                                | D. Ruzhinsky    |
| 5. _____ Hetman who built Sitch.                                      | E. Kosinsky     |
| 6. _____ A Kozak Commander-in-Chief.                                  | F. Lytsar       |
| 7. _____ A Ukrainian knight.  | G. Sahaidachny  |
| 8. _____ Sitch completed.   | H. Loboda       |
| 9. _____ Hetman celebrated for wars against Tartars.                  | I. Pysar        |
| 10. _____ The mace or standard of office of Hetmans.                  | J. Baida        |
| 11. _____ Leader in first important Kozak war.                        | K. 1609         |
| 12. _____ Was able to improve Kozak conditions after battle of Lubny. | L. Bulava       |
| 13. _____ Kozak sea vessel.   | M. 1617         |
| 14. _____ Popular name of Hetman Vishnevetsky.                        | N. Rada         |
| 15. _____ Location of Kozak strongholds.                              | O. Kozak        |
|   | P. Hetman       |

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 16. _____ Kozak assembly or council.                      | Q. 1522                 |
| 17. _____ Hetman who saved Poland from the<br>Mohammedan. | R. Dnieper<br>S. Khotyn |
| 18. _____ Second Kozak war against Muscovy.               | T. Bulba                |
| 19. _____ Sahaidachny's last battle.                      |                         |
| 20. _____ Killed during Kozak council meeting.            |                         |

C. *Discussion Questions*

1. Discuss the Kozak Way. What were some of the factors which prevented the early Kozaks from uniting into a strong national force? How would you answer someone who insisted that the Kozaks were barbarians?
2. Discuss the conditions which led to the formation of the Kozaks. What effect did the Kozaks have upon the Ukrainian liberation movement?
3. What is a registered Kozak? What effect did the registering of Kozaks by the Polish government have upon the morale of the Kozak Host?
4. Discuss Poland's dual policy towards the Kozaks

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# CHAPTER TWO

## THE LEGACY OF BOHDAN KHMELNITSKY

### *Significant Dates in:*

#### **Ukrainian History**

Peter Mohyla (1596-1647)  
Hetman Olifer Holub (1622-1623)  
Hetman Michael Doroshenko (1623-1625)  
Martyrdom of St. Josaphat (1623)  
War of 1625  
War of 1630  
Hetman Ivan Sulima (1628; 1635)  
The Revolt of Pavliuk (1637)  
The Revolt of Ostrianin and Hunia (1638)  
The Ordinance of 1638  
Hetman Bohdan Khmelnsky (1648-1657)  
The Battle of Zhovty Vodi (1648)  
The Battle of Korsun (1648)  
The Treaty of Zboriw (1649)  
The Treaty of Bila Tserkva (1651)  
The Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654)  
Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (1657-1659)  
Union of Hadiach (1658)  
The Battle of Konotop (1659)  
Hetman Jurij Khmelnsky (1659-1663)  
Hetman Peter Doroshenko (1665-1676)  
Treaty of Andrusovo (1667)  
"Prince" Jurij Khmelnsky (1678-1681)  
Ivan Samoilovich, Hetman of the Left Bank  
(1672-1687)

#### **World History**

Charles I of England (1625-1649)  
Cardinal Richelieu of France (1624-1642)  
Louis XIV of France (1643-1715)  
  
Alexis I of Muscovy (1645-1676)  
Peace of Westphalia (1648)  
Charles I Beheaded (1649)  
John Kazimierz of Poland (1648-1668)  
Oliver Cromwell (1649-1658)  
Schism in the Church of Moscow (1654)  
Charles II of England (1660-1685)  
Revolt of Stenka Razin in Muscovy (1667)  
John Sobieski of Poland (1674-1696)  
Feodor II of Muscovy (1676-1682)  
Pennsylvania Granted to William Penn  
(1681)  
Regency of Sophia of Muscovy (1682-1689)  
Vienna Beseiged by the Turks (1683)  
Newton's *Principia* (1687)

#### **A. HETMANS HOLUB AND DOROSHENKO**

Hetman Sahaidachny was succeeded by *Olifer Holub* (1622-1623) who continued the former's policy of lobbying for concessions from the Polish crown. Sahaidachny had saved Poland from the infidel and the Orthodox population had high hopes that now, at last, the Seim would find a way to redress their grievances. *Metropolitan Boretsky* and *Archbishop Smotrisky* presented the Orthodox case to the Seim of 1623. Nothing, however, would induce the Roman Catholic majority to relent. Fearing concessions but mindful of growing Kozak strength, Poland's parliamentarians decided to table the

Orthodox question until the next Seim. This was an unmistakeable defeat for Holub who was quickly deposed and replaced by *Michael Doroshenko* (1623-1625).

The Orthodox Ukrainians were in a rebellious mood and it took some doing for Doroshenko to convince them that a war with Poland at this time would not be profitable. More time was needed to insure a decisive victory. In the interim, however, the Kozaks could release their tensions and gain fighting skill against the Turks. Doroshenko planned to raise a strong and experienced army of followers by warring with the Turk, ancient enemy of the Kozak. Unfortunately, he was killed before he could bring his plans to fruition.

## **B. KOZAK WARS**

a) *War of 1625* — In their wars against the Turks, the Kozaks had allied themselves with the Crimean Tartars. At one point they had even been instrumental in saving the Khanate from the Turks. Confident that they now had a strong ally in *Khan Shanin Gerai*, the Kozaks stepped up the frequency and boldness of their attacks. Turkey protested to Poland and Poland prepared to check the Kozaks.

In the summer of 1625, *General Koniecpolski* raised an army, bribed Shanin Gerai not to intervene, and launched a surprise attack against the Kozaks. Caught completely off guard, the Kozaks beat a hasty retreat to a place near *Lake Kurukiv* where they fortified their position. Unable to crack the Kozak defense, the Poles persuaded the Kozaks to negotiate. Under the terms of the truce, the Kozak army was to number 6,000 men, all of whom were to be registered within 12 weeks. All unregistered Kozaks were to return to Polish landowners as serfs. The terms were hard but the Kozaks agreed. Poland was preparing to war with Sweden and it was felt that the terms could never be enforced.

b) *War of 1630* — But the Poles, especially General Koniecpolski, did not forget the Kurukiv agreement. Returning from the Swedish campaign, Koniecpolski devoted all of his energy to enforcing the terms that had been reached. The Ukrainian population had become accustomed to freedom, however, and resisted Koniecpolski's efforts. Koniecpolski ordered "the blood of the serfs to flow."

Some of the registered Kozak officers, fearful lest the Ukrainian resistance endanger their own favorable status in the Polish scheme, attempted to carry out the Polish order. One such commander, *Hritsko Chorney*, was seized by the Zaporozhian Kozaks, tried for treason, and beheaded. Afraid lest a similar fate befall them, many Kozak officers led their men to the Polish army camp at Korsun. Sensing that a revolt was in the wind, however, these Kozaks soon left their officers behind and joined the Zaporozhians.

A full scale insurrection was soon under way. The townspeople of Korsun revolted and, with the help of the Zaporozhians, drove the Poles from their



Ukrainian folk architecture was at its best in the building of wooden churches. This church built in the middle of the 18th century, is in Voronky (Poltova). Photo Courtesy of: *Ukraine in Pictures*.

town. It wasn't long before the Kozak army was swelled with Ukrainians eager to defend their faith and to drive the hated Pole from their homeland. Koniecpolski's terroristic retaliations only added fuel to the growing blaze of freedom.

After a series of brief skirmishes, the decisive battle was fought at Pereyaslav. The Poles were soundly beaten. Once again the people of Ukraine had taken arms against an oppressor and won. With King Sigismund on his deathbed the time was ripe to press for permanent settlement of the religious issue. *King Wladyslaw IV*, Sigismund's successor, promised to seriously consider an amiable solution.

### **C. PETER MOHILA AND THE ORTHODOX REVIVAL**

After 1595, the Orthodox position in Poland had been precarious. The power of the Metropolitan soon passed to the Polish Seim. Orthodox bishoprics were awarded to nobles for political reasons, and the Uniate Church was often favored by the Polish crown. Polish pressure reached such

proportions that it was difficult to find capable young noviates for the Orthodox clergy and it wasn't too long before the ecclesiastical ranks of the Orthodox Church were filled with political and religious opportunists.

The Orthodox revival, it will be remembered, began with the formation of the city brotherhoods. Impetus was added by the Kozaks who were pledged to protect the Orthodox faith. Nevertheless, the Orthodox still needed strong intellectual leadership in order to compete successfully with the Roman Catholics.

Jesuits had been introduced into Poland in 1560 ostensibly to counter-act Protestant infiltration of Catholic Poland. Now, the Jesuits had a college in Vilna, and their brilliant rhetoric was making deep inroads into the Orthodox world. The teaching in the Jesuit schools was scholastic and great stress was placed upon debate and public speaking. Their schools became very fashionable and soon attracted great numbers of young intelligentsia, Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox alike. In a comparatively short time, a new generation of polished Catholic zealots had emerged. It became extremely difficult for the sincere but poorly trained Orthodox to compete against such formidable opposition. An intellectual leader was desperately needed. Such a leader was found in *Peter Mohila* (1596-1647).

Mohila, a Moldavian by birth, was elected Metropolitan of Kiev in 1633. Being an intellectual and of royal birth he was accepted by the Polish crown. With little interference from the Polish government, Mohila was able to pursue a vigorous re-vitalization program within the Church.

One of Mohila's first moves was to found the Kievan Academy and to pattern it after the Jesuit model. A realist, he realized that it was necessary to teach all of the classes in either Greek or Latin for which he was criticized by the more conservative elements of the Orthodox Church. Undaunted, Mohila, educated in Paris and at Oxford, continued his policy of improvement. He encouraged literary and publishing activity, reorganized the Orthodox hierarchy and used his influence among the Polish gentry to further his cause. While not a Ukrainian patriot at heart, Mohila played an important role in the history of the Ukrainian national movement. It was Mohila who, at a most crucial time in Ukrainian history, was able to strengthen the chief rallying point of national life in Ukraine, the Orthodox Church.

#### **D. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. JOSAPHAT**

One of the most unfortunate results of the religious strife that existed between the Uniate Ukrainians and the Orthodox Ukrainians was the death of Uniate *Archbishop John Kunceвич*.

Kuncevich was born in Volodymer in 1580, the son of a grain merchant. At the age of 24, he became a monk of the Order of St. Basil and took the name of Josaphat. At 35 he was ordained a priest and two years later he was consecrated the bishop of Vitebsk. Later, he became the archbishop of Polotsk.

Josaphat was a zealous Uniate and an energetic administrator. For the Uniates he was a revered saint, an apostle of the Union who revived the



Wooden church in Romny, built in middle of the 18th century. Photo  
Courtesy of: *Ukraine in Pictures*.

spiritual life of the Uniate Church and who was able to win over scores of "schismatics." To the Orthodox, Josaphat was a "soul snatcher," an unrelenting threat who refused to compromise, and who was eager to take away what was rightfully theirs. Josaphat represented the oppression of Catholic Poland to the Orthodox Ukrainian, and was therefore a traitor.

A few misguided and overzealous Orthodox decided that Josaphat must be eliminated. On November 12, 1623, a mob entered the archbishop's residence and killed him. Josaphat was canonized in 1643 and proclaimed a universal saint in 1867. For the Ukrainian Catholic St. Josaphat became the "Matryr of the Union."

#### **E. HETMAN IVAN SULIMA (1628; 1635)**

Poland's new king, Wladyslaw, thirsted for military conquest and dreamed of sitting on the thrones of both Sweden and Muscovy. Actually, he had claims on both. He was a member of the Swedish royal House of Vasa, and

during Moscow's "Time of Troubles" he had been elected Tsar of Muscovy.

Wladyslaw invaded Muscovy in 1634 and with the aid of 20,000 Kozaks was able to wrest Smolensk and Chernihiv-Sievrsk from the Muscovites. Before he turned his attention to Sweden, however, Wladyslaw decided to build a fort near the rapids of the Dnieper in order to exert better control over the Kozaks. The fort, called *Kodak*, was built by *Beauplan*, a French engineer in the Polish service.

The Kozaks were incensed at this bold invasion of their domain. With Wladyslaw's attention diverted by Sweden, the Kozaks, under the leadership of *Hetman Ivan Sulima*, attacked and completely demolished the fort. The fort had been *Konieczpolski's* idea in the first place and it was he who became the most insistent on immediate retribution. Fearing another all-out war, the Kozaks seized *Sulima* and turned him over to the Poles. *Sulima* had a long and distinguished record on behalf of the Polish Crown. He had even received a gold medal for bravery from the Pope himself and the Kozaks hoped that the Poles would not be too severe. Even the king could not help *Sulima*, however. He was tried, found guilty, hanged, drawn and quartered.

#### **F. THE REVOLT OF PAVLIUK**

Resentment against the new king was growing. The religious issue had not been settled, the Kozaks had not been paid for their past army service, and the freedom of the Ukrainian people was being infringed upon.

In 1637, a revolt broke out in Western Ukraine among the Kozaks of the *Cherkassy* and *Chihiryyn* regiments. Led by *Pavliuk But*, the Kozaks seized *Hetman Konovich* and accused him of collaboration with the Poles. *Konovich* was found guilty of treason and beheaded. *Pavliuk's* action however, did not win him the support of the registered Kozaks and it wasn't long before he and a small group of loyal followers were forced to give up the struggle.

#### **G. THE REVOLT OF OSTRIANIN AND HUNIA AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1638**

Another revolt broke out among the Zaporozhian Kozaks in 1638. Under *Hetman Ostrianin* and later, *Hetman Hunia*, the Kozaks conducted a series of successful campaigns against the Poles. After putting up a fierce struggle on an old battle encampment on the Dnieper, however, the Zaporozhians were forced to surrender. The immediate result of the revolt was the reduction of the number of registered Kozaks to 6,000. Later in the year, the Polish Diet passed an ordinance that formally deprived the Kozaks of their autonomy. The Host was now to be under the command of a Polish commissar appointed by the King. The election of a *Hetman* was abolished.

#### **H. HETMAN BOHDAN KHMELNITSKY (1648-1657)**

The Poles would have probably been able to pacify the Kozaks and strengthen their grip over them had the Kozaks been an isolated social group. But they were not. The Kozaks were part of the Ukrainian people and the problem that they presented was part of the Ukrainian problem as a whole. The Ukrainian problem, as we have seen, was an extremely complicated one.



HETMAN BOHDAN KHMELNITSKY (1648-1657)

It involved both a fight for independence and a fight for religious freedom. Up until now, the fight had been waged largely by the masses, the disgruntled and abused peasants who were the core of Ukrainian national life. From among their ranks came the Kozaks, protectors of freedom, defenders of the faith.

The Ukrainian gentry, unfortunately, had rarely provided the kind of leadership that was required if Ukraine was to become an independent nation. The cream of Ukraine's intelligentsia had attended Jesuit schools, tasted and accepted the gay and often brilliant social life of the Polish *szlachta* (gentry), and felt little if any concern for the land of their birth.

On those rare occasions in Ukrainian history when the Ukrainian upper classes provided a just and able leader, Ukraine's fortunes blossomed. Volodymer, Yaroslav and Daniel had been such leaders. The time had come for another. His name was *Bohdan Khmelnitsky*.

Bohdan Khmelnitsky was born around 1595 in *Subotiw*, an estate owned by his father, an Orthodox squire. After an early education at the Jesuit college in Yaroslav, Bohdan joined the Kozak Host. During one period of his career as a Kozak officer, Bohdan was captured and imprisoned by the Turks. It was during this period of his life that he learned the Turkish language. In 1620, Bohdan married *Anna Somko*, a girl of good Kozak stock who bore him five children: three sons, *Timosh*, *Jurij* and a third whose name is not known, and two daughters, *Catherine* and *Helen*. After serving as a member of the official Kozak delegation that was read the Ordinance of 1638, Bohdan retired to *Subotiw*. In 1645, Bohdan was 50 and a widower. A woman, the beautiful and mysterious *Helen*, came to live at *Subotiw*.

King Wladyslaw's thirst for military conquest, meanwhile, had not been abetted. He now yearned to drive the Ottoman Turks back into Asia Minor but he knew that the Seim would not approve of such a plan. He also knew that the majority of the Kozak Host bore him no ill will. The Kozaks blamed the gentry and not the King for all of their troubles. Wladyslaw decided to obtain the secret support of the Kozaks and to use their help when he had had time to raise a mercenary army against the Turks. In 1646, four Kozak officers, among them Bohdan Khmelnitsky, were called to Warsaw. The King explained his secret plan and presented the Kozaks with a charter which restored all liberties and set the number of registered Kozaks at 12,000. After promising not to divulge the plan until the time was ripe, the Kozaks left. Later that year the charter fell into Bohdan's hands.

It was now 1648 and nothing had come of the King's plans. One day, while Bohdan was away, one of his neighbors, a Pole named *Czaplinski*, raided *Subotiw*. *Czaplinski* had cast many a greedy eye on the well-run estate and his interest in *Helen* was more than just a passing flirtation. When Bohdan's youngest son protested the raid, *Czaplinski* ordered him flogged. The order was carried out with such merciless thoroughness that the boy died the following day. *Czaplinski* then made off with *Helen* and married her within a few days.

Khmelnitsky was stunned! His son had been killed, his lands were taken, and his beloved mistress was now the wife of a Polish squire. He sought retribution by legal means. He appealed to the courts but nothing happened; he appealed to the governor and nothing happened. When even the Seim ignored him, Bohdan went to the King. According to the story, the King, no great lover of the szlachta himself, advised Bohdan: "it is about time you Kozaks remembered you have a sword at your side." Returning to Chihiryn. Bohdan was jailed as an agitator by *Konieczpolski*. Escaping with the aid of *Col. Krichevsky*, a trusted friend, Bohdan headed for the Zaporozhian Sich.

a) *The Battle of Zhovty Vodi* — Producing the charter of King Wladyslaw as proof of the King's secret loyalty, Bohdan convinced the Host that it was time to act against the oppressive measures of the Polish gentry. Khmelnitsky



was promptly elected elder, and after concluding an alliance with the Crimean Tartars, he prepared for battle.

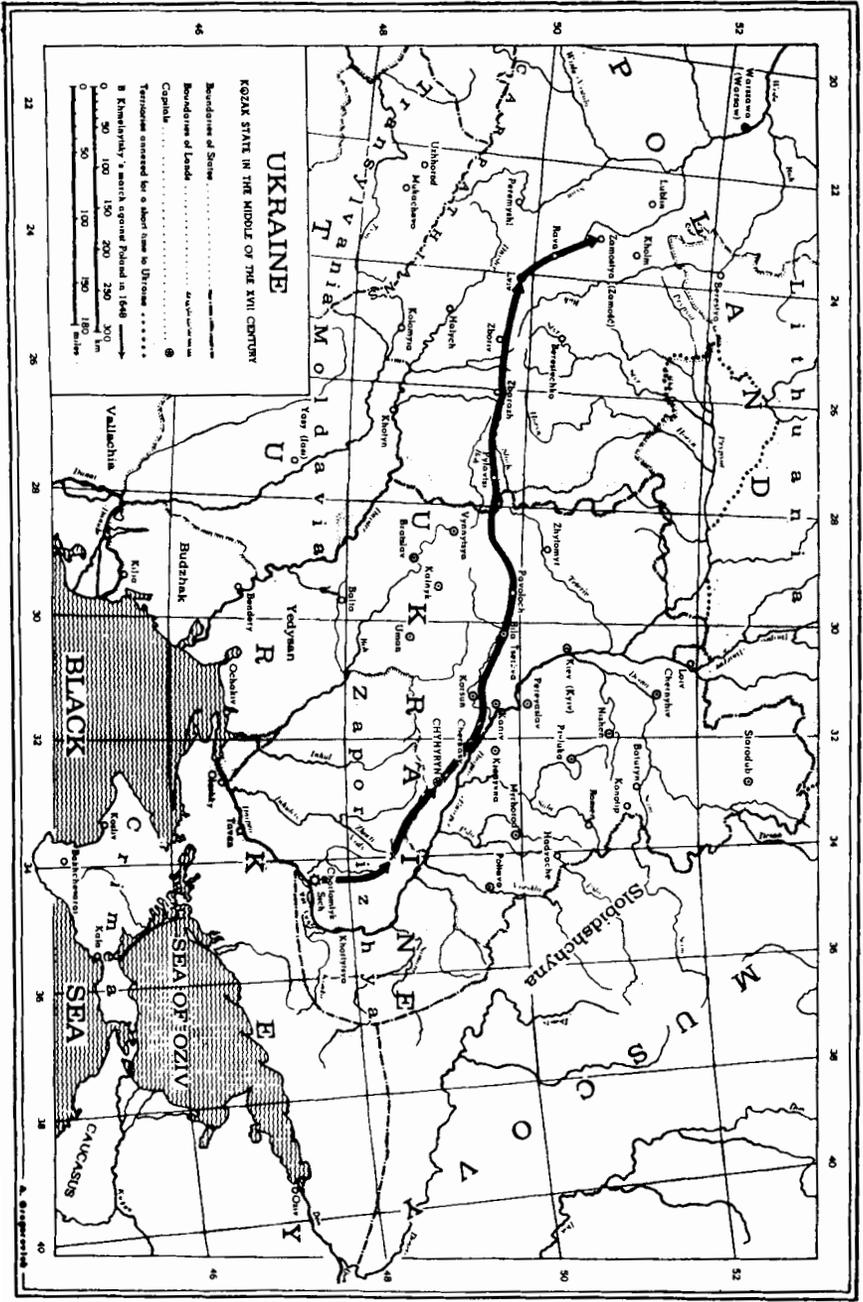
But the Poles were not caught napping. Sensing Bohdan's plans, the Poles sent an army headed by *Crown Hetman Potocki* and *Field Hetman Kalinowski* against him. Their plan was to send a force to Fort Kodak and to cut Khmel'nitsky's forces off from the rest of the Kozaks. Concentrating their forces at Korsun, the Poles sent two contingents, a Polish force under the command of Potocki's young son, and another composed of registered Kozaks. Potocki's son never made it to Kodak. With a detachment of Tartars sent by the Crimean Khan behind him, Khmel'nitsky's forces surrounded the Poles at *Zhovty Vodi* (Yellow Waters). The Poles, confident that Kozak reinforcements were on their way, decided to hold out. Bohdan, however, had sent emissaries to intercept the registered Kozaks coming to young Potocki's aid and to convince them to join their brother Kozaks. His plan succeeded and the Poles were forced to surrender. Bohdan stripped them of their arms and allowed them to retreat. The Tartars, however, always hungry for booty and plunder, decided to attack the defenseless Poles on their own. The irony of it all was that they had not participated in the battle that had preceded the surrender but had merely watched to see how everything would turn out. After killing most of the Poles, the Tartars decided to hold the officers for ransom. The brave young Potocki was severely wounded by the Tartar onslaught however, and died of his wounds the following day.

Among the prisoners taken by the Tartars was a young Ukrainian squire who sent word to Bohdan that he had been forced to serve in the Polish army against his will. His name was *Ivan Vyhovsky*, a man who would someday play an important role in Ukrainian history. Khmel'nitsky believed his story and paid his ransom.

b) *The Battle of Korsun* — The elder Potocki, crazed by the death of his son, ordered the town of Korsun and neighboring Ukrainian villages burned to the ground. Hundreds of Ukrainians perished in the holocaust which served to convince the Ukrainian people that their only hope was to aid Khmel'nitsky.

Bohdan's army advanced on Korsun. Sending a detachment of men from the Korsun region to prepare an ambush in front of the retreating Polish army, Bohdan and the main army slowly pressed from behind. The ambushcade had been entrusted to *Maksym Krivonos* (Crooked Nose) an adventurer of Scotch descent. Bohdan's plan came off perfectly and the Polish army was routed.

c) *The Rise of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement* — It is almost impossible to describe the panic that gripped the Polish nation when the defeats at Zhovty Vodi and Korsun became common knowledge. The stunning victories plus the unexpected death of King Wladyslaw was a signal to the Ukrainian people. Revolts broke out all over Ukraine and thousands of able bodied young men rushed to join the Kozaks. "Rid Ukraine of the Lords" became the cry that was heard in all corners of the land.



The rebels wanted Bohdan to assume general control of the Ukrainian army and to press on to Warsaw. But Bohdan was not prepared to undertake such a bold project since he realized that it would require a well equipped and trained army. Bohdan had assumed the title of Hetman and he wanted to consolidate his position. Ordering his army to Chihirin, he decided to negotiate in order to gain the time that he needed. His demands were simple: the establishment of full authority for the Orthodox Church, a doubling of the quota of registered Kozaks, the restoration of traditional Kozak self-government as well as the settling of his own personal grievances. His demands were quickly granted. Helen's marriage to Czaplinski was annulled and she became Bohdan's wife in the Orthodox rite.

A large percentage of the Ukrainian population was not so easily pacified, however. Inviting Kozak officers such as Krivonos and *Nechai* to lead them, guerrilla bands of peasants roamed the Ukrainian countryside slaughtering every Pole they could get their hands on. A Polish squire, *Wisniowecki*, (a Polonized descendant of Vishnevetsky) retaliated against the Ukrainians in such a horrible and cruel manner that Bohdan was forced to break the armistice and to go to battle for a third time. Again the Poles were beaten, this time at *Pylavtsi*. Just at that time *Jan Kazimierz* was elected King and Khmelnitsky extended his demands to include the abolition of the Union of 1595.

Arriving in Kiev in the winter of 1648, Bohdan was greeted with overwhelming acclaim by Ukrainians of all classes. When he discovered that envoys from Turkey, Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia were seeking an audience, Khmelnitsky realized, perhaps for the first time, the extent of power that his person wielded.

d) *The Treaty of Zboriw* — Bohdan needed two things: time to build a strong nation and a dependable ally. He thought he had found that ally in the person of the Tartar Khan but when hostilities resumed in 1649 and Bohdan's armies had the Polish King and his army surrounded, the Tartars deserted him. Once again Khmelnitsky was forced to negotiate since he lacked the trained manpower to occupy Poland. The result was the Treaty of Zboriw. The King readily accepted all of the Kozak demands on paper. In reality, demands such as the actual recognition and acceptance of the Orthodox Metropolitan in the Seim never came to pass. One important political result of the treaty, however, was the creation of an autonomous Ukrainian territory bounded by the provinces of Kiev, Chernihiv, and parts of Poltava and Podilia. Bohdan's triumphant entry into Kiev in 1649 was greeted with unprecedented pomp and circumstance.

e) *A Son Marries* — Having been betrayed by the Tartars, Khmelnitsky continued to seek support from neighboring countries. The Orthodox East considered him a champion of Orthodoxy and he was soon negotiating with Transylvania, Wallachia and Muscovy. His immediate concern was *Basil Lupul* of Moldavia, a ruler that had been unfriendly to Ukraine during the war of 1649. In order to assure himself of future Moldavian loyalty, Bohdan

sent the following message to Lupul:

“Do please, my lord, give your daughter in marriage to my son, and everything will be well with you; otherwise I shall smash you into dust.”

*Rossanda*, Lupul's daughter, married Timosh. *Rossanda's* sister was married to *Prince Radziwill*, actual ruler of Lithuania and Bohdan hoped that this marital alliance would assure Radziwill's neutrality in any war with Poland.

f) *The Battle of Berestechko* — Poland had begun to take severe measures to insure a victory in any future battles with Ukraine. In the extra-ordinary Seim of 1650 it was decided to triple the size of the Polish army and to give the King full power to mobilize the gentry. War broke out in the summer of 1651 with the decisive battle being fought on the Galician-Volynian frontier near the town of Berestechko. The Ukrainian army was under the command of *Ivan Bohun* and numbered 100,000 including armed peasant volunteers and Tartar mercenaries. The Poles numbered 80,000 including 20,000 German mercenaries and artillery brigades. In the thick of battle, while the German artillery was mercilessly pounding at the Ukrainian army, Prince Radziwill, marital ties notwithstanding, arrived with the Lithuanian army. The Kozaks were forced to retreat but since winter was approaching, the Poles decided to come to terms.

g) *The Treaty of Bila Tserkva* — The resulting treaty signed at Bila Tserkva, reduced the number of registered Kozaks to 20,000 and limited Ukrainian territory to the province of Kiev. The Polish army was once again occupying parts of Ukraine.

h) SLOBIDSKA UKRAINE — In some places the Ukrainian peasants revolted against the Polish occupation but this time the Kozaks were powerless to help. A partial solution was found in emigration. Thousands packed their families and their belongings and headed toward the Muscovite frontier. Once before, after the Ostrianin wars of 1638, Ukrainians had found refuge in Muscovy's vast western wilderness. Muscovy had granted permission to settle this area and Ukrainians were able to establish free settlements. In time the area came to be known as “Slobidska Ukraine” or “Slobidschyna.”

i) *The Treaty of Pereyaslav* — Two personal tragedies had befallen Bohdan and he found himself in the throes of depression. First, his beloved Helen had been found unfaithful. In order to save face among the Kozak Host, Bohdan had reluctantly ordered her execution. Then Timosh, his oldest and favorite son, was killed defending his mother-in-law from an army of Poles, Transylvanians and Wallachians that had ousted Lupul from the throne. Taking this tragic double loss extremely hard, Khmelnytsky kept to himself most of the time.

Time was running out for Ukraine. In his sober moments Bohdan realized that he was getting old, that his son Jurij was too frail to be a worthy successor and that Poland would soon launch another attack. Only one foreign power had given Khmelnytsky a sympathetic ear in his search for an ally against Poland. . . . Muscovy. The overtures of the tsar, an Orthodox sover-



Bohdan Khmelnitsky's Triumphant Entry Into Kiev in 1649. From a painting by M. Ivassiuk.

eign, had appealed to the masses. Here at last was a ruler that would help Ukraine preserve the Orthodox faith and to win her independence from Poland. Negotiations with Muscovy were conducted in Pereyaslav and on January 18, 1654, a treaty was signed. The following provisions were agreed upon:

The traditional rights and privileges of the Host were to be intact; the tsar was not to interfere with Kozak courts; the quota of registered Kozaks was to be raised to 60,000; the Ukrainian gentry was to retain its privileges; only native Ukrainians were to receive appointments in Ukraine; the hetman was to be freely elected by the Kozaks who would notify the tsar *after* the election; the hetman was to retain his authority to receive foreign envoys; all dignitaries of the Host as well as all registered Kozaks were to receive a regular salary from the tsar's exchequer.

*Tsar Alexei's* interpretation of the treaty was quite different from that of Bohdan. He immediately sent his troops into Ukraine ostensibly to prepare for the coming war with Poland. When war actually broke out and Polish forces were laying waste the Ukrainian countryside it was still the Kozaks who had to drive them out. Nevertheless, the Muscovite troops remained in Ukraine.

Khmelnitsky was disillusioned with his new found ally. The tsar was not keeping to the terms of the agreement and Bohdan was waiting for an opportunity to break the alliance. The tsar himself supplied that opportunity. Muscovy was anxious to conclude a treaty with Poland in order to be free to war with Sweden for an outlet to the Baltic. Khmelnitsky's spies informed him that the tsar was prepared to sacrifice Ukraine if it was necessary to insure Poland's non-interference. From his deathbed Bohdan desperately tried to

conclude a treaty with Sweden but died before this could be accomplished.

## I. THE DEATH OF BOHDAN KHMELNITSKY

*"To sum it up, he is dead, through whose labors the old rights and liberties of Ukraine and whole Zaporozhian Host have been revived and may never die"*

— SAMIILO ZORKA IN HIS FUNERAL ORATION

Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky died on August 6, 1657. His death at such an inopportune time in Ukrainian history was a crushing blow to the Ukrainian people. In a few short years Bohdan had managed to re-awaken the Ukrainian spirit, to mobilize it into a fighting force that was respected and feared by all of Eastern Europe, and to return the Ukrainian people to their rightful political heritage. Although his original aim was far narrower in scope, he soon realized that the Ukrainian thirst for freedom could only be quenched in one way . . . the establishment of an independent Ukrainian nation. Khmelnytsky was prepared to try anything, even a temporary alliance with Muscovy, to realize his goal. Now he was dead and all Ukraine mourned. In his funeral oration, Samiilo Zorka noted:

"It is our Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, truly a leader given to us by God whom we behold here on this hearse, stricken by inexorable death, and it is to him that we pay the last honors. Dead is our valiant leader, whose glory is immortal; dead is he by whose leadership not only we, his close assistants, but the whole Republic of Ukraine could, given success, live in security for years to come."

## J. HETMAN IVAN VYHOVSKY (1657-1659)

Khmelnytsky had wished to make the succession of hetmans hereditary in his family and to this no one objected. Bohdan had hoped to see his son, Timosh, succeed him but when the latter was killed, he appointed Jurij. At the time of Khmelnytsky's death, Jurij was a little young to assume the responsibility that his father had bequeathed to him. Being a quiet boy besides, the whole idea of leading the Ukrainian nation was not to his liking. A month after Khmelnytsky's death, Jurij announced that he had decided to study at the Kievan Academy. Ivan Vyhovsky, Khmelnytsky's secretary, was appointed Jurij's successor.

The selection of Vyhovsky was a wise choice. The man was well educated, a shrewd politician and had been one of Bohdan's closest confidants. Vyhovsky planned to continue Bohdan's plans of breaking with Muscovy and concluding an alliance with Sweden. Such an alliance was finally made but because Sweden was involved with other problems, the treaty was of little practical value.

Vyhovsky had his hands full. For one thing, the Zaporozhian Kozaks suspected him of being a Polish sympathizer and were agitating against him. For another, the populace was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the growing importance of the Kozak officers, (*starshina*), many of whom were beginning to behave like landowners in the grand Polish manner. In time there were two factions: Vyhovsky and the *starshina* vs. the Zaporozhians and the masses. Moscow felt obliged to settle the dispute and ordered the calling of a council (*rada*) to settle the issue. The Muscovites hoped that Vyhovsky would be deposed but to their dismay, the *rada* confirmed Vy-



Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (1657-1659)

hovsky's election. Almost immediately, the Muscovite arbitrators rushed to Poltava where there was strong feeling against Vyhovsky, and encouraged a revolt. The revolt was subsequently put down but Vyhovsky was convinced that future relations with Moscow were impossible.

a) *The Union of Hadiach* — Vyhovsky opened negotiations with Poland. The result was the Union of Hadiach concluded on September 16, 1658. The first paragraph of the treaty provided for the reconstruction of the Polish state into a federation of three autonomous nations, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland. Ukraine was to be a free and independent state under the name of the Ruthenian Princedom. All three states were to elect their one king. Ukraine was also to have a high court of justice, a treasury and mint, an army of 40,000, and a hetman elected for life. Church union was to be abolished in all three countries and the Orthodox Church was to have equal rights with the Church of Rome.

b) *Battle of Konotop* — News of the conclusion of the Hadiach union was the signal for a war between Muscovy and Ukraine. Tsar Alexis issued a manifesto to the Ukrainian people in which Vyhovsky was declared a traitor. The Ukrainian government issued a manifesto of its own informing all nations of the split between Ukraine and Muscovy:

"We, the Zaporozhian Kozak army, declare and witness before God and the whole world that the great war we conducted against Poland had no other motive than the defense of the Holy Eastern Church and of our ancestral freedom by the love of which we are sustained. . . . We had no other motives in seeking the protection of the great prince of Muscovy than with the Help of God to maintain our freedom, won and sanctified by our blood, and bequeath it to our descendants after our death."

The manifesto proceeded to explain how the tsar had not kept his word but opened peace negotiations with Poland, declared war on Ukraine's allies, the

Swedes, garrisoned Kiev, and finally schemed to destroy Ukraine through internecine wars, mutinies and advancing Muscovite armies.

"The Ukrainians are not responsible for the new war thus beginning, and only under compulsion do they take to arms."

The Muscovites sent one of their most brilliant generals, *Trubetskoy*, plus the flower of their cavalry against Vyhovsky. In a fierce engagement that occurred on the 28th and 29th of June, 1659, near the town of Konotop, the Muscovite forces were routed and all Muscovy trembled. The Russian historian, *Soloviev*, wrote:

"Tsar Alexis Mikhailovitch came out to the people dressed in mourning and Moscow was seized with panic. The blow was the heavier in that it was unexpected. Trubetskoy, a man on whom all hopes were set, a man who was terrible to his enemies and lucky in war, had now lost a great army in one day. . . . There were rumors that the tsar was leaving for Yaroslav beyond the Volga. Vyhovsky was expected to go directly to Moscow."

But Vyhovsky could not take advantage of this brilliant victory.

There was still much hard feeling against Poland in Ukraine and the idea of a federation with Poland was not to everyone's liking. Vyhovsky's enemies, led by Cols. *Zuzura*, *Somko*, and *Zoltarenko*, were busy plotting against him and claiming that he had sold Ukraine to Poland. Returning to Ukraine, Vyhovsky appealed to the Kozak council. Nothing was accomplished and a new council was convened at Bila Tserkva. This time Vyhovsky was deposed and Jurij Khmelnitsky was re-elected Hetman.

#### **K. HETMAN JURIJ KHMELNITSKY (1659-1663)**

Forced to negotiate with the Muscovites, Jurij arrived in Pereyaslav to sign a new treaty. Now the Hetman and all of Ukraine were to be directly under the tsar. No Hetman was to be elected without the tsar's permission.

Within six months a new dispute arose between Poland and Muscovy. In the summer of 1660, the Muscovites decided to invade Galicia and Jurij Khmelnitsky was asked to lead a Kozak army through the southern part of the same territory to protect it from the Tartars. The Polish forces quickly surrounded the Muscovite army under the command of *Sheremetiev* and prevailed upon Khmelnitsky to sever his relations with Muscovy in return for Poland's recognition of Kozak autonomy on the right bank. After his defection, Jurij's uncle, *Col. Somko*, pledged the allegiance of the left bank Kozaks to Muscovy.

a) "*The Ruin*" — Ukraine had entered that period of her history known as "*The Ruin*." For all practical purposes, a once proud nation was divided into two opposing camps: the left bank under Moscow and the right bank under Poland.

b) *Hetman Brukhovetsky* (left bank; 1663-1668) — The Muscovites did not trust Somko who, in spite of his convictions, was a Ukrainian patriot. After some agitation, the Muscovites succeeded in having Somko deposed. He was replaced by Brukhovetsky, who, according to one Ukrainian historian, was the kind of opportunist who "for silver and gold would give not only one of his eyes but his brother or even his father."

c) *Hetman Teteria* (right bank; 1663-1665) — As in the past, Jurij Khmelnitsky was not happy as a hetman. It didn't take much persuasion for



Hetman Jurij Khmelnitsky (1659-1663)

another selfish and ambitious Kozak, Pavlo Teteria, to convince Jurij to become a monk and to have himself elected hetman.

#### **L. HETMAN PETER DOROSHENKO (1665-1676)**

It was difficult enough to secure an independent Ukraine when the army was united under a single Hetman. Now that the armed forces were divided and quarreling, prospects for freedom in the immediate future were extremely dim.

Poland made one last effort to gain the left bank of Ukraine but failed. The Poles were driven back by Brukovetsky who could have taken western Ukraine but decided against it.

The Poles resumed their policy of exploitation in Ukraine and feeling against the Poles was running high once again. The Ukrainians soon found a scapegoat in Ivan Vyhovsky who was illegally tried and executed for treason. A revolt soon broke out among the people and Poland could not control it. Teteria was driven from Ukraine and an autonomy of sorts was established on the right bank. The leaders of the insurrection obtained the support of the Crimean Tartars and elected *Peter Doroshenko* Hetman of Ukraine's right bank.

a) *Treaty of Andrusovo* — Neither Poland nor Muscovy was prepared to go to war over Ukraine. In a treaty concluded at Andrusovo in 1667, Muscovy agreed to claim sovereignty over the left bank while Poland was to rule the right bank. Brukhovetsky's followers were dismayed by this latest Muscovite double-cross and urged him to join forces with Doroshenko and revolt.

b) *Doroshenko's unification* — Doroshenko offered Brukhovetsky the province of Hadiach for his cooperation but the latter held out for more. The two joined forces and drove the Muscovites from Ukraine but when Bruk-



Hetman Peter Doroshenko (1665-1676)

hovetsky demanded to be elected Hetman over Doroshenko, he was seized and executed by his own men.

Ukraine was united. Appointing *Damian Mnohohrishny* acting Hetman of eastern Ukraine, Doroshenko returned to his home at Chihiryn. This was Doroshenko's greatest mistake for once he left Mnohohrishny, the Muscovites returned with a larger army and ordered him to negotiate or be annihilated. Too weak to resist, Mnohohrishny waited for Doroshenko's help but when the Hetman could not come to his aid, Mnohohrishny was forced to submit to Muscovite demands.

c) *Doroshenko's downfall* — Doroshenko had not taken advantage of his golden opportunity to effect the permanent unification of Ukraine and his popularity among the people was rapidly declining. A swift series of unfortunate events contributed to his downfall.

1) The Zaporozhian Kozaks refused to support Doroshenko's policy of cooperation with the Turks. They elected their own Hetmans. Under *Sukhovy* and later under *Khanenko*, the Zaporozhian Kozaks continued to revolt against Doroshenko.

2) Mnohohrishny was replaced by *Hetman Samoilovich* in 1672.

Samoilovich also desired a united Ukraine but under his rule and under the protectorate of Muscovy. He invaded western Ukraine.

Doroshenko rallied when the Zaporozhian Kozaks under *Ivan Sirko* rebelled and came to his aid. He was also able to get the support of the Turks but it was all too late. He was forced to surrender and was subsequently exiled to Muscovy.



Hetman Ivan Samoilovich (1672-1687)

### M. "PRINCE" JURIJ KHMELNITSKY (1678-1681)

Samoilovich's hopes to rule over a united Ukraine were dimmed by Turkey. After Doroshenko's capitulation, the Turks, who had captured Jurij Khmel'nitsky in Kiev in 1672, proclaimed him "Prince of Ukraine". The Turkish army now invaded Ukraine and in 1678 laid siege to Chihiryn, the capital of both Bohdan Khmel'nitsky and Doroshenko. Samoilovich and the Muscovites were forced to retreat after blowing up their fort. Khmel'nitsky ruled until 1681 when, suffering from insanity, he became a cruel despot and was executed by the Turks.

### N. THE END OF SAMOIOLOVICH

After the death of Jurij, the Sultan of Turkey gave the right bank of the Dnieper to his vassal, the Moldavian *Prince Duka*. Much of Ukraine had been devastated during the period of "The Ruin" leaving vast areas totally uninhabited. Prince Duka undertook a vast colonization program.

Poland also sought to colonize the area. King *John Sobieski* nominated *Kunitsky*, an officer under Doroshenko, Hetman, and ordered him to reorganize the Kozak Host. Kunitsky did what he was told and the Kozaks were soon strong enough to begin to drive the Turks from Ukraine. Kunitsky was succeeded by *Andrew Mohila* and after the Polish Seim formally restored many Kozak liberties, many more Ukrainians re-crossed the Dnieper to settle in, western Ukraine. Poland then concluded an "eternal peace" agreement with Muscovy in which she renounced forever the Ukraine of the left bank, Kiev, and the Zaporozhian Kozaks. The peace treaty was signed in 1686.

Samoilovich protested that Moscow had no right to "give away" western Ukraine but no one listened. He had no one to turn to, for even the last

vestige of Ukrainian independence, the Orthodox Church, was, thanks to Samoilovich's personal interests in the past, under the Patriarch of Moscow.

Samoilovich's downfall began when Moscow broke with Turkey and decided to war with the Crimean Tartars using the combined Muscovite and Ukrainian armies. Poland, Austria, and Venice were to invade Turkey at the same time. Realizing that Turkey and the Tartars represented the last hope of a strong ally for Ukraine, Samoilovich objected again. His objections were rejected and he was ordered to prepare his army. The two armies had no sooner set out when they were caught in the steppes during the heat of the summer. The Tartars had left the flatlands a charred wasteland. Having no fodder for their horses, the combined army was forced to retreat, never having encountered a single enemy. As is usual in such cases someone had to pay and Hetman Samoilovich was selected as the scapegoat. Arrested on trumped up charges that he had ordered the Kozaks to burn the steppes, Samoilovich was banished to Siberia along with all of his family. The Kozaks were ordered to elect a new hetman. The man they chose to lead them in 1687 was Ivan Mazepa.

### O. UKRAINE IN FOREIGN COMMENTS AND DESCRIPTIONS

The Kozak independence movement of Bohdan Khmelnytsky naturally attracted the attention of neighbors near and far, especially diplomats, statesmen and writers. Not only were the foreigners interested in knowing more about the Ukrainian land and its political organization, but they also endeavored to win the sympathy of the Kozaks and their leaders. Of the various legates and ministers who went to see Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the most interesting accounts were left by ALBERTO VIMINA, the Minister of the Venetian Republic who visited Ukraine in 1650.

a) *The Council Idea* — Ukrainian democratic tradition goes back to the AGE OF ROYALTY and was encompassed in "the council idea". It continued during the time of the Kozaks in the "Rada". Vimina writes:

"In the Rada the Kozaks deliberate the various matters and support their viewpoints without ostentation, aiming always at the improvement of the common lot. If they recognize that the viewpoints of others are better, they are not ashamed of their own and without stubbornness renounce such and support that one which they believe to be more correct. Hence I would say that this Republic could have been compared to the Spartan, if the Kozaks respected sobriety as highly as did the Spartans."

b) *Bohdan Khmelnytsky* — Characterizing Bohdan Khmelnytsky Vimina writes that he was:

"Of more than middle height, with wide bones and of a powerful build. His utterances and his system of governing indicate that he possesses judicial thinking and a penetrating mind. In his manner he is gentle and unaffected and thereby wins the love of the Kozaks: but on the other hand, he keeps them disciplined through severe requirements. To all who enter his room he extends his hand, and asks them to be seated if they are Kozaks."

c) *Ukrainian culture* — Another traveller to Ukraine during this period was PAUL OF ALEPPO of Syria, who was secretary to the *Patriarch Marcarius III* of Antioch who visited Ukraine in the years 1654 and 1656. Paul of Aleppo first set foot on Ukrainian soil at *Rashiv* on the Dniester:



WHAT KOZAKS WORE TO BATTLE. Includes: bulava (reserved for the hetman), sword, a musket, and assorted daggers.



KOZAK MUSKETS

"Beginning with this city, that is, throughout the whole of the Kozak land, we noted a beautiful trait which aroused our interest: they all almost without exception, even their wives and daughters, know how to read and know the order of the mass and the church song."

Paul of Aleppo also visited the famed *Pecherska Lavra*:

"This Monastery of the Caves is the glory of the Kozak country. In it are twenty-three churches. Till a year ago there were nearly five hundred monks there, but three hundred of them died in the plague. . . . In the Monastery all the table service which they set before us was of silver. It should be noted that in every large Monastery and in the episcopal palaces, some of the great officials attend as retinue and are called 'Servants of the Monastery'."

d) *The Ukrainian Countryside* — The beauty of the land known as Ukraine never failed to impress a foreigner. Paul of Aleppo wrote:

"The route through Ukraine led in most part through orchards, of which there was no end, and through fields of all kinds of wheat which grows as tall as a human being and looks like an ocean without any shores. What a blessed land! What a blessed people!"

e) *Comments on Character* — Paul of Aleppo also travelled to Moscow and returned to Ukraine on June 28, 1656. He wrote that he was:

"thankful to be in the country of the Kozaks for during those two years we spent in Muscovy, a padlock had been set on our hearts, and we were in the extremity of narrowness and constraint of our minds, for in that country (Muscovy) no person can feel anything of freedom or cheerfulness, except possibly the native population. The country of the Kozaks (Ukraine), on the other hand, was like our own country to us, and its inhabitants were to us good friends and fellows like unto ourselves."

Another traveller to both Ukraine and Poland was ULRICH WERDUM who did his travelling in the years 1670-1672. Speaking of Ukrainian women Werdum writes:

"One can find much kindness in both words and gestures in Ukraine, particularly in the women, to which contributes also the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) language for its

pronunciation is not as hard as that of the Polish. They say that in Lemberg (Lviv) there are as beautiful, delicate and flirtatious women as can be found anywhere in the world. I met one such beautiful woman, who, when I tried to purchase some wares from her, rendered me a polite compliment in the Latin language and expressed herself in a very charming way."

Werdum also wrote about the Poles and described them in this way: "The Poles are not lacking in politeness and intelligence; but they are lighthearted and fickle. When they have an interest in something and are on the weaker side, they act very humbly and peacefully, but when they meet a weaker party and master the situation, they immediately become proud, conceited and cruel; they either serve servilely or rule proudly, a character described by Livy. In everyday life and in social conversation they use more compliments and flatteries than any other people. . . . As a whole, however, the Polish people are neglectful and lazy; they till only the most necessary parcels of land while the rest lie fallow. . . ."

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## Review Exercises

### A. Fill in the Correct Word or Phrase

1. The man responsible for the Orthodox intellectual revival was \_\_\_\_\_.
2. One of the most unfortunate incidents during the clashes between the Orthodox and the Uniates was \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The \_\_\_\_\_ were introduced into Poland to counteract the Protestant Reformation; in time, however, their presence became a serious threat to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.
4. As a result of a series of revolts by Pavliuk, Ostrianin, and Hunia, the Polish government issued \_\_\_\_\_ which deprived the Kozaks of their autonomy.
5. The precipitating event which finally aroused Bohdan Khmelnitsky to action was \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Khmelnitsky's two greatest needs after the Battle of Korsun were an \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
7. According to most Ukrainian historians, Khmelnitsky's greatest mistake was agreeing to \_\_\_\_\_.
8. The Hetman who repudiated the Treaty of Pereyaslav and marched on Muscovy was \_\_\_\_\_.
9. The treaty which proposed a Federation consisting of Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine was \_\_\_\_\_.
10. The treaty which divided Ukraine between Poland and Muscovy along the Dnieper River was \_\_\_\_\_.

### B. Match the Correct Letter with Each Statement

- |   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. _____ Founded Kievan Academy.  | A. Vyhovsky          |
| 2. _____ Succeeded Hetman Jurij Khmelnitsky.  | B. Jurij Khmelnitsky |
| 3. _____ Made a "prince" by the Turks.  | C. Doroshenko        |
| 4. _____ Beat the Muscovites at Konotop.  | D. Samoilovich       |
| 5. _____ Archbishop John Kunceвич, "Martyr of the Union".   | E. 1648              |
| 6. _____ Sought Tartar aid after Vyhovsky's execution.  | F. 1659              |
| 7. _____ Khmelnitsky's second wife and "great love."  | G. Slobidska Ukraine |
| 8. _____ Battles of Zhovty Vodi and Korsun.   | H. Helen             |
| 9. _____ Hetman who "for silver and gold would give not only one of his eyes but his brother or even his father." | I. Sulima            |
| 10. _____ Died from wounds sustained trying to rescue mother-in-law.  | J. Lupul             |
|   | K. Szlachta          |
|   | L. 1654              |
|   | M. Timosh            |
|   | N. Mohila            |
|   | O. St. Josaphat      |
|   | P. Krivonos          |

- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| 11. _____ Treaty of Andrusovo.  | Q. Brukhovetsky       |
| 12. _____ Battle of Konotop.  | R. 1667               |
| 13. _____ Kozak of Scotch descent who played decisive role at Korsun. | S. Teteria<br>T. 1658 |
| 14. _____ Union of Hadiach.   |                       |
| 15. _____ Executed by Poles for insurrection.                         |                       |
| 16. _____ Treaty of Pereyaslav.                                       |                       |
| 17. _____ Ukrainian Hetman deposed by Muscovites.                     |                       |
| 18. _____ Free Ukrainian settlements in Western Muscovy.              |                       |
| 19. _____ Polish term for gentry.                                     |                       |
| 20. _____ Ruler of Moldavia.  |                       |

### C. *Discussion Questions*

1. Discuss the factors that enabled Bohdan Khmelnytsky to unite the Ukrainian people. What factors led to his later defeats? Why was he looking for an ally? Why was Bohdan Khmelnytsky different from the Kozaks who lived a hundred years before him? What is Khmelnytsky's "legacy"?
2. Discuss the Treaty of Pereyaslav. Why is it an important document today? Why is the Treaty no longer a valid argument to show that the Ukrainian people want to be united with their "Russian brothers"?
3. Discuss the Treaty of Hadiach. Do you think Hetman Vyhovsky might have succeeded in uniting the Ukrainian people? What were some of the factors which prevented him from realizing his plans?
4. What were Hetman Doroshenko's plans? What were some of the factors which prevented him from realizing his plans?

# CHAPTER THREE

## IVAN MAZEPA AND HIS TIMES

*Significant dates in:*

### Ukrainian History

Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709)  
Battle of Poltava (1709)

Hetman Philip Orlyk (1710-?)  
Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky (1709-1722)  
First "Little Russian Board" (1722)  
Hetman Paul Polubotok (1722-1724)  
Hetman Daniel Apostol (1727-1734)  
"Haidamak" Rebellion (1734)  
Second "Little Russian Board" (1734)

Russo-Turkish War (1734-1740)  
Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky (1750-1764)  
Third "Little Russian Board" (1764)  
Last "Haidamak" Rebellion (1768)  
Burning of the Sitch (1775)

### World History

Louis XIV of France (1643-1715)  
Peter I of Russia (1682-1725)  
Charles XII of Sweden (1682-1718)  
"Glorious Revolution" in England: Bill of Rights (1688)  
Locke — *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690)  
Union of England and Scotland (1707)  
St. Petersburg becomes Muscovite Capital (1713)  
War of Polish Succession (1733-1735)  
Frederick the Great (1740-1786)  
Lavoisier — Father of Modern Chemistry (1743-1794)  
Seven Years War (1756-1763)  
Reign of Catherine II of Russia (1762-1796)  
Rousseau — *The Social Contract* (1762)  
Pugachev Rebellion in Russia (1772-1774)  
First Partition of Poland (1772)  
Adam Smith — *Wealth of Nations* (1776)  
American War of Independence (1776-1783)  
Death of Voltaire (1778)  
Kant — *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781)  
Adoption of American Constitution (1787)

### A. MOSCOW'S POLICY IN UKRAINE

The downfall of Hetman Doroshenko had led many Ukrainians to believe that it was impossible to free Ukraine from Muscovy. Doroshenko had been the last warrior and statesman of Khmelnitsky's caliber and the last loyal representative of a policy that took effective steps to secure Ukrainian independence. Doroshenko had lost. He had been forced to take radical measures in order to fulfill his aims; because of this, he had been deserted by his followers and came to be hated by the masses. The kind of leadership that Doroshenko had provided, however, was now nowhere to be found. It was

much simpler for his successors to follow the path of least resistance and to seek personal favors at the hands of the Muscovite Tsar.

Moscow continued its program of political pacification of Ukraine. It was part of Muscovite policy to bestow large estates upon the Ukrainian officers who proved loyal to Muscovite rule. As a result, a new officer's class was emerging. Khmel'nitsky had rid Ukraine of the Polish gentry; now, the Ukrainian officers were taking their place.

Immediately following Khmel'nitsky's rebellion, when the Polish landlords had for the most part been killed or expelled, great areas of eastern Ukraine had been taken over by free people. They settled the ownerless land, built homes and cultivated as much soil as they could work. It seemed as if the whole system of "landlordism" had been "abolished by the Kozak sword." Under Moscow, however, this assumption was soon proved to be false.

### **B. HETMAN IVAN MAZEPA (1687-1709)**

In the summer of 1687, Hetman Samoilovich had been deposed and banished to Siberia. The Council of Kozak officers elected *Ivan Mazepa* as his successor.

a) *Early life* — Ivan Mazepa was born to one of the prominent Ukrainian noble families in the neighborhood of *Bila Tserkva* in the province of Kiev on or about March 20, 1632. Ivan's father, Adam, had been an ataman of the Bila Tserkva regiment during Khmel'nitsky's rebellion. Later, he had supported the efforts of Hetman Vyhovsky to make Ukraine a co-equal partner in a Federation with Poland and Lithuania. Ivan's mother was *Maryna Mokiyevska*, a member of another Ukrainian noble family from the general neighborhood. She was well educated having been trained in the *Florovo-Ascension Convent* in Kiev, a leading institution for Orthodox Ukrainian girls of good family. After the death of her husband, she retired from worldly affairs, and died, well past the age of 90, as *Mary Magdalen*, Abbess of the same convent in which she had been educated.

As the son of a manor lord, young Ivan led an ideal existence. There were many servants and all of them did everything they could to make the future master of the house conscious of his own importance and of the role which he was soon to play in the neighborhood and the district. Courtesy and elegance were the virtues of the day and the goal of every young noble was to become a courtier. Ivan received his early education from the parish priest. Later, he was sent to the Kiev Brotherhood School and still later, to the Mohila Academy. He soon became an excellent Latin scholar. As time went on, he was able to gain a speaking knowledge of German, French, Italian and Dutch. For a time he even studied at the Sorbonne in Paris. "In a word, Mazepa absorbed that artificial culture which was the dominant force in Poland of the day and which was in strong contrast to the dour and uninspired culture of Moscow" (Manning).

b) *Doroshenko's Secretary* — As a young man, Mazepa had become active in the court of the Polish King and had even been one of the Polish-Ukrainian representatives that appeared in Hadiach for the conclusion of the Treaty



Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709)

championed by Hetman Vyhovsky. Later, however, disillusioned by what had happened to Vyhovsky and the subsequent treatment Ukrainians received at the hands of the Poles, Mazepa became convinced that future negotiations with the Poles were fruitless. When King Jan Kazimierz abdicated the Polish throne, Mazepa decided to enter Hetman Doroshenko's service. Because of his past experience, his affable nature and his own extraordinary administrative abilities, Mazepa's rise was rapid. It wasn't long before he found himself the commander of Doroshenko's headquarters, then General Secretary and finally Doroshenko's acting Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mazepa threw all of his energies behind Doroshenko but it was all in vain. The tide against the Hetman was turning and it was only a matter of time before he too would meet Vyhovsky's unfortunate fate. Mazepa summed up Ukraine's plight during this period in a now famous *duma*:

Everyone for peace is seeking,  
But on different ropes they're pulling.  
One goes right, another leftward,  
And it's strange for they are brothers.  
You've no love, you have no union,  
Since the day of Zhovty Vodi.  
Into anger all have stumbled,  
For themselves, they've fought and plundered.  
It is time for you, my brothers,  
To be sure you're not all masters;  
All have not the gift of knowledge,  
And the wit to govern wisely.  
Take a ship as an example,—  
You can see the crew is many,  
But one man is known as captain.  
And he orders all the vessel.  
The poor bee obeys its mistress,  
In the hive it does her bidding.

Lord have mercy on our Ukraine,  
 Where her sons are always fighting.  
 One, with infidels agreeing,  
 Calls aloud: "Come here, ye Moslems!  
 Come and save our mother country,  
 We will not let her be ruined."  
 One obeys the Poles for money,  
 And laments for his poor Ukraine,  
 "Oh, my dear and aged mother,  
 Why have you become so feeble?  
 They have cut you into pieces;  
 Now the Turk is on the Dnieper.  
 It is but a scheme to harm you."  
 And a third relies on Moscow,  
 And he serves sincerely, truly;  
 He again still loves his mother.  
 And he curses her misfortune,  
 "Better we had not existed,  
 Than to live amid this ruin."  
 On all sides her foes are fighting,  
 With the sword and fire ruin,  
 Masters are no longer trusted,  
 Nor respected by their lessers.  
 Better 'twere one day to gather  
 All to fight against the evil,  
 No one by himself can conquer;  
 He will but prolong the evil,  
 Come, ye generals together.  
 Why are you so deep in slumber?  
 Come, ye colonels, all together.  
 Give up politics and intrigue,  
 Give your hands to one another.  
 Do not let your mother longer  
 Suffer all these frightful torments.  
 Go, wipe out the hostile armies,  
 Load your muskets for the battle,  
 Sharpen well your keen-edged sabers,  
 And if for the Faith you perish,  
 You are guarding Freedom also.  
 Glory be to him eternal,  
 Who defends his rights with weapons!<sup>1</sup>

Still loyal to Doroshenko, Mazepa tried to stem the tide. Doroshenko was desperate. An abandoned and pathetic figure, he made a last effort to secure more help from the Turks. In order to show his good faith, Doroshenko decided to turn over to the Tartars a group of Christian prisoners caught ravaging the Turks. He appointed Mazepa as the deliverer. Mazepa's pleas to be relieved of this heinous assignment were to no avail, and the group, prisoners and Kozak escort, started out in June. There was but one fear — the Zaporozhian Kozaks, sworn enemies of the Mohammedans and Protectors

1. Manning, Clarence, *Ivan Mazepa. Hetman of Ukraine*, Bookman Associates, N. Y. 1957, pp. 51-53.

of Orthodox Christianity. The fears of Doroshenko's Kozaks were well founded. One day, as the little band was crossing the sun parched steppes, a Zaporozhian force, under the command of the feared *Koshevyi Ivan Sirko*, overran the group and forced them to surrender. Mazepa was taken to the Sitch to be tried for treason to the Kozak Code. Ordinarily, there would have been little argument among the Kozaks concerning Mazepa's fate; he would have been summarily tried and executed and that would have been that. Mazepa, however, was no ordinary Kozak. In an eloquent plea for his life, Mazepa was even able to convince the cynical Sirko of his personal innocence; he was, after all, merely following orders. Sirko interceded in Mazepa's behalf, and the life of the future Hetman was spared. Mazepa remained a prisoner on the Sitch.

c) *Samoilovich's Secretary* — It wasn't long before Right Bank Hetman Samoilovich heard of Sirko's prize and demanded that Mazepa be turned over to him. At first Sirko refused but when the Hetman threatened to send his family to Siberia, Sirko relented. Samoilovich wished information concerning Doroshenko's latest plans; this information Mazepa obligingly provided. Samoilovich then asked Mazepa to join his service and, having little choice, he accepted. In time Mazepa became Samoilovich's trusted aide and secretary and finally his successor.



A Zaporozhian Kozak of the 18th Century

d) *Mazepa's Hetmanate* — Mazepa, obviously, was not to be the traditional type of Kozak Hetman. The gulf between the early Hetmans, who acquired their power merely to conduct a raid against the Turks, and Khmel'nitsky, who had tried to mold a nation, was tremendous. The difference between Khmel'nitsky and Mazepa was even greater. For one thing, Mazepa was Hetman only of the Left Bank. Secondly, there were Muscovite garrisons stationed in all of the important cities of Ukraine. The only way Mazepa could hope to maintain his power was by retaining the confidence of the Tsar. Khmel'nitsky had the power to organize armies; Mazepa didn't. Khmel'nitsky could think about and even improve the common lot of his people. Mazepa could do little in this regard. Muscovite rule was too deeply entrenched.

Mazepa had been Hetman for only two years when *Peter* succeeded in forcing his half sister *Sophia* out of power. Prince *Golitsyn*, the man who had been instrumental in Mazepa's election to the Hetmanate, was relieved of all of his important posts. Things looked bad for the Hetman. Mazepa's suave self-confidence and good fortune did not fail him, however. Travelling to Moscow, Mazepa was not only able to convince the new Tsar to return the money he had paid *Golitsyn* for his election, but he was able to convince the Tsar to grant him a healthy slice of the *Golitsyn* fortune as well! Extremely well off financially, Mazepa was able to return to Ukraine and to begin an unparalleled period of cultural improvement for his people. Among his many accomplishments in this area, the re-modeling of *St. Sophia*, the construction of *St. Nicholas Cathedral*, the re-construction of the *Church of the Epiphany*, and the construction of an elaborate wall around the Monastery of the Caves, are outstanding. It was under Mazepa's patronage that Ukrainian baroque architecture flowered. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem there is still used, on all great holidays, a large silver platter with the inscription, "Donated by His Highness, Ivan Mazepa, Hetman of Rus."

Mazepa's major shortcoming was his inability to penetrate the popular mind and to gain its favor. In spite of the fact that in 1691 he issued a Universal (Manifesto) forbidding secular as well as spiritual landlords to impose unduly heavy taxes on the peasants occupying the lands; in spite of the fact that he abolished the spirits tax and ordered that peasants should not be forced to work more than two days a week for their landlord; in spite of the fact that he encouraged Ukrainian trade and protected the interests of the Ukrainian merchants, he was not a popular Hetman. The common peasant could see little distinction between Mazepa and the order he represented, and the landlords of Poland and Muscovy. To the bulk of his officers he remained a stranger, a "Liakh" (Pole) who was not to be trusted. As long as he remained ostensibly loyal to Moscow, Mazepa could not hope to gain much popular support for his administration.

### C. PETRYK'S REVOLT

The last bastion of Kozak liberty had always been the Zaporozhian Sich.



Silver plaque, Mazepa's gift to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Photo Courtesy of: *Ukraine in Pictures*.

During the time of Samoilovich and now during Mazepa's time, the Kozaks of the Sitch remained hostile to the official Ukrainian government. In 1691, a certain *Petryk Ivanenko*, an army clerk, fled to the Zaporozhians and attempted to persuade them to attack Mazepa and to free the Ukrainian people from their "new landlords." He assured the Zaporozhians that the whole Ukrainian nation would join them in the revolt:

"I will risk my head, and you may cut me to pieces if all Ukraine, from Poltava on, will not bow down before you. If we can get at least six thousand men of the horde, we can begin. Do you not believe our poor brethren will help us, who in these times are unable to make a living because of the extortion of the landlords and the new dukes who have received estates from the tsar? When they hear that you are coming with the army of the Sitch, they will rise up and kill the devilish landlords, and we shall arrive to see the deed accomplished. The Hetman will flee to Moscow, where his heart and soul are: here in the Zaporozhian army there is only his shadow."

The Ukrainian population, upon hearing of Petryk's plans, were heartened. Mazepa, fearing a large scale rebellion if he moved against Petryk alone, asked for reinforcements from Moscow. But the Zaporozhians chose not to heed Petryk's pleas. Only a few volunteers joined him and when the Ukrainian peasants saw his insignificant forces, they did not dare to join him lest they be annihilated. Petryk tried again in 1693 and in 1696 but to no avail. During his last campaign he was killed by a Kozak who wished to collect the price set on his head by Mazepa.

## D. RIGHT BANK UKRAINE

The situation in Right Bank Ukraine at this time was extremely complicated. In 1686 Muscovy had signed a peace treaty with Poland in which she renounced forever the Ukraine of the left bank, Kiev and the Zaporozhian Kozaks.

The Polish government made every effort to build up that part of Ukraine that had fallen into a state of almost complete desolation. In order to protect its frontiers from Tartar attack Poland even permitted the re-organization of the Kozak Host. The man who headed the Kozak organization at this time was *Hetman Samus*.

In another part of western Ukraine, *Colonel Paliy* was endeavoring to unite both parts of Ukraine. As early as 1688 he had proposed, through Hetman Mazepa, that Muscovy take his district under its protection. The Poles had arrested him but he escaped, rejoined his Kozaks and continued to maintain himself as an independent ruler.

In 1699, Poland concluded a peace treaty with Turkey. Once the Sultan had renounced all of his claims to Ukraine, there was no longer any real need for a Kozak organization. Following historical precedent, the Seim voted to dissolve the Kozak organization. Samus and Paliy decided to combine forces and to resist the Polish move. Paliy managed to capture the Polish forts of *Nemiriw* and *Bila Tserkva*, and was preparing a new assault when a new political development caused him to re-evaluate his plans. Sweden, a growing power in the north, had invaded Muscovy.

## E. CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN (1682-1718)

Charles XII, a man of superb military genius, had inherited the Swedish Crown at a time when Sweden, as a result of the Thirty Years War, was one of the greatest powers in Europe. In 1700, he had attacked Muscovy and badly defeated Peter at Narva. He then turned his attention to Poland where he attempted to depose King August II and replace him with *Stanislaus Leszczynski*, a man supported by all of the anti-Russian factions of Poland. In 1704, Peter ordered Mazepa to enter Western Ukraine and to subdue the Polish nobles friendly to Charles. Mazepa entered Western Ukraine, not to subdue the Polish nobles, but to arrest Paliy, whom he considered too great of an individualist to be useful in any future combined Ukrainian effort. Mazepa informed Peter that Paliy had been in collusion with Charles and that he, Mazepa, had replaced him with *Colonel Omelchenko* who was loyal to Russian interests. Peter trusted Mazepa but, in 1707, again asked the Hetman to restore Western Ukraine to Polish rule. Omelchenko had, by that time, won over most of the Ukrainian population to the cause of unity; Mazepa, for this reason, concocted all sorts of excuses to delay entering Western Ukraine in Peter's interest.

## F. THE BATTLE OF POLTAVA

Mazepa was waiting to see how Charles would fare in Poland. A few years previously Mazepa had decided to join forces with Charles against Peter. He had to be extremely cautious, however; Peter had his trusted agents everywhere and it was difficult to know whom to trust. Through highly secret channels, Mazepa began his negotiations with Charles. Mazepa's fears of betrayal were well founded. A close friend, *Kochubey*, had already gone to Peter and informed him of Mazepa's plans. Peter's blind trust in Mazepa caused him to discount the story and to send Kochubey back to Mazepa to be executed as a traitor.

In 1708, Charles suddenly invaded Muscovy from Lithuania not far from the Ukrainian border. His original plan seems to have been to seize Smolensk and to march on to Moscow. Now that winter was fast approaching, however, Charles swung south into Ukraine. Immediately after the Swedish invasion, Peter had ordered a large part of Mazepa's force into Lithuania and then sent a Muscovite army to Ukraine ostensibly to protect Mazepa from the hatred of the Ukrainian population. Mazepa was left in an extremely dangerous position. The very troops that could have swelled Charles' army were cut off by Peter's army. For Mazepa it was now or never. There was still the chance that the combined Swedish and Ukrainian forces could defeat the Muscovites in their first encounter. Secretly, and before they realized that they were taking part in a rebellion, Mazepa moved what troops he could into the Swedish camp. Upon hearing of Mazepa's betrayal, Peter was beside himself with rage. A large force was immediately sent to destroy *Baturyn*, Mazepa's capital and to slaughter the garrison that had been left there. The news of Baturyn's destruction broke the old Hetman's heart. Returning to his demolished capital a week later, Mazepa told his secretary, *Philip Orlyk*:

"Our beginning is unlucky. I see that the Lord has not blessed our plan. And yet God is my witness that I could not act otherwise. How could I stand the perpetual injustice done to my people, contemplate any longer the violation of our rights and liberties, let them prepare under my eyes the ruin and destruction of Ukraine!

"It is true that we were formerly allies to the Tsars of Moscow: but we joined them of our own free will, guided only by the brotherhood of religions. The Muscovites have abused our confidence and now, free people that we are, we denounce this alliance. Alas! I am afraid that our plans will become more difficult to realize. Ukraine, terrorized by the fate of Baturyn, will perhaps be afraid to take our part."<sup>2</sup>

Mazepa was right. Terrified by Peter's horrible retaliation, and confused by Mazepa's seemingly sudden change of character, the Ukrainian people were not sure which way to turn.

During the winter months, both Peter and Mazepa devoted their energies to winning over the Ukrainian population. Peter denounced Mazepa as a traitor, a Polish-Catholic lackey. Mazepa, in turn, in a desperate effort to change popular opinion about him, denounced Peter as the worst enemy of the Ukrainian people and the sole cause of Ukraine's enslavement. In a

2. *Ibid* p. 191.

macabre ceremony in *Glukhov*, Peter presided over a "state burial" of Mazepa. An effigy of the Hetman was dragged into the Cathedral where Muscovite Patriarch *Theophan Prokopovitch*, a native Ukrainian, struck it with his episcopal staff and pronounced "anathema". The effigy was then hung on a gallows and burned. "Anathema" on Mazepa, False Dmitri and Stenka Razin, all of whom had attempted to shake the foundations of the Muscovite state, continued to be proclaimed every year in all of the churches of the Muscovite empire.

For Mazepa, time was running out. Had the Ukrainian people had the slightest inkling of his ultimate goal during his relatively long reign, there would have been no cause for worry. Unfortunately, Mazepa had remained the "lone wolf", aloof and overly secretive. This time his past experience had caused his downfall. After witnessing a lifetime of betrayals and intrigue first in the Polish court, then under Doroshenko and Samoilovich, and finally in the Muscovite court, one didn't suddenly trust his fellow man in his old age. Mazepa was able to win the support of one group, however — the Zaporozhian Kozaks, once his bitterest critics. It wasn't long before armed Zaporozhian contingents under *Ataman Hordienko*, were arriving in the Swedish camp.

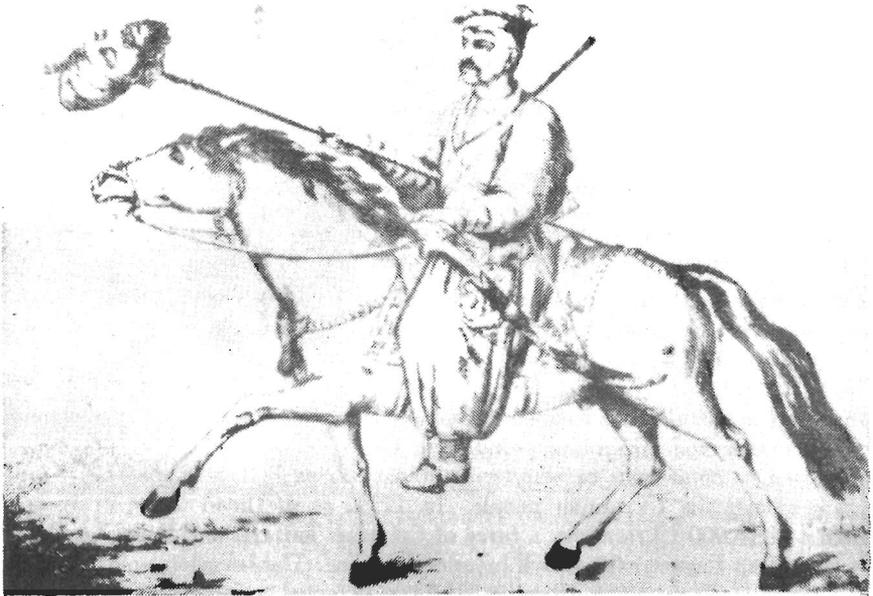
Charles had decided to move southward toward the Sitch in an effort to combine forces with the main Kozak force. He was delayed at Poltava which refused to surrender. In the interim, Muscovite forces had attacked the Sitch and then, in defiance of the terms of the surrender, massacred a large part of the garrison.

Mazepa rushed to Poltava to aid Charles. Peter sent reinforcements to Poltava. Charles, suffering from a wound sustained in battle a few days earlier, turned his command over to *General Renshild*. Outnumbered and demoralized by Charles' inability to take part in the battle, the combined Swedish and Ukrainian forces went down to defeat on July 8. Peter had won.

The remnants of the allied forces attempted to cross the Dnieper into Turkish territory, but with the Muscovites close on their heels, only Charles, Mazepa and a small token force succeeded. The rest of the battered army was overtaken and forced to surrender. A few months later, Mazepa, aging and ill from disillusionment, died. He was buried in the Orthodox Church of *Tighin*. Later his remains were transported to the *Monastery of St. George* at *Galatz*.

## G. HETMAN PHILIP ORLYK (1710- — )

Immediately after Mazepa's rebellion, Peter had called together those Kozaks that had not fought in Mazepa's army and ordered them to appoint a new hetman. They elected *Ivan Skoropadsky*. The refugees from Mazepa's battered forces, however, elected Philip Orlyk, General Secretary, Chancellor and Foreign Minister of Mazepa's government, as their new hetman. He was immediately recognized by Charles XII and the Turkish Sultan.



A Kozak cavalryman of the 18th century. Photo Courtesy: *A History of the Ukrainian Army*

a) *Personal Characteristics* — Orlyk was descended from a noble Czech family who had migrated to Poland. In his youth Orlyk had studied at the Kievan Academy and chose to remain in Ukraine. From that moment on, his fate was forever linked to that of his adopted country. In time he was to serve in the Chancellery of the Metropolitan and later in the Chancellery of the Hetman.

“By nature, Orlyk was part sanguine, part melancholy, with many shifts from the greatest optimism to the deepest despair. The lyricism and melancholy of his nature have a Ukrainian tint. A sensitive and passionate person with a sincere heart, he experienced intensely the good and bad vicissitudes in his many-sided life. He was spirited, interested in everything, did not like solitude and sought companionship.”<sup>3</sup>

b) *Orlyk's "Constitution"* — Charles XII had concluded a treaty with Orlyk in which he solemnly promised not to lay down his arms until Ukraine was delivered from Muscovite domination. Orlyk also concluded a treaty with the Zaporozhian Sich. This treaty was to be the Constitution of the independent Ukrainian state for which Orlyk and his followers were striving.

3. Krupnytsky, Boris, “General Characteristics of Pylyp Orlyk”, *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, Vol. VI, No. 3, 4, 1958.

"The Treaty opened with a solemn declaration: 'The Ukraine on both sides of the Dnieper must remain free from foreign domination for all time to come.' Then followed an exposition of the basis of the Constitution. The Hetman's power was to be limited by the General Cossack (Generalna Rada) of General Cossack Officers (Generalna Starshina), colonels of Cossack Regiments, and elected representatives from every Regiment. The Hetman was 'to take counsel with them on the various affairs of State.' Besides the General Cossack Council there was to be an Assembly meeting three times a year, consisting of elected representatives of the Regiments and Hundreds and of the Zaporogian Sich. The state finance was to be kept strictly apart from the sums put at the Hetman's disposal. A revision of estates held by Cossack officers was to be made: all impositions on peasants were to be abolished."<sup>1</sup>

Extremely liberal and democratic for its times, Orlyk's constitution remains as one of the most interesting documents of political thought in eastern Europe.

c) *Invasion of Ukraine* — Soon after his election, Orlyk concluded still another treaty, this time with the Crimean Khan. Seeking to gain the support of the embittered Ukrainian population, Orlyk, through the aid of agitators disguised as *bandurists* or wandering minstrels, promulgated his liberal program among the Ukrainian people. In 1711, at the head of an army consisting of 16,000 Ukrainians, a force of Crimean Tartars, and Polish partisans of Stanislaus Leszczynski, Orlyk invaded Ukraine. The invasion proved highly successful in Right Bank Ukraine. Having defeated a force sent by Hetman Skoropadsky, Orlyk's campaign in The Left Bank showed promise too. At this very moment, however, when Orlyk needed the support of the Ukrainian population, the Crimean Tartars, true to their nature, began to antagonize the peasants with raids. Orlyk was still besieging Bila Tserkva when Peter set out against him with a large force. Orlyk was forced to retreat and the Ukrainian people were left to the revenge of the Muscovites. Peter's reprisal was severe and merciless. All who were known or suspected of collaboration with Orlyk were put to death; towns and villages whose population had surrendered to Orlyk were destroyed, the inhabitants forced to settle elsewhere. So brutal was Peter in his revenge that Orlyk could never again hope to win the terrified Ukrainian people to his cause.

d) *Orlyk's Government-in-Exile* — Forced to give up his military efforts Orlyk went into exile. He lived for about thirty years, first in Turkey and then in Sweden, along with a handful of faithful followers. They were indefatigable in their efforts to make known their cause. They watched Europe's changing political tide with a keen interest, deluging European courts with notes and memoranda warning of Muscovy's growing might. Their efforts were in vain. Ukraine, the last gate to Europe, had been destroyed. Nothing could stop Muscovite imperialism. Peter was determined to guarantee Mos-

1. Doroshenko, D., *History of the Ukraine*, trans. by Hanna Chikalenko-Keller, Institute Press, Alberta, 1939, Pp. 399-400.



Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky (1709-1722)

cow's destiny as the "Third and Final Rome."<sup>5</sup> After Poltava Peter even went so far as to change his title from that of Tsar of Muscovy to that of Emperor of Rus.<sup>6</sup> Muscovy became *Russia* and the march to the west had begun. After the death of Charles XII, Orlyk moved to France. His son, *Ilyhor Orlyk*, was later a general in the French army.

#### **H. HETMAN IVAN SKOROPADSKY (1709-1722); THE AFTERMATH OF POLTAVA**

Skoropadsky had served with Samoilovich, and later, under Mazepa, had become Colonel of Starodub. He had supported the Swedish alliance but when war broke out, his regiment was cut off from Mazepa's main force. When Peter asked him to declare himself, Skoropadsky had no choice but to pledge his loyalty. He was then elected Hetman with Peter's approval. The reading of the articles contained in the Pereyaslav Treaty, a tradition with the election of new hetmans, however, was postponed. After Poltava, Peter, in an effort to prevent any further uprisings, ordered his resident minister,

5. At the time of Fall of Constantinople, *Filofei*, a Russian Monk, made this prophecy: "Two Romes have fallen and have passed away, the western and the eastern: destiny has prescribed for Moscow the position of the third Rome: there will never be a fourth." (Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, Vol. I, Pp. 41.)
6. "It was not until Moscow saw itself in a position to make itself heir of Kiev in the eyes of the world that it preempted very definitely the name of Rus, proclaimed that Rus was Russia, and dangled it before the eyes of the world to win belief that both Kiev and Moscow belonged together under the aegis of Moscow and St. Petersburg." (MANNING).



Hetman Paul Polubotok (1722-1724)

*Izmaylov*, to keep a close eye on Skoropadsky. Peter then nominated strangers, mostly Serbs and Rumanians, to important administrative positions in Ukraine. Those Ukrainians who had remained loyal to the Tsar were elevated to positions of considerable affluence; they were subject, however, to Moscow and not to Skoropadsky. In the Spring of 1772, Skoropadsky received an *Ukase* (Proclamation) from Peter informing him of the formation of a "Little Russian Board" composed of six Russian officers, which, for all practical purposes was to rule Ukraine. The old Hetman could not recover from the blow and died a few months later. Peter, meanwhile, continued to use the Ukrainian people to further the aims of "The Third Rome". In 1725, 12,000 Kozaks and three colonels were ordered to work on the *Ladoga Canal*; 2,000 perished. Other Ukrainians were sent to work on the abortive Don-Volga Canal or to erect fortifications in Finland or the North Caucasus. According to the estimates of Ukrainian historians, over 20,000 Kozaks perished between 1720 and 1725 while working on Peter's projects.

#### **I. HETMAN PAUL POLUBOTOK (1722-1724)**

With the death of Skoropadsky, the Kozak officers sent a petition to the Tsar asking permission to elect a new Hetman. In the meantime they elected *Paul Polubotok*. Peter procrastinated and after some considerable pressure had been exerted on him to recognize Polubotok, declared: "Considering that all Ukrainian Hetmans are traitors to Muscovy, I will wait until some loyal and faithful man is found for the post." Nevertheless, Polubotok continued in his post in direct defiance of *Veliaminov*, head of the Little Russian Board. Ostensibly, Peter had appointed the Board to correct the abuses perpetrated against the Ukrainian people by some of the Kozak courts of justice. When Polubotok took it upon himself to correct these same abuses, Peter had him arrested. Polubotok died in prison in 1724. After the death of Peter in 1725,



Hetman Daniel Apostol (1727-1734)

Catherine I continued his policy. No new Hetman election was permitted.  
**J. HETMAN DANIEL APOSTOL (1727-1734)**

When Catherine died in 1727, Peter's grandson succeeded her to the throne as Peter II. *Menshikov*, the young Tsar's counselor and actual ruler of the empire, persuaded Peter to pursue a more lenient policy in Ukraine. That same year all Ukrainian affairs were transferred from the Senate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Kozaks were permitted to elect a Hetman. The election of *Col. Daniel Apostol* was greeted with great rejoicing throughout Ukraine — feasts were arranged in all of the large cities; odes, panegyrics and eulogies were composed in honor of the new Hetman; letters of congratulations were received from all parts of the land. As soon as news of the happy event reached Western Ukraine, refugees began to return.

Soon after his election, Hetman Apostol travelled to Moscow where he received a written document under 28 separate headings known in Ukrainian history as "The Confirmed Articles." The Articles restored some of the rights and liberties of the Pereyaslav Agreement and served as Ukraine's constitution until the final abolition of Ukrainian autonomy. The following provisions were included:

"The Hetman had no right to carry on diplomatic relations with foreign powers and if any ambassadors came to him, he had at once to send their letters to St. Petersburg. He was empowered to have direct relations only with the adjoining countries of Poland, Crimea, and Turkey on questions concerning the immediate frontier relations and only with the knowledge and approval of the Russian resident at the Hetman's courts, the Hetman's residence being in Hlukov. The number of his mercenary troops was limited to three regiments of 'Kompaniytsi': Cossack regiments remaining as usual. In war time, the Hetman with his army was put under the command of the Russian Field Marshal. Candidates for General Cossack Officers and

Colonels were to be chosen by Ukrainians but confirmed by the Emperor. Elections of lesser officers were confirmed by the Hetman.<sup>7</sup>

The Articles considerably curtailed the rights enjoyed by Ukrainians before Poltava. It was even a further cry from the agreements reached by the Treaty of Pereyaslav.

Nevertheless, Hetman Apostol's reign was one of the few bright spots in Ukrainian history after Mazepa's downfall. Apostol succeeded in strengthening Hetman power — Ukraine's foreign trade improved, Kozak officers recovered their right to be elected by Ukrainians rather than appointed by Russians, and Russian army garrisons left Ukrainian soil. All this ended, however, with the death of Apostol in 1734.

## K. SECOND "LITTLE RUSSIAN BOARD"

After the death of Apostol, St. Petersburg ordered *Naryshkin*, the Russian resident, to take temporary control. A second "Little Russian Board" consisting of six members, three Russians and three Ukrainians, was then established by *Empress Anne*. Ostensibly, all six members had equal rank but in reality it was *Prince Shakovsky*, a Russian, who became Ukraine's acknowledged ruler. One of the first tasks assigned to the Board was the codification of Ukrainian law — this time the translation was to be made into the Russian and not the Ukrainian language. The rule of Empress Anne was similar to that of Peter I. Cruel and oppressive measures were used against the Ukrainian people and every effort was made to convince them that the cause of all of their troubles lay with the former Hetmans.

## L. THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR (1734-1740)

Ukraine also suffered the brunt of Russia's war with the Turks. A combined Russian-Ukrainian army of 54,000 under the command of *Field Marshal Munnich* suffered tremendous losses in their first encounter with the Turks. The Tartars invaded Ukraine and killed or took prisoner some 7,000 men and women, burned hundreds of villages and carried off 10,000 horses and 150,000 cattle and sheep. In 1737, another campaign was begun, this time with a Ukrainian army that numbered 50,000. Again the combined forces sustained heavy losses. After two more campaigns, in 1738 and 1739, a peace treaty was signed. Russia had gained nothing. Some 23,200 Ukrainians had perished, which, for a population of one million constituted a large percentage. Over 47,000 horses were lost and financial losses for Ukraine amounted to 1½ million rubles, an enormous sum for the time.

7. Doroshenko, *History of the Ukraine*, Pp. 432.

Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky (1750-1764)



### **M. HETMAN CYRIL ROZUMOVSKY (1750-1764)**

In 1740, Empress Anne died and was succeeded for a short time by her niece *Anna Leopoldovna*, Duchess of Brunswick. A short time later a palace revolt placed *Elizabeth*, Peter's daughter, on the throne.

Before her ascension to the throne, Elizabeth had fallen in love with *Alexis Rozumovsky*, a Ukrainian. The son of a simple Kozak of the Chernihiv regiment. Alexis had begun his life as a shepherd. Alexis had two assets, however, a fine voice and extremely good looks. Owing to his fine voice, he was soon singing in the Court Chapel Choir in St. Petersburg. His good looks attracted Elizabeth and in no time at all he was a count, a field marshal and finally, Elizabeth's secret but lawful husband. *Cyril*, Alexis' younger brother, was sent to be educated abroad.

A Ukrainian patriot at heart, Alexis made every effort to improve conditions in his homeland. He won Elizabeth over to his cause. When, in 1746, the president of the Little Russian Board died, a successor was not named. Instead, in 1750, Elizabeth permitted Cyril to be elected Hetman.

Only 22 at the time of his election, Cyril held his post for 14 years. He had acquired expensive tastes and was fond of pleasure; affairs of state wearied him. He spent much of his time enjoying the gay court life in St. Petersburg. Elizabeth had presented him with vast estates which he distributed lavishly, first to his relatives, and then to anyone who could gain admittance to see him.

The common people, as usual, gained very little from Rozumovsky's rule, but at least they had peace. For the upper classes, however, the Rozumovsky period was the happiest time in Ukraine during the whole of the 18th century. The landowners were rapidly becoming rich and civilized and could afford to send their children abroad for their education. Every effort was made to

imitate the French and Italian cultures by the new Ukrainian "intelligentsia." Rozumovsky himself endeavored to transform his residence in Hlukiw into a miniature St. Petersburg — he introduced Italian opera, coffee houses, French schools for boys and girls of the elite, and French fashions. When he resigned his post of Hetman, Cyril went to live in Baturyn where he built himself a *palazzo* in the classical style. Through all of this, the number of free peasants was gradually diminishing — there remained but a short step to turning them into downright serfs according to Russian or Polish fashion.

## N. CATHERINE II AND THE END OF UKRAINIAN AUTONOMY

In 1761, Elizabeth died. She was succeeded by Peter III who, after a short reign, was deposed by a palace revolution and killed. His wife, a German princess, seized the Russian throne under the name of *Catherine II*.

Catherine was an able if ruthless ruler. Russia had already played a decisive role in the Seven Years War and it was Catherine's intention to make Russia one of the leading powers of the Continent. Catherine favored a strong central government and her plan was to abolish all autonomous powers and special arrangements within the confines of the Russian empire. In secret instructions to *Prince Viazemski*, the General Procurer of the Senate, she wrote:

"Little Russia, Livland, and Finland are provinces possessing special privileges which were granted to them. It would not do to encroach on them or to abolish them at once. On the other hand, to look on these provinces as foreign lands would not only be a mistake, but stupidity. They must be dealt with in the same way as the Smolensk Province. They must gradually, by the most delicate means, be put into the position of Russian regions so that they cease to be like wolves yearning for the woods. It should not be difficult to achieve this object if only intelligent men are appointed to the head of these provinces. As for Little Russia, when there will be no more a Hetman there, it will be necessary to make her forget the very title of Hetman and the period of the Hetmans. That will be better than constantly observing the persons who constantly fill this post.<sup>8</sup>

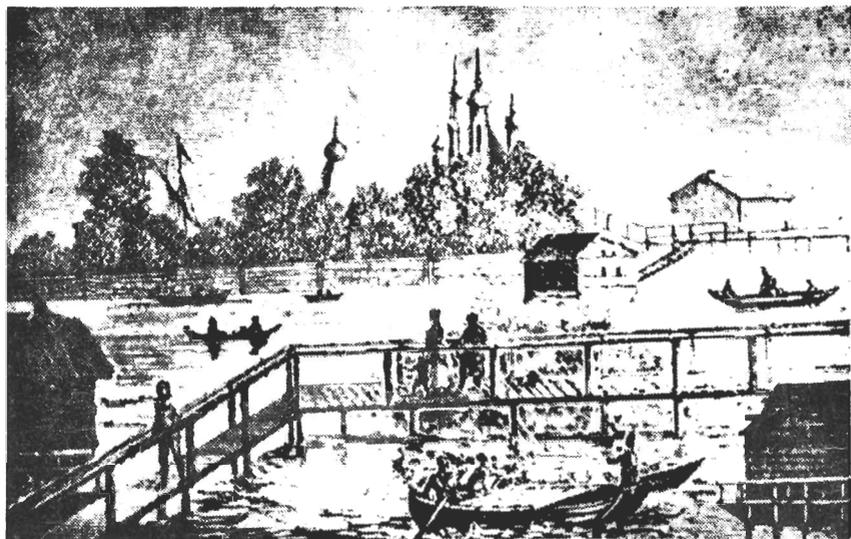
a) *Abolition of the Hetmanate* — The first step in Catherine's "taming process" was to abolish the Hetmanate. Rozumovsky was summoned to St. Petersburg and asked to resign. In return for his "abdication", he was granted Hadiach in full ownership, part of the Menshikov estates, and Baturyn, where he continued to live until his death.

b) *The Third "Little Russian Board"* — Catherine's second step was to transfer all Ukrainian affairs from the Foreign Office to the Senate and to re-establish the "Little Russian Board". *Peter Rumiantsev* became the General Governor of Ukraine.

## O. THE BURNING OF THE SITCH

After the Battle of Poltava, the Zaporozhian Kozaks had followed their Hetman, Hordienko, into exile. They had supported Orlyk's liberation move-

8. Allen, W. E. D., *The Ukraine. A History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1940, P. 223.



Zaporozhian Sich — Photo Courtesy: *A History of the Ukrainian Army*

ment but after his efforts failed, they decided to petition Peter for a full pardon and for permission to return to their homeland. When they learned of the fate of the thousands of Kozaks who were sent to work on the Ladoga Canal, however, they decided to migrate to the Crimea where they became subjects of the Khan. The Khan settled them at *Aleshki*, at the mouth of the Dnieper. Here they led a wretched life as the unwanted guests of the Tartars. When Hetman Daniel Apostol came to power, the Zaporozhians set fire to their settlement and returned to their former homes on the islets of the Dnieper. The so-called "New Sich" came into existence. In time, the Zaporozhians spread over all the surrounding lands which they regarded as their inheritance from Bohdan Khmelnytsky. They built stockades (*palanky*) on the Bug and the Ingulets to the west of the Dnieper and along the Samara and the Kalmius to the east. Zaporozhian control soon extended from the mouth of the Dnieper to the Sea of Azov. As they settled the new land, they continually petitioned the Russian government for territorial recognition of their domain, to the constant annoyance of the Russian throne.

For Catherine, the Zaporozhians represented the last vestige of Ukrainian autonomy. Their will for freedom and their constant demands for the recognition of the rights they inherited from Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky had to be silenced. On June 4, 1775, without warning, a strong Russian force under the command of *General Tokolyi* surrounded the Sich and demanded its immediate surrender. Caught by surprise and hopelessly outnumbered, the

Kozaks, under *Ataman Kalnyshesky*, were forced to surrender. On the following day all arms were confiscated along with all of the archives, standards and emblems of the Zaporozhian Host. The Zaporozhian Kozaks, long the pride of Ukraine, were ordered "to disperse to the four corners of the earth." Then, in the presence of some 3,000 Kozaks, the beloved Sitch was burned to the ground. Ukraine's Age of Heroism had ended.

## P. THE "HAIDAMAKI" OF THE RIGHT BANK

During most of the 18th century, Right Bank Ukraine, because of the weakness of the Polish Crown, remained pretty much in the hands of the Polish gentry. There were many insurrections among the Ukrainian people, mostly agrarian revolts directed against the Polish landlords and the unfortunate Jews who, as financial middlemen, had irritated the Ukrainian population. Sometimes these rebellions extended over a territory so large that Poland had to call upon foreign armies for assistance. Those Ukrainians who took part in these revolts came to be known as "Haidamaki".

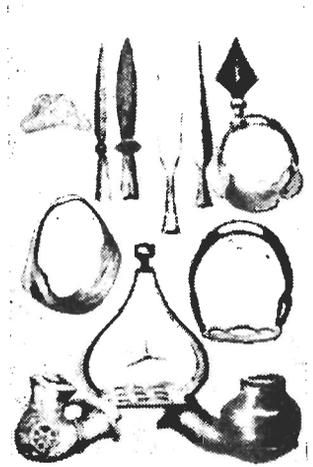
The first Haidamak revolt occurred in 1734 during the Polish interregnum. *Verlan*, a Kozak officer, was able to gain a considerable following when he convinced the simple peasants that Muscovy would aid them in uniting with their brothers east of the Dnieper. The rebellion fizzled when the people discovered his hoax. The last Haidamak rebellion occurred in 1768 under the leadership of *Maxim Zalizniak*, a Zaporozhian Kozak, who led a revolt in protest to the growing Uniate encroachment into Orthodox Church affairs. The climax of this rebellion occurred in Uman where, according to Polish historians, about 13,000 people were put to death by the Haidamaki. The greater part of the victims were Jews but there also were some Polish nobles and Uniates who were killed. With the aid of Catherine II of Russia, the Polish suppressed the Haidamaki and the last great revolution in western Ukraine came to an end.

## Q. UKRAINE IN FOREIGN COMMENTS AND DESCRIPTIONS

Some interesting accounts have been left by travellers in Ukraine during the time of Mazepa.

a) *Ivan Mazepa* — A French diplomat, JEAN BALUSE, who visited Baturyn in 1704, described Mazepa as follows:

"He is held in great esteem in the Kozak country, where the people are generally freedom-loving and proud, and entertain no love for anyone who would dominate them. Mazepa succeeded in uniting the Kozaks around himself through rigid authority and his extreme military courage. . . . Conversation with this Prince is extremely pleasant: he has had unusual experience in politics and, contrary to the Muscovites, follows developments in other countries. He showed me a collection of arms, one of the most beautiful I have ever seen in my life, and also a selected library, wherein Latin books abound. On several occasions I tried very assiduously to direct our conversation toward the present political situation, but I must confess I could find out nothing definite from the Prince. He belongs to that category of people who either prefer to keep completely silent or to talk and say nothing. But I hardly think he likes the Muscovite Tsar, because he did not say a word against my complaints about



Tobacco pouches, stirrups and other utensils used by the Zaporozhian Kozaks.

Muscovite life. But in the case of the Polish Crown, Monsieur Mazepa did not hesitate to declare that it is heading, as did ancient Rome, toward decline. He spoke about the Swedish King with respect but deems him too young. What was especially gratifying to me was his expression of esteem for the person of his Majesty (Louis XIV), about whom he put several inquiries to me and to whom he asked me to express sentiments of his esteem and recognition."

b) *The Kozaks* — J. G. KORB, secretary to the legation of Emperor Leopold I of the Holy Roman Empire to Moscow, described the Ukrainian Kozaks as follows:

"The Cossacks are a great element of strength for the Tsars. The Muscovites conciliate them with annual gifts, and strive to keep them faithful with the fattest promises, lest they should take it into their heads to pass over to the Poles and by their defection draw off the whole strength of the military power of Russia: for this stout race excels the Muscovites, both in the art of war and bravery of soul."

c) *The Ukrainian People* — JUL JUST, Danish envoy to St. Petersburg who traveled in Ukraine in 1711 wrote:

"The inhabitants of Kozak Ukraine live in prosperity and often sing. They sell and buy all sorts of merchandise without paying taxes, and can choose whatever handicraft is to their liking. . . . The inhabitants of the Chernihiv province, as well as the entire population of Kozak Ukraine, are known for their politeness and cleanliness, dressing neatly and keeping their homes immaculately clean."

VOLTAIRE, the famous French writer and historian, described the Ukrainian people in his *Histoire de Charles XII* published in 1731:

"Ukrainia has always aspired to liberty; but being surrounded by Muscovy, the Grand-Seignior, and Poland, it has been obliged to seek for a protector (who is, of course, a master) in one of those states. The country at first put itself under the protection of the Poles, who treated it too much as a subject-state; then they appealed to the Muscovites who governed them with despotic sway. At first the Ukrainians had the privilege of choosing a prince, called general (Hetman), but soon they were deprived of this privilege, and their general was nominated by the court of Moscow."

An unknown author who wrote an article entitled. "Remarks on Travel from Petersburg to Crimsa in 1771" which appeared in the *Magazine of Science and Literature* of Goettingen. was looking into the future when he wrote:

"The people as a whole recall with pleasure the times when Ukraine was independent, and feel indignant towards the present government which endeavors to curtail their ancient liberties."

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## Review Exercises

### A. Fill in the Correct Word or Phrase

1. The last Kozak Hetman who took effective steps to prolong Khmelnitsky's liberation policy before Mazepa was \_\_\_\_\_.
2. The Hetman who, during his lifetime, had served a Polish King, two Ukrainian Hetmans, a Russian Tsar, and a Swedish King, was \_\_\_\_\_.
3. A former army clerk who led a revolt against Mazepa was \_\_\_\_\_.
4. During the time of Mazepa, the Kozaks of the Right Bank were under the leadership of Hetman \_\_\_\_\_ and Col. \_\_\_\_\_.
5. One of the main reasons for Mazepa's defeat at Poltava was his overly \_\_\_\_\_ nature.
6. The basis of Russian imperialism is the concept of \_\_\_\_\_.
7. The first "Little Russian Board" was established during the time of Hetman \_\_\_\_\_.
8. The man who was most responsible for bettering conditions in Ukraine during the reign of Empress Elizabeth was \_\_\_\_\_.
9. The last great rebellions of the Ukrainian people in Western Ukraine during the 18th century was the \_\_\_\_\_.
10. The first Ukrainian government-in-exile was headed by \_\_\_\_\_.

### B. Match the Correct Letter with Each Statement

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. _____ "Informer" executed by Mazepa.                    | A. 1709                     |
| 2. _____ Ordered Sitch to be burned.                       | B. "Haidamaki"              |
| 3. _____ Last Ukrainian Hetman.                            | C. Rozumovsky               |
| 4. _____ Sacked Uman.                                      | D. Orlyk                    |
| 5. _____ First "Little Russian Board" established.         | E. Mazepa                   |
| 6. _____ Responsible for Ukrainian constitution.           | F. Charles XII              |
| 7. _____ Battle of Poltava.                                | G. Peter I                  |
| 8. _____ Predicted Moscow would be "Third and Final Rome." | H. Catherine II             |
| 9. _____ "Captured" Mazepa.                                | I. Sirko                    |
| 10. _____ Document which restored many Kozak liberties.    | J. Filofei                  |
| 11. _____ Appointed by Peter to succeed Mazepa.            | K. Skoropadsky              |
| 12. _____ Last "Haidamak" rebellion.                       | L. Apostol                  |
| 13. _____ Wrote Duma while Doroshenko's secretary.         | M. Kochubey                 |
| 14. _____ Sitch burned.                                    | N. Ladoga Canal             |
|  | O. "The Confirmed Articles" |

- |           |   |                         |
|-----------|---|-------------------------|
| 15. _____ | His Hetmanate was welcomed by Ukrainian people.       | P. Polubotok<br>Q. 1722 |
| 16. _____ | Many Ukrainians perished here while working for Tsar. | R. 1775<br>S. 1734      |
| 17. _____ | Established first "Little Russian Board."             | T. 1768                 |
| 18. _____ | Succeeded Skoropadsky.                                |                         |
| 19. _____ | First "Haidamak" rebellion.                           |                         |
| 20. _____ | Mazepa's ally at Poltava.                             |                         |

*C. Discussion Questions*

1. What is the concept of "The Third Rome?" Discuss its significance today.
2. Discuss the character of Ivan Mazepa. What might have happened at Poltava if Bohdan Khmelnytsky or Ivan Vyhovsky had been in Mazepa's place?
3. Compare the Kozaks who lived during the time of Mazepa and the Kozaks who lived during the time of Sahaidachny.
4. Discuss the significance of The Battle of Poltava in world history.
5. Discuss the "Haidamaki". What kind of impression do you suppose their rebellions have made upon world historians? Do you feel that some of their terroristic acts were justified?
6. Compare Ukraine under Muscovite rule with Ukraine under Polish rule. Was there any significant difference?
7. In your opinion, who was Ukraine's greatest Hetman? Why? Who would be your second choice? Why?

## APPENDIX A

### IMPORTANT HETMANS\*

DMITRO VISHNEVETSKY	1550-1563
BOHDAN RUZHINSKY	1575-1576
CHRISTOPHER KOSINSKY	1591-1593
GREGORY LOBODA	1593-1596
SAMEILO KISHKA	1600-1602
PETER SAHAIDACHNY	1614-1622
OLIFER HOLUB	1622-1623
MICHAEL DOROSHENKO	1623-1625
IVAN SULIMA	1628-1635
YATSKO OSTRIANIN; DMITRO HUNIA	1638
BOHDAN KHMELNITSKY	1648-1657
IVAN VYHOVSKY	1657-1659
JURIJ KHMELNITSKY	1659-1663
PAUL TETERIA (right bank)	1663-1665
IVAN BRUKHOVETSKY (left bank)	1663-1668
PETER DOROSHENKO (right bank)	1665-1676
DAMIAN MNOHOHRISHNY (left bank)	1668-1672
IVAN SAMOIOLOVICH (left bank)	1672-1687
IVAN MAZEPA (left bank)	1687-1709
PHILIP ORLYK	1710-
IVAN SKOROPADSKY	1709-1722
PAUL POLUBOTOK	1722-1724
DANIEL APOSTOL	1727-1734
CYRIL ROZUMOVSKY	1750-1764

\*Since the power of the Hetmans developed spontaneously, historians have found it difficult to agree with whom to begin. This list begins with Vishnevetsky because little is known about the leaders who preceded him. This is a partial listing. A more detailed list can be found on pages 583-584 in Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*.

## APPENDIX B

### Ivan Sirko "A Kozak's Kozak"

*One of the most colorful personalities in Kozak history was a man by the name of Ivan Sirko, Koshovy; Hetman of the Zaporozhian Sitch. It was Sirko who allegedly composed the famous "Letter to the Sultan", and it was he who, more than any other Kozak, came to represent the fierce determination, the chivalry, and the loyalty to Ukraine that came to be known as "Kozatstvo." In short, Sirko was a Kozak's Kozak. In his day, however, he was strangely out of place. The influence of the Zaporozhian Sitch was waning and the Kozak of old was being replaced by a kind of Kozak "gentry", officers who, like Khmel'nitsky and Mazepa, were rich, refined, and well educated. They looked upon Kozaks like Sirko as anomalies, refugees from a barbaric past. W. E. D. Allen described Sirko as follows:\**

"Unreasoning and brave, Sirko was chaotic in all his actions throughout all his life. He is the most fantastic of all the fantastic figures in the Zaporogian Sech. Indifferent to booty, lucre and honours, Sirko was the very pattern of the wild Zaporogian chivalry. However, owing to his childish imagination and trusting disposition he was quite incapable of understanding the tortuous men and difficult circumstances of his time. There is an episode which well illustrates the simplicity of the Zaporogian hero. One day a young man appeared in the Sech who had been brought there by Don Cossacks. This young man gave himself out to be 'the Tsarevich Simeon', the son of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich, who, on account of some dark plot, had been banished to the Solovetski monastery, whence he had managed to escape. Sirko tried to persuade the impostor 'not to fool the Zaporogians' but in the end believed his tale. In 1674 envoys came from Moscow to demand the delivery of 'the Tsarevich'. Sirko called the Rada together and persuaded the Zaporogians not to surrender their guest. The Zaporogians agreed and nearly drowned the Muscovite envoys. On second thoughts, however, Sirko asked the Muscovites to procure him a 'writing' from the Tsar himself to tell him whether Simeon was his son or not. Tsar Alexey had the graciousness to send him such a writing. Simeon was then sent off to Moscow, where he was executed.

"There are many legends about Ataman Sirko. In the spring of 1675, with 20,000 Zaporogians, he undertook his celebrated campaign to the Crimea. Having defeated the Tartars and taken Baghchi-Saray and Ak-Mechet (Simferopol), the Zaporogians were returning home with about 7000 liberated captives who had lived for years among the Muslims. Sirko noticed that by no means all of them were delighted to return to the Ukraine; many of them had married Tartar women and had really settled down to the Muslim way of life. Sirko decided to give a lesson to those 'who go over so easily not only to the Moscow people and the

\*W. E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine, A History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1940, Pg. 202-203. Spellings are those of the author.

Poles but even to the enemies of the Christian Faith'. Having reached a place called the Black Valley he ordered his men to halt and declared to the liberated captives that he did not want to force anyone to go to the Ukraine and that those who wished to do so could return to the Crimea. About 3000 of them took him at his word and formed into a column to return to the south. Sirko sent young Cossacks after them with the order to slaughter them all. Later, looking round on all the heaps of corpses, he observed: 'Pardon me, brothers, but it is better for you to sleep here until the Day of Judgment than to settle in the Crimea and beget children and be damned to all eternity'.

"Though the most bitter enemy of the Tartars, Sirko was respected by them for his fairness. During periods of armistice, these children of the steppe often asked him to act as an arbiter in their own quarrels. Hetman Samoylovich rebuked him once for allowing the Tartar herds to graze over the Cossack pastures. Sirko replied: 'Lord Hetman, if myself would help people in their dire need, it is not well to look down on that. There is a saying that need changes law. We and the Tartars are neighbours and help each other in a neighbourly way.' Legend ascribes to Sirko 'the answer to the Sultan's letter.' In his letter, according to the tradition, Sultan Muhammad IV called himself the Vice-Regent of God upon Earth, the King of Kings and so forth. Sirko is reputed to have begun his answer with the words: 'Thou art nought but the Turkish Shaitan, brother and comrade of the accursed Satan, Lucifer's own secretary.'"

**APPENDIX C**  
**Answers to Review Exercises**  
**Chapter One**

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|---|---|
| <p>A. 1. a. Changing political conditions—<br/>ruthless Polonization of Ukrainian population<br/>b. The Tartar threat<br/>c. The natural wealth of Eastern Ukraine</p> <p>2. Kozatstvo</p> <p>3. Below the rapids</p> | <p>4. Protection against the Tartars</p> <p>5. Register</p> <p>6. Raids against the Tartars and Turks</p> <p>7. Pletenitsky</p> <p>8. "The Time of Troubles"</p> <p>9. To die in honor for Ukraine</p> <p>10. Sitch</p> |
| <p>B. 1. O</p> <p>2. C</p> <p>3. I</p> <p>4. K</p> <p>5. B</p> <p>6. P</p> <p>7. F</p> <p>8. Q</p> <p>9. P</p> <p>10. L</p>   | <p>11. E</p> <p>12. H</p> <p>13. A</p> <p>14. J</p> <p>15. R</p> <p>16. N</p> <p>17. G</p> <p>18. M</p> <p>19. S</p> <p>20. H</p>   |

**Chapter Two**

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|--|--|
| <p>A. 1. Peter Mohila</p> <p>2. The murder of Archbishop John Kunceвич</p> <p>3. Jesuits</p> <p>4. Ordinance of 1638</p> <p>5. The murder of his son and the kidnapping of Helen</p> | <p>6. Ally; time to organize a disciplined army and an effective government</p> <p>7. The Treaty of Pereyaslav</p> <p>8. Vyhovsky</p> <p>9. The Treaty of Hadiach</p> <p>10. The Treaty of Andrusovo</p> |
| <p>B. 1. N</p> <p>2. S</p> <p>3. B</p> <p>4. A</p> <p>5. O</p> <p>6. C</p> <p>7. H</p> <p>8. E</p> <p>9. Q</p> <p>10. M</p>  | <p>11. R</p> <p>12. F</p> <p>13. P</p> <p>14. T</p> <p>15. I</p> <p>16. L</p> <p>17. D</p> <p>18. G</p> <p>19. K</p> <p>20. J</p>  |

**Chapter Three**

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|---|---|
| <p>A. 1. Doroshenko</p> <p>2. Mazepa</p> <p>3. Petryk</p> <p>4. Samus; Paliy</p> <p>5. Secretive</p>                        | <p>6. The Third Rome</p> <p>7. Skoropadsky</p> <p>8. Alexis Rozumovsky</p> <p>9. The Haidamak Rebellion of 1768</p> <p>10. Philip Orlyk</p> |
| <p>B. 1. M</p> <p>2. H</p> <p>3. C</p> <p>4. B</p> <p>5. Q</p> <p>6. D</p> <p>7. A</p> <p>8. J</p> <p>9. I</p> <p>10. O</p> | <p>11. K</p> <p>12. T</p> <p>13. E</p> <p>14. R</p> <p>15. L</p> <p>16. N</p> <p>17. G</p> <p>18. P</p> <p>19. S</p> <p>20. F</p>           |

