

UKRAINE
IN
FOREIGN COMMENTS
AND
DESCRIPTIONS
FROM THE VIth TO XXth CENTURY

By
Volodymyr Sichynsky

NEW YORK

U K R A I N E
IN FOREIGN COMMENTS
AND DESCRIPTIONS

UKRAINE

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FROM THE VIth TO XXth CENTURY

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Volodymyr Sichynsky

NEW YORK CITY

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COMMENTS OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS IN UKRAINE

ARABS

CZECHS

DANES

DUTCH

ENGLISH

FRENCH

GERMANS

GREEKS

ITALIANS

LITHUANIANS

POLES

RUSSIANS

SERBIANS

SLOVAKS

SWEDES

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FOREWORD

THE American people and the entire Western democratic world are slowly but surely becoming aware of the significance of the Ukrainian problem for the future of Eastern Europe and for the entire civilized world. The growing menace of Russian Communist imperialism is opening the eyes of the world to the real situation as it exists within that prison of nations which was once called the Russian Empire and which now embraces even more territory as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics devoted to the glorification and aggrandizement of the "elder brothers," the Great Russians.

Who then are the Ukrainians? They are a nation of some forty-two million people living in a strategic position on the north shore of the Black Sea and across many of the great routes of Europe between east and west and between north and south. They have had their own culture, their own psychology, their own language, their own history for more than a thousand years. They have had their periods of greatness and of decline but it was only after they passed under the domination of Moscow that the Russian Empire was able to begin its march of conquest into Europe.

Russians of every school of thought from tsarists to Communist realize that the aggressive desires of Moscow and St. Petersburg can only flourish through their control of the wealth of Ukraine. They have spared no opportunity not only to subjugate the land but to deny the very existence of the people and they have capitalized on the ignorance and neglect of the West during the past two centuries to endeavor to prove their point. They have preempted the name of Rus-Ukraine, they have adopted and falsified its history. They have renamed its people Little Russians. They have labelled the country West Russia or

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South Russia. They have denounced its language as a "peasant dialect" unfit for literary use. Finally when they saw themselves unable to deny the truth, they placed in the United Nations hand-picked representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, while they still refuse to allow Western diplomats to establish relations with a supposedly independent state. At every stage of the game they protest against Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism," the Ukrainian desires for separatism and independence, and there are still too many scholars and statesmen trained in the school of single, indivisible, monolithic Russia willing to second their efforts.

It was the misfortune of the Ukrainians as of the other non-Russian peoples of Europe that the great ideal of self-determination was not applied to them during the period of World War I and the Russian Revolution, when they were struggling amid the chaos to establish their own democratic governments. The Western allies were so startled by the downfall of tsarism that they fell an easy prey to the idea of a democratic centralization for the whole of the Russian Empire and with good intentions they created the situation whereby the Bolsheviks came into power and the Western world supported halfheartedly the White Russian armies which were fighting against the local populations even as they were against the Bolsheviks. The result is the menace of today and a menace which will not be ended until self-determination and democratic institutions are established as the rule in Eastern Europe.

Under such conditions only a careful statement of the truth can serve to make known and clear the nature of the Ukrainian claims, which have been systematically distorted for nearly five hundred years by Moscow. Long before the appearance of the modern propaganda schools, Moscow began its campaign to establish itself as supreme and to tarnish the reputation of Kiev. With each century the Great Russians have changed their arguments, they have denied what they had previously asserted but always for the sole purpose of extending their own power and of changing the course of history.

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Let us look at this for a moment. From the ninth century at least, Kiev was the capital of a powerful Slavic state named Rus or at times Ukraine. That state was strong enough even to menace Constantinople and after its acceptance of Christianity, it entered into close contacts not only with the imperial city on the Bosphorus but with all the new lands of northern and western Europe. The Grand Prince of Kiev was one of the great figures of Europe and his capital city attracted the attention of Western travellers for its wealth, its culture and the beauty of its churches and other buildings.

Yet this state of Rus-Ukraine, known to the Western Latin writers as Ruthenia, was not to enjoy prosperity for too long a period. Like all the states of western Europe, it was harassed by discords between the members of the ruling dynasty and when one of these, Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky of Suzdal in the north, seized Kiev in 1169, he plundered it and moved the wealth of the city to his own abode and then the new capital was soon removed to Moscow, a far younger and more primitive city than was Kiev. In the golden age of monarchy, it was this circumstance that gave the northern isolated community its first claim to Kiev.

A worse misfortune came with the Mongol invasion. Rus-Ukraine had long been the cover for western Europe against the nomadic hordes of the east and when in 1240 Batu Khan at the head of his Mongols broke through the barrier, the princes of Kiev and of Halych did their best to stem the tide. They were overwhelmed, but unlike the princes of Moscow they did not make terms with the invader or rest content under his harsh rule. Ukraine as a whole passed within that conglomerate state which comprised the Poles, the Lithuanians and the Byelorussians and continued the struggle, while the princes of Moscow dropped their relations with the West and cultivated only those with the East. They adopted the Mongol customs, the Mongol mode of thinking, they married Mongol and Tatar princesses. Step by step whatever connections had existed between Kiev and Moscow and between Moscow and Europe withered away and Moscow and Rus-Ukraine or Ruthenia became fully separate.

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It was unfortunate for the peace of eastern Europe that the rulers of Moscow felt themselves strong enough to throw off the yoke of the weakening Golden Horde at almost the same period when the Turks captured Constantinople and put an end to the Byzantine Empire. It was still more unfortunate that Ivan III, now calling himself tsar and autocrat, married Sofia, a member of the family of the Palaeologi, the last dynasty of Constantinople, and adopted the double-headed eagles of Byzantium. Within a century his descendants developed the theory that Moscow was the Third Rome, the centre of Christian civilization and the infallible guide to the entire world. The tsars saw themselves as the only Orthodox Christian rulers on earth and haughtily expected all to obey them, this at a time when their country was still untouched by the revival of learning and when the Russian people were as ready to condemn the Orthodox of the East as the Latin Catholics of the West.

The religious ferment of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries subjected the Ukrainians to new difficulties. While their wiser leaders sought to apply to their church and schools the new learning of the West, the dominant Polish magnates, endeavored to force them to accept Latin Catholicism, while the tsars of Moscow endeavored to extend their power from the east and make them accept Orthodoxy in its Russian form. The immediate result was the establishment among a large part of the population of Catholicism of the Byzantine Rite which aimed to combine the best features of the Eastern and Western Churches but which brought with it also a bloody civil war which could not fail to have disastrous effects.

It was the period too of the rise of the Zaporozhian Kozaks, hardy warriors who went out into the steppes to seek there the freedom and the liberty which they could not obtain under the rule of the Polish magnates. The Zaporozhians for nearly a century were the most famous soldiers of eastern Europe. In their light boats they raided the suburbs of Constantinople; they became the terror of the Turks and Tatars and on land and sea they played the same role as the English seafarers and the Spanish conquerors of the New World.

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So strong did they become that their greatest hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, was able to shake off his allegiance to Poland and recreate an almost independent Ukrainian-Zaporozhian state. Then in an evil hour he made an alliance in 1654 with Tsar Alexis of Moscow for aid against the Poles. It was the moment for which the tsars had long been waiting and with their cold autocratic determination and patience, they broke every term of the agreement and never paused until they had crushed the Zaporozhian Host. It was in vain that various hetmans sought for aid abroad. It was in vain that Ivan Mazepa made an alliance with Charles XII of Sweden in the Northern War. The defeat of the Swedes at Poltava in 1709 carried Ukraine to still deeper depths of misery.

Finally Catherine II completed the ruin. She abolished the post of hetman, treacherously attacked and annihilated the Zaporozhian centre beyond the Dnieper rapids, abolished the Zaporozhian Kozaks even as military units, divided their country into typical Russian *gubernias* and introduced Russian law in its entirety. She and her successors did everything that was formally possible to wipe out all memory of the Ukrainian past and to present the rest in a true Muscovite guise. She forbade the use of the name of Ukraine. Later under the reign of Alexander II it was forbidden to print books in Ukrainian or Little Russian as it was called and the tsars fondly believed that they had taken the Ukrainians out of history.

Their hopes were in vain, for under enormous difficulties the Ukrainians kept their traditions and slowly but surely deepened them and modernized them. When tsarism fell in 1917, they reasserted their independence and again sought their own state.

Again the Ukrainian hopes were cruelly disappointed. The Western powers did not understand their aspirations and help them. Russians of every school united against them and finally Bolshevik rule was established in Ukraine and the Russian attempts to dominate the country were resumed against the opposition of the people.

Thus throughout the ages Moscow has spared no weapon which might aid it in dominating Ukraine and in presenting the

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outside world with arguments why the two peoples should be united under the rule of Moscow and the Great Russians. It has utilized the dynastic principle, the appeal of the Orthodox religion, the Slavic brotherhood, the identification of East Slavic and Russian, and Russian Bolshevism. By force and by rewards, by corruption and brutality they have tried to wipe out the Ukrainian traditions and feeling, to Russianize the population, to introduce the full Muscovite system of thought—but always in vain. The old difference between the spirit of Kiev with its European contacts and sympathies and of Moscow with its autocracy and brutal control will not down and each time the Ukrainian spirit has risen again from almost certain annihilation.

Abroad they have had more success. The Russian Empire as now the Soviet Union was off the regular tourist routes and the police system rendered it difficult for anyone except a few officials to secure a personal knowledge of the country and those few were courted until they became active Russophiles. The Western neglect of Byzantine and East European history worked in the same direction and when the Great Russians succeeded in wiping Ukraine from the map, it seemed as if they had finally achieved their goal and that Ukraine could find no friends abroad.

Yet even that hope proved deceptive, because the rise of the democratic movement in Europe and America has reawakened an interest in the fate of those peoples who seemed to have vanished completely. It has destroyed the great empires of the past which were founded on the denial of human rights, and the growing awareness of the Russian Bolshevik peril will ultimately doom the last bulwark of oppression and tyranny.

Truth will ultimately triumph, truth not only about the present but about the past. Nowhere is that more true than in the case of Ukraine which has played its part in so many periods of human history. We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to Prof. Sichynsky who has culled from the pages of the past the opinions of travellers from all the European countries who have made themselves acquainted with the details of Ukrainian life for over a thousand years. One and all from the earliest times, these men have noted the difference between Ukraine and Muscovy. They

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have contrasted the two modes of life, the two national psychologies, and if their remarks prove anything, it is the permanence and the vitality of Ukrainian democracy and culture.

The collection of this material and its publication in an accessible form is a task that is long overdue, for it finally demolishes the false notion which has been so assiduously spread by the enemies of the Ukrainians that their efforts for liberation are the work of the present without foundation in the past. This book presents a diametrically opposite picture, for we see in it a brave, sturdy, democratic people fighting for over a thousand years for their right to live on their own land and to develop themselves in their own way but in close contact with the highest ideals of European and Christian civilization. May that struggle soon meet with the success that it deserves!

CLARENCE A. MANNING

P R E F A C E

THE world-wide interest in Ukraine and the Ukrainian problem, which grows increasingly from day to day, compels us to look more deeply and more thoroughly into this extremely important problem of Europe. For a full grasp of the problem an accurate knowledge of the historical background is indispensable.

To provide this, we have prepared this booklet. It consists of a collection of memoirs, descriptions and comments on Ukraine by foreign travelers and observers, both official and private, who visited Ukraine. They had ample opportunity to see Ukraine with their own eyes, to meet and talk with the Ukrainian upper classes and with the Ukrainian common people.

These excerpts—the descriptions, itineraries, reports, diaries, memoirs and commentaries—were written by men of various nationalities, social standings and ages. For the most part they were Western European authors: English, French, Italian, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, German and others, who came to Ukraine without any material ties to the upper Ukrainian classes. Moreover, like as not they came to Ukraine indifferent to or unfavorably disposed towards the aspirations of the Ukrainian people. Regardless of their predisposition, however, as soon as they became acquainted with local conditions, the customs and culture of the Ukrainian people, their writings usually became sympathetic, especially when they compared the Ukrainians with their neighbors. In order to provide the reader with such comparisons, we have included the writings and views of various authors on the broader territorial complex of Eastern Europe, without limiting it too strictly to the territory of Ukraine.

The volume thus provides authentic information on Ukraine: its geography, its cultural and economic progress and develop-

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ment, and especially its customs, habits, national aspirations, military organization, production, arts and psychological traits.

In presenting this material in English the author has included English and foreign authors. In this task the author is indebted to the rich and vast collection of the New York Public Library, which contains priceless ancient originals and European editions in various languages which cannot be obtained even in the oldest European libraries.

As a background for these comments, it may not be out of place to indicate briefly the high points of the geopolitics and history of Ukraine, and to define the various names of territories and peoples.

Ukraine, which includes within its ethnographical boundaries almost 1,000,000 square kilometres of territory and a population of 42,000,000, is an extremely important factor in the geopolitical and economic relations of Eastern Europe. Ukraine, as one of the largest countries of the Black Sea system, has an easy contact with the Mediterranean Sea and the entire complex of economic and cultural relationship of the Mediterranean basin. Its natural boundary along the northern shore of the Black Sea—from the delta of the Danube to the Caucasus with a total length of over 1,800 kilometres (1,118 miles)—bounds more of the Black Sea than any other country. The population of the Black Sea basin numbers about 140 million; and the Ukrainians alone constitute over 30 per cent of this. Most of the rivers in Ukraine flow into the Black Sea, and the sources of all save the Dnieper River are on Ukrainian territory. The river system, taken together with the ports on the Black Sea and on the Sea of Azov, provides the most important arteries for the transportation of wheat, lumber, agricultural products and the underground wealth of Ukraine: coal, anthracite, iron ore, manganese and oil.

Ukraine has been inhabited for many millenia. Prehistoric and protohistoric cultures flourished on its territory as invaders from east and west surged over it and subjugated or mingled with the indigenous population. However we enter upon firmer

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ground in the first centuries of the Christian era, when the Greek geographer Ptolemy mentions the Roxolani, a term which survived into the Kozak period in the XVIIth century. The Roxo-Alani or White Alans, together with the Alans seem to have emerged as the Slavic-speaking Antae who in the IV—Vth centuries had their own state organization under the leadership of elders and princes.

We can dimly trace through the writings of the Byzantine historians and Arab geographers the transformation of this state into that of Kiev, called Rus by its citizens, its friends and its enemies.

This is believed by some to have originated in the territory of Taman (the present-day Kuban area on the northern side of the Caucasus), where in the early Middle Ages the powerful principality of Tmutorokan existed, which the Greeks called "Maeotian Rus."

The so-called Norman theory (which contends that Rus as a state was originally organized by the Normans of Scandinavia) is unsupported by any documentary and archeological sources and contradicts what we can learn from archeology and a study of the older documents. It cannot be denied, however, when we enter the historical period, that there were dynastic relations between the rulers of Kiev and the Scandinavian royal houses, although the Slavic element definitely predominated. *Rus* was always known as an official and literary name, connected with the ducal dynasties and ducal troops. In the Latin and other old Western European sources the names *Rus*, *Ros*, *Rosi*, were assigned to the present territory of Ukraine, under the forms *Ruthenia*, *Ruteni* and *Ruthenians*, while the Greek name *Russia*, was rarely used. Significantly, the old English sources used the name *Rus* extensively; and only the more recent writers began to substitute the name *Russia* for that of *Rus*. In such a serious work as Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in the edition of 1809, the terms *Russia* and *Russians* for the first time supplanted the names *Rus*, *Rutheni* and *Ruthenians* contained in the pertinent old texts (Vol. I, p. 113).

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The powerful Kievan State (Xth century) and the subsequent Galician-Volhynian State rapidly became the centers of culture and wealth. The extensive relations of Ukraine of the Kievan period with the East and West, dynastic, diplomatic, commercial and cultural, called off many comments on Rus-Ukraine, particularly from the Greek and Arab writers.

The constant struggle of Ukraine of the ducal period of the X—XIIIth centuries against the Eastern nomadic tribes, who impeded normal relations with the countries of the Black Sea basin, weakened the national organization; and with the invasion of the Tatars in the XIIIth century, Ukraine was completely cut off from the Black Sea. It was a great loss for the country, which nevertheless had lasted almost four centuries before it became a component part of the Lithuanian, and later the Polish state systems.

In the XIV—XVIth centuries, Ukraine, although deprived of its state organization, did not lose its strong cultural and organizational character. Cut off from the Black Sea and deprived of its Byzantine connections Ukraine sought new contacts in the West. It was at that time that there began in Ukraine a nation-wide transformation of the entire mode of life: changes in the community system, organization of labor, production, and the like. In the cities artisan guilds, religious and secular brotherhoods and vast cultural and national movements sprang up among the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian culture, particularly its literature, language and arts, exerted a tremendous influence upon the neighbors of Ukraine, especially Lithuania and Poland.

Meanwhile Ukraine still retained its old names, *Rus* and *Ruthenia*, which were widely used in Western Europe. In contrast to this, the territories northeast of Ukraine were known as *Muscovy* or *Moscovia*, and included only a few northern principalities which had once belonged to the Kievan State.

The life and habits of Muscovy developed in a complex of different conditions—natural, tribal and cultural. Muscovy, inhabited by a mixture of Mongolo-Finnic tribes, accepted only

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the superficial aspects of the Slavic language and culture from the Kievan center, and maintained its oriental Asiatic psychology and mentality, always inimical to the West which it did not know and feared.

Western European and Oriental sources until the end of the XVIIIth century draw a clear distinction between Rus-Ukraine and Muscovy, and apply to the principality of Moscow such as *Mosco*, *Moscia*, *Moscovia*, *Moscovit*, *Moskovia* and *Muscovia* and it has been only in recent times that this correct appellation has been gradually replaced by the term *Russia*. One of the most outstanding examples of this is Voltaire's *The History of Charles XII*. In the London edition of 1817 (pp. 115-121) the translator, following the French text, retained such terms as *Muscovia*, *Muscovites* and the like; in the new edition of the book of 1908 (pp. 156-160), however, the same text contains the name *Russia*. It is obvious that this inexactness and inconsistency in terminology has created much confusion and difficulty in the appreciation and knowledge of affairs in Eastern Europe.

Insofar as the name of the Ukrainian territory and of the Ukrainians themselves is concerned, in the XVII—XVIIIth centuries there originated in Muscovy the names *Chirkasy*, *Chirkasians*, from the town of Chirkasy (Cherkassy) in Ukraine, which were applied to Ukraine and the Ukrainians. Some foreign travelers in Ukraine, following the Muscovite sources, have used these terms in their writings.

The name *Ukraine* was known in the oldest Ukrainian chronicles (those of Kiev, Volhynia and Galicia), and with the opening of the XIIth century became the national and popular name of the country. The earliest historical data on the Slavic tribe of Ucrans on the Baltic Sea date back to the Xth century. Also, the first of the Western European maps of the XVI—XVIIth centuries designates the Ukrainian territory (on both sides of the Dnieper) as *Ucran* and *Ucrania*. The same transcription, *Ucrania*, was employed in the oldest latin books, and survives today in such European languages as Spanish, Portuguese, Flemish and Hungarian. The terms *Ukraina* and *Ukraine* were

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widely used in the XVI—XVIIIth centuries. They are found constantly in Western European chronicles, documents, diplomatic notes, literature, and especially on maps designating the Ukrainian territory.

With the XVIth century the knightly military order of the Zaporozhian Sich on the middle Dnieper, which in the beginning was the principal military base against foreign encroachment, especially that of the Tatars and Turks, became in time the nucleus of the new Ukrainian statehood of the Kozak period. Therefore, alongside the name Ukraine, there also appeared such terms as *Kozak land*, *Kozak nation*, and the like.

The originality of the republican system of Ukraine—with freedom for the individual, less known in Europe, the liberal laws which took human dignity into account, the knight-like rules of the military system, the democratic principles of government—all this was interesting for Western Europe. As a consequence, Ukraine attracted many travelers and official foreign missions.

The economic and cultural development of Ukraine during the times of Hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa was paralleled by the growth of production, science, arts, and industry, all of which contributed considerably to the tightening of the economic and cultural ties with Western Europe.

The Ukrainian Kozak military force, which threw off the domination of the Polish nobility over Ukraine, continued to wage a determined struggle against the Muscovite intrusion, which aimed at the conquest of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov and the Crimea.

It is worth noting that the conquest of the coasts of the Black and Azov seas and of Crimea was an achievement of the Kozaks. Likewise the development of Ukrainian intellectual life during the 17-18th centuries—centered in the Kievan Academy—was due exclusively to the Ukrainians themselves. Moreover, the Kievan Academy, which Western European scholars regarded as a university, played a great role in the progress of Eastern European civilization, especially for Muscovy.

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The second half of the XVIIIth century abounds in priceless descriptions of Ukraine by various English writers who had an opportunity to compare the life in Ukraine with that in Muscovy, Poland and other neighboring countries.

With the destruction of the independent statehood of Ukraine by Russian imperialism at the end of the XVIIIth century, the complete liquidation of the Ukrainian military organization, the Zaporzhian Sich, followed. Subsequently, the gradual suppression of Ukrainian autonomy (the liquidation of the *Hetmanate*) was pressed by Moscow. Soon the Russian Tsars introduced serfdom, excessive taxes, and an unrestricted administration and court system into Ukraine. Even the name Ukraine was proscribed and banned. Tsar Peter I forbade the use of the term, the *Muscovite State*, and imposed a new one, the *Russian Empire*, or in short, *Russia*. The name was quickly accepted by the outside world, as Russian officials through ministries and embassies did everything possible for its adoption by foreign publications. Russian historians and theoreticians began writing treatises endeavoring to “prove” that the Russian Tsars were the successors and heir of the Kievan princes, and that the name *Rus* was nothing else but *Russia*.

After appropriating the name *Rus* for their own use, the Russians exerted great efforts to destroy the terms *Ukraine* and *Ukrainians*. The drastic persecutions of the Ukrainian national movement in the XIXth century, the prohibition of the use of the Ukrainian language in schools and in print (*Ukase of 1876*) and even the proscription of the name *Ukraine* itself—all aimed at the complete Russification of the Ukrainians. Yet Moscow failed. It failed even though it imposed a new name upon Ukraine and the Ukrainian people—*Little Russia* and *Little Russians*. These new and artificial names were designed to make the Russian Empire synonymous with the Russian people and to make it appear that the Russian people were subdivided into “Great Russians” and “Little Russians,” although there is reason to believe that in the beginning “Little Russia” came into use to denote the real *Rus* exactly as Little Greece was Greece

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and Great Greece (Magna Graecia) was the territory into which Greek influence had more or less superficially penetrated.

None of the Russian Tsars succeeded in making the Ukrainians over into Russians. Ukrainians felt that "Little Russia" was a term used to disparage their national pride and origin.

The irresistible drive of the Ukrainians toward the goal of national independence, coupled with the renaissance of their literature and their awareness that they were being economically exploited by Muscovy, brought about in 1917 their revolution and establishment of their Ukrainian National Republic.

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CHAPTER ONE

UKRAINE FROM THE VIth TO THE XIIth CENTURIES

THIS chapter lists some of the reports and comments on Ukraine that appeared between the VIth and the XIIth centuries, the period when the Ukrainian nation was taking shape and when the old Ukrainian culture began to develop and evoke considerable interest in the then-known world. They come almost exclusively from Byzantine Greek writers and Arab geographers.

The early Byzantine sources deal primarily with the relations between the Byzantine emperors and the Kievan princes in the pre-Christian era, and they reflect the military strength and the political and economic expansion of the old Rus-Ukraine.

The Slavs under various names invaded the Byzantine Empire and they were well-known to such writers as PROCOPIUS in the second half of the VIth century. Thus he says:

"The peoples of the Slavines and the Antae are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or ill, is referred to the people. These two barbaric peoples have had from ancient times the same institutions and cultures. For they believe that one god, the maker of the lightning, is alone lord of all things and they sacrifice to him cattle and all other victims, but as for fate they neither know it nor do they in any wise admit that it has any power among men. . . . They reverence, however, both rivers and nymphs and some other spirits, and they sacrifice to them also, and they make their divinations in connection with the sacrifices." (Procopius, *History of the Wars*, VII. 14, 22, Loeb Classical Library.)

More information about the same Slavines and Antae is given by another Byzantine writer, Emperor MAURICE (582-601 A D.):

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"The Sklaveni and Antae have a uniform mode of life and uniform characteristics; they are free and never would they suffer the yoke of an alien power, especially on their own territory. They are numerous and sturdy, adapting themselves with equal ease to heat and cold, sleet, nudity of body and hunger. They are kind to those who visit them, and escort them courteously from one place to another. If through the negligence of the host a guest would suffer harm, the previous host, who had passed the guest on to the deficient one, would start a war, for these people consider it their sacred duty to revenge wrong-doing to their guests. Those who are captured in battle are not kept, as is done by other peoples, but after a certain time are able to choose between returning to their own land after having paid a ransom and remaining as free men and friends. . . . Their women are extremely virtuous, and many of them consider the death of their husbands as their own death; they willingly kill themselves, believing that widowhood no longer means life. . . . They are altogether breakers of faith and unstable in treaties. They will retreat before force rather than before gifts. Once they have quarrelled among themselves, they can never agree again, and never can stick to a common decision. For everyone of them has his own mind and none wants to yield to the other. Because they have many princes who quarrel among themselves, it would benefit us to play one against the other whether through negotiation or through gifts, especially those who live in the border zone."

By the middle of the ninth century, when the dynasty became settled in Kiev under Oleh and the Rus-Ukrainians began their attacks upon Constantinople, the Byzantine authors are more sure of their ground and they are able to give us clear pictures of the actions and life of the Rus.

Patriarch PHOTIUS (died 891) who was an eye-witness of the siege of Constantinople by the Rus-Ukrainians, has this to say about them:

"They are savage and severe and fearless people who ruin and destroy everything. . . . Do you remember this unbearable time when the barbarian ships came to our shores, breathing

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something wild, severe and destructive. . . When they marched alongside the city, carrying pointed spears as if to threaten the city with death by swords. . . Do you remember when the terror and darkness had robbed your reason, and your ear could hear only the alarming news; the barbarians have penetrated the walls, the enemy is conquering the city! And what a city! A city adorned with trophies from many nations, yet look at the people who would capture you! You, who have captured many trophies from enemies out of Europe, Asia and Levant, are now threatened by a spear held by a brutal, barbarian hand which would make a trophy of you!"

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS (905-959 A.D.), a Byzantine Emperor, in his writings devotes much space to Rus-Ukraine, especially in the chapter entitled, "About the Rus Who Travel by Boats from Rus to Constantinople." Although it is true that the authenticity of his writings has been questioned by some, his accounts of the Ukrainians as reported by eye-witnesses have considerable historical value. He writes:

"Boats arrive at Constantinople from the far-flung Rus, namely, from Nemogarda where Sviatoslav ruled, son of Ihor, Prince of Rus, with castles in Mylynysky, Lubechi, Chernihiv and Vyshehorod. All travel down the Dnieper River and stop at the Castle of Kioava (Kiev), also known as Samvatas. Their Slav subjects, some of whom are called Kryvyteiny (Kriviches) and Lenzaniny (Luchans, Volhynians), and the other Sclavinians in the winter fell trees in the mountains for boats, and when the time comes, that is, when the ice melts, they float hulls into nearby lakes. Once the boats have entered upon the Dnieper River, they sail down to Kioava; there they pull the boats out upon the land and sell them to the Rus. The Rus buy these hulls and, having destroyed their old boats, save for oars, rings and other supplies, prepare new ones." (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Imperio Administrando*, Chap. IX *Corpus Scriptorum Byzantinae Historiae*, Vol. XI, p. 74).

Further on follows a detailed description of the daring sea raids of the Kievan princes and their armies upon the western shore of the Black Sea all the way to Constantinople itself.

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LEO THE DEACON of Asia Minor, which maintained very active relations with Ukraine, in his writings about 990 A.D. describes the inhabitants of Ukraine thus:

"A people impetuous, bellicose and strong who attack their neighbors; they never, even if defeated, fall into the hands of the enemy; and if they see no chance of escaping alive, they pierce themselves in the stomach with a sword, thus killing themselves."

Of Prince Svyatoslav, Leo records that he is "ardent, brave, daring and active." When the Byzantine Emperor suggested that he retreat from Moesia (present-day Bulgaria), which he had occupied, the Prince replied that "if the Romeans (Byzantines) do not reimburse him (for his damages), then they should leave Europe, where they do not belong, and move to Asia." When the Emperor sent another proposal, Prince Svyatoslav retorted even more sharply:

"I see no reason why the Roman Emperor should come to us; let him save the effort of coming to our country. We ourselves shall soon set up our tents before the gates of Byzantium and shall encircle her with a strong wall, and when he dares come out, we shall accept the challenge and by our deeds prove that we are not piddlers and little bondsmen, but people of blood who can fight their enemies with arms in their hands, even if the enemy out of ignorance considers the strength of Rus as that of a woman, reared somewhere behind the stove, and tries to scare us with threats as one scares children with grotesque masks." (Leo Diaconus, *Historia*, Book VI, p. 106, 20).

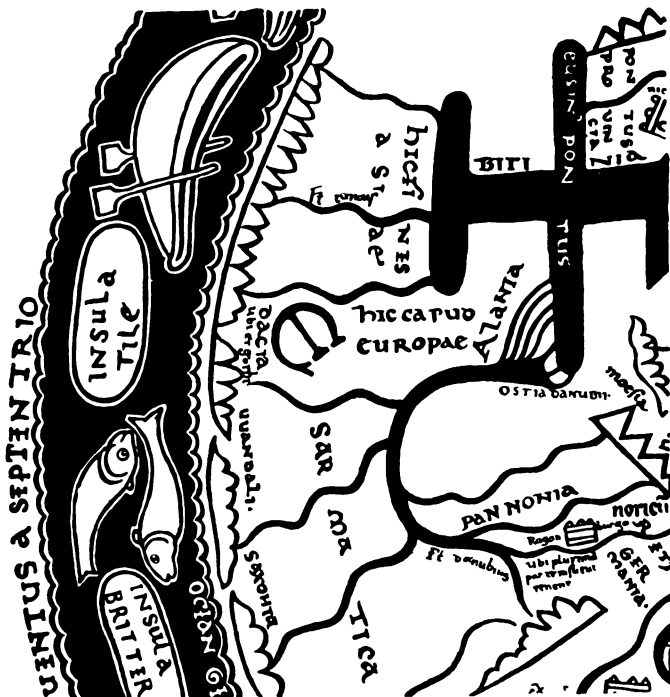
As the campaign against the Emperor became more and more arduous and the army chieftains began to think of surrender, Prince Svyatoslav declared:

"Our glory, which sprang from the Ruthenian army that conquered the neighboring peoples and kept their lands in captivity without shedding a drop of blood, will die away, should we shamelessly surrender to the Romeans. We inherited our valor from our ancestors; let us remember how invincible our strength has been up to now and let us fight for our salvation. It is not in our nature to run home, but to live with victory and to die gloriously, having proved ourselves brave men." (Book IX, 151, 12).

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Here we also find a physical description of Prince Svyatoslav, perhaps the only one extant of this remarkable Kievan prince:

“Of medium height, not too tall, yet not too short either, he had bushy eyebrows, blue eyes, a short nose, and a trimmed



1. A part of the map of the world by Beatus of the XIth century. Between the *Danubius* and *Eusin Pontus* lies *Alania*.

heard; on the upper lip was grown long, bushy hair, while his head was completely shaven save for a curly lock of hair (*chub*), which denoted nobility; of a strong neck and wide shoulders, he was, all in all, a well-built man." (Book IX, 165,14).

The Arab sources of the IXth and the Xth centuries, composed by Arab geographers and merchants who travelled to

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various lands for the purpose of trade, contain unique and priceless data on the Ukraine of that period.

Almost all the Arab writers distinguish between the Slavs and "Rus," and consider Kiev (they called it "Kuyab") the principal city of the Slavs, and it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact meaning of the two words in some of their remarks. Yet it is obvious that they are alluding to some difference within the inhabitants of Ukraine and while their accounts are often contradictory, we can feel that they reflect the growing unification of that state which was to emerge as Rus-Ukraine, the earliest of the East Slavic peoples to develop an organized and stable government. They characterize the people as devoted to agriculture and in part to cattle-raising, stern and bellicose.

"If a son is born unto a family," writes IBN-DAST in the Xth century, "the father takes a naked sword, places it before the newly-born infant, and says: 'I leave you no inheritance except this sword, and you will have but that which you will be able to conquer with it.' They have a great number of cities which are quite dispersed."

AL-MASSUDI, a writer of the first half of the Xth century, provides not only geographical data on Ukraine, but lists the Slavic tribes and their characteristics.

"They are divided into many peoples," he writes, "some of whom are Christians and some are pagans who worship the sun as their god." Apart from these people he refers to "Rus." In another part of his account, wherein he treats of the "pagans in the country of the Khazar emperor," he writes that "some of the tribes are Slavs." Of these he says:

"Heretofore we mentioned a king to whom in times past were subjected other kings. This king was Madzak, King of Valynania (Volhynians or Poliany), a people who were one of the principal Slav peoples and who, held in high esteem by the other peoples, were commonly regarded as the strongest of all. But, when dissension spread among their people, their power was destroyed. They declined in strength and were divided, each tribe electing

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its own king (as mentioned before), the reasons for all of which are too lengthy to recount here.”

With respect to “Rus” the scribe says:

“Rus is composed of numerous peoples who are subdivided into various tribes. Among them are the people called Ludana, who are most numerous of all. Their trade extends to Andalusia (Spain), Rumia (Rome, Italy or the Byzantine empire), Constantinia (Constantinople) and the Khozars. The 300th year after the Hegira (912-913 A.D.), it happened that some 500 ships, each carrying 100 men from Rus, entered the Bay of Naitas, which is linked with the Khozar River (the Khozar Sea?).”

Further on he writes that the people of Rus successfully conducted wars with the various peoples on the shores of the Caspian Sea and even reached Baku.

Another Arab writer, IBN-CHAUKAL (the eighth decade of the Xth century) writes in his book, *Book of Roads and States*, that Rus conquered all its neighbors:

“Now not a trace is left of the Bulgars, Burthas and Khozars, because Rus destroyed all of them, overran their lands and annexed them.”

IBN-DAST writes more extensively than anyone else on Ukraine and its customs:

“Between the country of the Badzhaks (Pechenegs) and the country of the Slavs there is ten days’ distance; at the beginning of the Slav country is the city of Kuyab (Kiev). The road to their country leads through steppes, brooks and dense woods. The country of the Slavs is a flat and woody land; they live in the woods, too. They have no vineyards nor arable lands. Out of wood they make boxes which serve as bee-hives and also in which to keep honey. Called *ulihidzh*, each such box contains about 10 pints. They also raise pigs and sheep. When a man dies, his corpse is burned and the widow mutilates her hands and face with a knife. The day after the burning of the corpse, all gather at the same place, collect the ashes into a receptacle and place it atop a hill. A year later, armed with about twenty goblets of honey, they and the family of the deceased gather atop the same hill, eat, drink, and then go home.

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"What they cultivate most is millet. During the harvest they put kernels of millet in a bucket, raise it to the heavens and cry: 'God, you have given us food; please keep on giving!'

"They have various musical instruments, such as *kobzas*, *huslis*, and *dudkas*; the *dudkas* are about two elbows long, while a *kobza* has eight strings. Drink is prepared from honey.

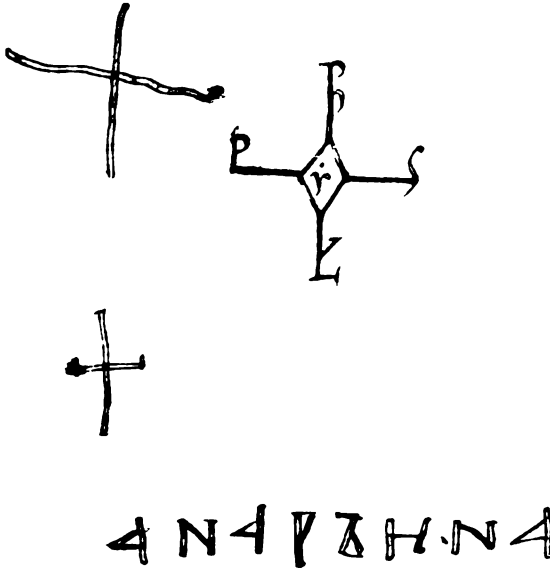
"As far as Rus is concerned, they live on an island in a lake. This island where they live has a distance of about three days' travel, and is covered with woods and marshes, unhealthy and so saturated with water that the ground trembles under one's tread. They have a king who is called Khanan-Rus; they make raids upon the Slavs, come in their boats, disembark, take their captives to Kharvan (Khazran) and Bulgar (on the Volga) and sell them there. They have no arable lands, but live on what they bring from the Slavs.

"They possess no landed property nor cities nor arable fields; their only occupation is trade in sable, squirrel and other furs. Money which they get in exchange for the merchandise is tightly put in their belts. . . . They treat their slaves with humanity and care about their clothing because the slaves are used in connection with their trade. Especially esteemed highly are guests and foreigners who seek protection; those given shelter are not permitted to be mistreated. In case a foreigner is mistreated, they go to his defense. . . . If one of their families seeks help in defense, they all go to battle, and without dissension they fight until the enemy is defeated. Controversies among them are tried by their king; once the king issues his verdict, all abide by it. If both parties are dissatisfied with the king's verdict, then upon his order they have to seek a decision with arms in their hands: whose sword is sharper gets the upper hand. Also the armed families of both parties come to participate in the fight. Whoever emerges victorious wins the case.

"They are brave and daring. When they attack the other peoples they fight until they completely subdue them; they capture the defeated and make them their slaves. They are of tall stature, handsome in looks and brave in war, but their bra-

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very is manifested more on ships than on horses. They wear extremely wide trousers made of 100 elbows of material. When they don these, they usually bunch them up and tie them beneath the knee. All always carry swords at their sides, because



2. The signature of Anna (*Anna Reina*), daughter of Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kiev, on an official French document of 1063.

they do not trust one another and because a ruse is a commonplace thing among them. If one succeeds in acquiring an estate, immediately his brother or friend becomes envious and attempts either to kill him or rob him.”

IBN-YAKUB, another Arab writer, in his *Memoirs* which date back to the seventh decade of the Xth century and which were found in a compilation of AL-BEKRI, a Spanish Arab of the second half of the XIth century, thus characterizes the Slavs:

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"In general, the Slavs are a brave people, capable of making enduring military raids, and if it would not be for the dissension that exists among the various tribes, no people in the world could resist them. They inhabit lands richest in settlements and means for livelihood. They apply themselves to agriculture and, as far as gaining a livelihood is concerned, they surpass all the peoples of the north. Their wares are sent by land and sea to Rus and Constantinople."

It was only natural that references to Rus-Ukraine by Western authors were very scattered. The culture of Kiev was far higher than that of the West and few persons travelled except on ecclesiastical and political missions. Yet there still exist a few references from the few who did make their way across Europe.

One of the first European travellers in Ukraine was BRUNO VON QUERFURT, born in 976. A Western bishop who was called to do missionary work and spread Christianity among the Pechenegs, Bruno spent much time in Ukraine. In a letter from Kiev to Emperor Henry II, Bishop Bruno wrote in, or about, 1008:

"The Prince of the Rus (*Rusorum*) is a mighty and rich ruler, who kept me against my will over a month in his palace and tried to dissuade me from going to preach among the Pechenegs, who, he said, would kill me rather than allow me to save their souls."

Bruno's host, of course, was Prince Volodymyr the Great, who baptized Ukraine in 988 and was a great patron of Christianity in eastern Europe. Bruno concluded his letter by noting that, after his long stay at the court of the Prince, "he took his troops and accompanied me on the two-day journey to the border of his state, where, because of enemy raids, he ordered the erection of a strong and extensive fence."

Some information on Kiev is found in *The Chronicle* of TIETMAR VON MERSEBURG (975-1018), dated 1017:

"The City of Chitau (Kiev), capital of the Ruthenian Regent Vlodemiri (*Ruscorum Regentis Vlodemiri*), is extremely well fortified. The hostile Pedenei (Pechenegs) frequently raid it upon the incitement of Boleslav (Prince of Poland)... In this

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great city are over 400 churches and 8 market places, and a great multitude of people.”

The wide dynastic connection between the Kievan princes and the western European courts contributed to the preservation of historiographical sources pertaining to the strength, wealth and culture of the Kievan princes.

Princess Anna, a daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, is mentioned in many French historical documents. The second wife of King Henry I of France, she outlived her husband and became the regent for her minor son Philip I, took part in political councils and signed her name “Queen Anna” in Cyrillic characters.

Envoys of King Henry I, headed by Bishop Gautier Saveriaux, came to Kiev to beg Prince Yaroslav for his daughter Anna's hand. The mission was a success, and the wedding took place on May 14, 1049 in the city of Rheims, France. The French historian Levesques, in writing about this marriage, quotes Bishop Saveriaux' description of Ukraine:

“This land is more unified, happier, stronger and more civilized than France herself.”

In addition to the so-called Rheims Gospel, written in the Kiev Cyrillic characters of the first half of the XIth century, there is preserved an official document of the year 1063 of the French King Philip I on which appears the signature of Queen Anna Yaroslavna (“Anna Reina”), and beside her signature are a series of crosses, inscribed by French statesmen unable to write their own names.

Another daughter of Prince Yaroslav the Wise, Elizabeth, was married to the Crown Prince of Norway, Harold the Bold, a famous warrior who lived a long time in Ukraine and who later became King of Norway. He was known for his poetry extolling the beauty of his wife.

We find further information about the princely family of Kiev in the writings of the Danish historian SAXO GRAMMATICUS (c. 1150-1206), who prepared a long history of the Danes from the earliest times to his own day. In Book XI, he wrote:

“After the death of Harold, (the King of the English killed at the battle of Hastings in 1066), his two sons immediately fled

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with their sister to Denmark. Sweno, forgetting the deserts of their father, as a relative received them under the custom of piety and gave the daughter in marriage to the king of the Ruthenians (Rutenorum) Waldemarus (who was also called Iarizlauus by his own people). He obtained from the daughter a grandson who after the manner of our time became his successor both by lineage and by name. Thus the British and the Eastern blood being united in our prince caused the common offspring to be an adornment to both peoples." (Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, Book XI, ed. Holder, Strassburg, 1886, p. 370).

CHAPTER TWO.

WESTERN EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS FROM THE XIIIth TO THE XVIth CENTURIES.

THE golden age of Kiev came to an abrupt end with the invasions of the Mongols and Tartars in the thirteenth century. The devastation of the country and the constant danger from the Asiatic tribesmen compelled the majority of the travellers to avoid Ukraine and it was not until the fall of the Principality of Halych and the entrance of Ukraine into the Lithuanian and then into the Polish state that travellers began again to pass through the country. Even then they clearly distinguished Rus-Ukraine and Moscow and avoided the second even more completely.

GIOVANNI DE PLANO CARPINI, a papal delegate to Mongolia and Tartary, in his work, *Liber Tartarorum*, writes that while travelling in 1246 through Bohemia, he was advised by King Vaclav I to go into Tartary through Poland and Russia, meaning Rus. In Chapter 19, Plano Carpini writes:

"The like fauour he shewed vs also, till wee came vnto Conrad duke of Lautiscia, vnto whome then (by Gods especiall fauour towards vs) lord Wasilico (Wasilco) duke of Ruthenia (Galicia, i.e. Western Ukraine) was come, from whose mouth we heard more at large concerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had sent ambassodours thither, who were returned backe vnto him. Wherefore, it being giuen vs to vnderstand, that we must bestow giftes vpon them, we caused certaine skinnes of beuers and other beastes to be bought with part of that money, which was giuen vpon almes to succour vs by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the duches of Cracow, and a bishop, and certaine souldiers being aduertised of, gaue vs likewise more of the same skins. And to be short, duke Wasilico being earnestly requested by the duke of Cracow, and by the bishop and barons, on our

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behalfe, conducted vs with him, vnto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, interteined vs at his owne charges, to the ende that we might refresh our selues a while. And when, being requested by vs, he had caused his bishops to resort vnto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admonishing them to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church. To the same purpose also, we our selues admonished them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the bishops and others thereunto. Howbeit because duke Daniel (Danylo) the brother of Wasilico afore-said (hauing as then taken his iourney vnto Baty) was absent, they could not at that time, make a finall answeere. After these things duke Wasilico sent vs forward with one of his seruants as farre as Kiouian (Kiev) the chiefe citie of Ruthenia. (The original Latin Ruthenia was changed by Hakluyt to Russia). Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our liues by reason of the Lituani-ans, who did often inuade ye borders of Ruthenia euen in those verie places by which we were to passe. But in regard of the foresayd seruant, wee were out of the Ruthenians daunger, the greatest part of whome were either slaine or caried into captiuitie by the Tartars. Moreouer, at Danilon wee were feeble euen vnto the death. (Notwithstanding wee caused our selues to bee carried in a waggon through the snowe and extreme cold) and being come vnto Kiow, wee consulted with the Millenary and other noble men there concerning our iourney. They told vs, that if wee carried those horses, which wee then had, vnto the Tartars, great store of snowé lying vpon the ground, they would all due: because they knew not hove to digge up the grasse vnder the snow, as the Tartarian horses doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eate, the Tartars hauing neither hay nor strawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leaue them behind at Kiow with two seruants appointed to keepe them. And we were constrayned to bestow giftes vpon the Millenary, that we might obtaine his fauour to allowe vs poste horses and a guide. Wherefore beginning our iourney the second day after the feast of the Purification, wee arrived at the towne of Canow, which was immediatly vnder the dominion of the Tartars. The gouernour whereof allowed vs horses and a

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guide vnto another towne, wherein wee found one Michaeas to be gouernour, a man full of all malice and despight. Who notwithstanding, hauing receiued giftes at our handes, according to his maner conducted vs to the first garde of the Tartars." (C. Raymond Bensley, *Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis as printed for the first time by Hakluyt in 1598*, London, 1903 p. 63 f.)

Upon his return from Tartary, Plano Carpini, was again in Kiev on June 14, 1246:

"Moreouer, the Citizens of Kiow hauing intelligence of our approach, came forth all of them to meete vs, with great ioy. For they reioyced ouer vs, as ouer men that had bene risen from death to life. So likewise they did vnto vs throughout all Ruthenia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Wasilico made vs a royall feast, and interteined vs with them against our willes for the space of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their Bishops, and other men of account, being in consultation together about these matters which we had propounded vnto them in our iourney towards the Tartars, answered vs with common consent, saying: that they would holde the Pope for their speciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their Lady and mistresse, confirming likewise all things which they had sent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their Abbate. And for the same purpose, they sent their Ambassadors and letters by vs, vnto our Lord the Pope." (p. 143).

WILLIAM RUBRUQUIS OF BRABAND, an envoy of King Louis IX of France to the Tartar Horde, travelled in 1252 from Constantinople to the Crimea, Perekop and the northern shore of the Sea of Azov. He reported that in the Crimea, between Sudak and Khersones, there were then at least 40 fortified cities, and in each of them the people spoke a different language. Passing through Perekop, the traveller observed that north of that city, that is, in the Steppe Ukraine, lived the people known as Kumans. Under constant assault by the Tartars, a great part of these people (former Pechenegs) had died from hunger and pestilence.

At the end of July, 1252, Rubruquis reached the Thanais River (Don), and made the following observation:

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"But Isidore calleth all that tract of land stretching from the riuer of Thanais to the lake of Maeotis (Sea of Azov), and so along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. . . They preferre the Saracens before the Ruthenians (*Praeponunt enim Ruthenis*), because they are Christians." (p. 205).

He remarked that the Don River seemed to him as being as wide "as the riuer Sein is at Paris." "On the left bank of the river there was a forest, while on the right bank lived the Ruthenians."

"At the same place where wee arriued, Batu and Sartach did cause a certaine cottage to be built, vpon the Easterne banke of the river, for a companie of Ruthenians, to dwell in to the ende they might transport Ambassadors and merchants in ferrie-boates ouer that part of the river. . . The Ruthenian women (*Mulieres Ruthenae*) attire their heads like vnto our women. . . The Ruthenian men weare caps like vnto the Dutch men." (p. 206 ff).

Another Frenchman, GUILLEBERT DE LANNOY, as a Minister of France, Burgundy, and England, in his memoirs, *Voyages et Ambassades* (*Voyages et Ambassades*, Mons, 1840), described his experiences during travels which he made in 1421 through Western Ukraine (Galicia), Volhynia, Bessarabia, Little Tartary (the Steppe Ukraine) and the Crimea. From Poland de Lannoy went to the city of "Sadowen in Rus" (Sadova Vyshnia) and thence to the city of "Lombourp in Rus" (Lemberg, Lviv).

"There," he wrote, "the lords and dwellers of that city gave me a splendid dinner and a piece of silk." (p. 35.)

De Lannoy remarked that the same hospitality was accorded him in other Ukrainian towns, such as Belz, Lutsk, Kremyanets and Kamenets in Podolia. He mentioned that the Lithuanian Grand Prince Witholt (Vytautas), also received him hospitably, and gave him two letters of introduction, "written in the Tartar, Ruthenian and Latin languages," and 16 bodyguards of "Ruthenians and Wallachians."

"At the court of Witholt a duke and duchess of Russie (Rus) with their friends gave me a splendid dinner and a pair of

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hand-knit gloves, while his knights bestowed other gifts upon me, such as hats, gloves, marten furs and Tartar knives." (p. 37).

After travelling through Upper Podolia, de Lannoy came to the city of Kamenets, "a beautiful city, where I found the Captain of Podolia, Ghedigold, who received me with honors and presented me with beautiful gifts and provisions, and dined me sumptuously." (p. 38.)

At the same time de Lannoy writes about an earlier sojourn in Novgorod and Pskov, where he found the dinners "the most odd and unusual that I ever saw in my life." The French diplomat was not a little surprised that in Muscovy women were sold on markets in the fashion of cattle, although the people "could not mint money, but used a piece of silver and various furs as an exchange medium." (p. 20.)

We have more information and material from the XVth and XVIth centuries, due to the fact that many foreign travellers, particularly Italians, travelled throughout Ukraine. The Italians were especially attracted by the Ukrainian shores of the Black Sea, where they, particularly the Genoese and the Venetians, had founded many flourishing trading settlements. As a rule the Italian travellers passed through only the Crimea and the northern shore of the Black Sea and visited the Ukrainian interior but infrequently.

One of the first Italian authors to mention Ukraine in the first half of the XVth century is JOSAPHAT BARBARO, a Venetian nobleman. In 1436 he reached Thana (the present Azov) and stayed there 16 years. The description of his travels appeared in book form in Venice in 1543, and was republished in 1606.

His book, *Di messer Josafa Barbaro gentil'huomo venetiano if viaggio della Tana*, is a sort of geographical treatise. Barbaro devotes much attention to the flora and fauna of the Azov area. He says that the land of the area is extremely fertile. "The wheat has a very big beard and not infrequently brings forth a fifty-fold yield. The harvest is sometimes so bountiful that the people do not know what to do with the wheat and leave it on the field." He also says:

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"Because Thana is encircled by hills and ditches which extend up to ten miles, these hills and ditches have become a haven for all sorts of birds, which come in such quantity, especially the partridges, that they roam in big flocks, as if they were domesticated. Boys have no difficulty in picking them off the ground and selling them. . . . At night, if the windows of houses are open, the birds flock toward the light. There are also many wild animals, especially deer; but they are too timid to come close to the city." (*Travels to India and Persia*, Hakluyt, 1878, p. 12.)

In the XVIth century there were many travellers, particularly diplomatic agents, mostly Englishmen, who went to Muscovy. These frequently mentioned the Ukrainian land and the Ukrainians to whom they referred as "Circassians," after the Muscovite terminology. (The name comes from Cherkassy, a city in Ukraine.)

Descriptions of the territory of Muscovy and the customs and ways of its inhabitants are extremely interesting when compared with those of the Ukrainians or other Europeans. Therefore, we should like to dwell on these descriptions, especially when their authors tend to compare the life and national habits of Muscovy and of Ukraine.

One such author is ALBERT CAMPENSE, who, in his letter to Pope Clement VII about 1523-24, wrote extensively about the affairs of Muscovy. Campense makes a sound observation when he says that Muscovy is populated by various peoples, among whom he enumerates the "Jurgi, Corelli, Periszani, Vahulszeni, Baschizdi and Czeremisi. . . ."

"To the west of the Tartars, in the direction of the Prussian Sea and also in the neighborhood of the Muscovites, there live the Rus (*Rossi*), Lithuanians and Samogeths. . . .

"The great prince of Muscovy, Ivan or Giovanni, and also his deputy, Prince Wasily, endeavored (as was also the case during the reigns of King Sigismund and his predecessors Kings Alexander and Casimir) to extend Muscovite domination over a large part of Lithuania, that is, those lands which extend between the Borysthenes River (Dnieper), the Maeotian Marshes and Thanais (Azov), all of which once formed part of the State of Rus (*Stato*

de Rossi). Kiev, the capital of this state on the Borysthene River, is one of the most beautiful and richest cities, despite the fact that it was pillaged to the limits of cruelty and madness by the Tartars who even now, neighboring with Lithuania, make frequent incursions on the territory of Rus, which contributes to the fact that these lands are underpopulated. The Muscovite princes justify their pretensions on the ground that Rus, now under the domination of the Polish King, as well as the city of Lviv (*Citta Leopolina*) and the whole eastern part of Poland which extends northward and northeast from the Sarmatian Mountains (Poprad), are of the Greek faith and recognize the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople."

Another interesting writer on Muscovy and Ukraine was S. F. HERBERSTEIN (1486-1566). He was born in Slavic Styria and attended the University of Vienna. Recognized as an outstanding and talented diplomat, Herberstein was called "the loyal servant and adviser to four emperors," and was as a rule extremely cautious and circumspect in his expressions. He made two journeys to Muscovy, Lithuania, (1517 and 1526) and perhaps Ukraine. Herberstein's memoirs were published several times in Basel, Switzerland, and in Vienna (*Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, 1549). The English edition of his work is titled: *Sigismund von Herberstein: Notes On Russia (Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii)*, and appeared in London in 1851.

In addition to the detailed description of "Moscovia" and "Moscovitians," his book also describes the territories of Lithuania, Poland and old Rus-Ukraine:

"Russia extends near to the Sarmatian (Poprad) Mountains, up to a short distance from Cracow; thence along the river Tyra, which the natives call Dniester, to the Black Sea, and across to the Dnieper. Some years ago (1525?), since however, the Turks took possession of Alba, otherwise called Moncastro (Bilhorod), also situated at the mouth of the river Dniester, and under the dominion of the Voyvoda of Moldavia. The king of Taurica likewise crossed the Dnieper, and laying waste the country far and wide, built two fortresses, one of which, called Ochakov, situated

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not far from the mouth of the Dnieper, is still in the possession of the Turks; but the area between these two rivers is now a desert. Moreover, in ascending the Dnieper, we come to the town of Circas (Cherkassy), lying towards the west, and then to the very ancient city of Kiev, formerly the metropolis of Russia (Rus); and on the opposite side of the Dnieper, is the still inhabited province of Severa (Siveria); and thence, directly eastward, we come to the source of the Thanais (Don). (Herberstein, *Notes on Russia*, Vol. 1. p. 5 f.)

"This place is so remarkable for its abundance of excellent fish and for its pleasantness—each side of the river being laid out and cultivated with considerable industry in the fashion of a garden, with a variety of plants and most delightful roots and a great number of fruit-bearing trees—that it is impossible to praise it too highly. There is also an abundance of game, which they kill with their arrows without much trouble, so that persons travelling through the country want nothing else to support life, except fire and salt for cooking."

In another place, and also on the map published in Basel in 1556, Herberstein calls the Thanais "*Fl. Don Ruthenice*," meaning "the River Don in Ruthenia."

The author, touching on some habits and customs of the Muscovites, is shocked by the treatment of their women:

"The condition of the women is most miserable; for they consider no woman virtuous unless she lives shut up at home and is so closely guarded that she can go nowhere."

If a husband beats his wife regularly, he writes, in Moscow it is held that "he loves her," and consequently "the more bruises she has the more is she loved." In describing the Muscovite people, both the nobility and the common people, Herberstein says:

"All confess themselves to be *Cholopos*, that is, serfs of the prince. This people enjoy slavery more than freedom." (p. 95.)

Describing the military tactics of the Muscovites, the author writes:

"They make the first charge on the enemy with great impetuosity; but their valour does not hold out very long, for they

seem as if they would give a hint to the enemy, as much as to say, 'If you do not flee, we must'. . . For instance, once the Muscovite takes flight, he believes there is no safety beyond what flight may obtain for him; if he be pursued or taken by the enemy, he neither defends himself nor asks for quarter."

Herberstein mentions such Ukrainian cities as Starodub, Putivl, Novhorod-Severa, Chernihiv, Kiev, Kaniv, Cherkassy, Berestie, Kamenets, and others. He extensively describes the Azov seacoast, Crimea and the Kuban.

He refers to the Ukrainians as "Circassians," a name that is derived from the city of Cherkassy, or, as he refers to it, "Circass." Herberstein's description of the Ukrainians follows:

"I may here remark that the Circassians who dwell upon the Dnieper are to be distinguished from those whom I have described above as dwelling in the mountains near the Pontus (Black Sea). At the time that I was at Moscow, these people were governed by one Eustace Dascovitz (Hetman Dashkevich), of whom I have before spoken as going with King Machmetgirei to Moscow. He was a man of great skill in military matters, and remarkable for his shrewdness, and from the frequent intercourse he had had with the Tartars, was able the more repeatedly to conquer them. He often even drew the Prince of Moscow himself, whose captive he had been for some time, into great dangers. In the same year that I was at Moscow (1526), he showed remarkable skill in routing the Muscovites, a circumstance which I deem worthy of description here. He led certain Tartars attired in Lithuanian costume unto Moscovia, knowing that the Moscovitians, taking them for Lithuanians, would rush out upon them fearlessly and without hesitation. After having set an ambush in a suitable position, he awaited the arrival of the vengeful Muscovites. The Tartars, meanwhile, after depopulating the province of Severa (Siveria), directed their march towards Lithuania; upon which the Muscovites, supposing them to be Lithuanians, changed their route, and, inspired with the thirst of vengeance, marched impetuously in a great force upon Lithuania. After laying waste the country and as they were returning laden with

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spoil, they were surrounded by Eustace (Dashkevich), who came forth from his ambushade, and all of them were slaughtered, to a man . . . The Prince of Muscovy, having been thus deceived on both sides, was ignominiously compelled to put up with his loss."

Herberstein makes a well-defined distinction between the Ukrainians, whom he calls Circassians, Russians or Rutheni, and the Muscovites. For example, speaking about the city of Lublin, he writes:

"Where (Lublin), at a fixed time of the year, are held some celebrated fairs, at which assemble people from all parts—Muscovites, Lithuanians, Tartars, Livonians, Prussians, Ruthenians (Rutheni), Germans, Hungarians, Armenians, Wallachians, and Jews."

Of Kiev, he writes:

"Seven miles beyond Circass (Cherkassy) going up the Borysthenes (Dnieper), lies the town of Cainovu (Kaniv); eighteen miles from which is Chiovuia (Kiev), the ancient metropolis of Russia (Rus), whose one-time magnificence and evidently royal estate are revealed by the ruins of the city and the monuments, which are still seen lying in heaps. There may still be traced to this day on the hills in the neighborhood the remains of churches and deserted monasteries, as well as numerous caverns, in which may be seen very ancient tombs, with the bodies in them not yet decayed."

Describing the customs in Ukraine, especially in Kiev, Herberstein writes:

"There is a certain hill at Kiev, over which the merchants have to pass by a road which is not of the easiest; if any part of the carriage should happen to be broken in the ascent, all the articles in it are confiscated by the treasury."

He mentions that among the Ruthenians who comprise a part of the Lithuanian army, there is one famous name, Constantine Ostroski:

"Constantine Ostroski had routed the Tartars very frequently. It was his custom not to attack the horde while out on their predatory excursions."

Especially interesting is the *Diary of Michael the Lithuanian*, a Lithuanian by origin, who was in Ukraine in 1550 and who described the wealth of the Ukrainian land:

“The land around Kiev is so fertile and ideal for plowing that once plowed by a pair of oxen it yields a tremendous harvest; even unplowed land yields vegetation which can nourish people with its roots and stalks. There are trees which bear various fruits; the grapevine is cultivated extensively and yields huge bunches of grapes; there are also wild grapes. In the old oak and beech trees are crevices in which bees build honeycombs; their honey has a beautiful color and taste. There are so many wild animals and bison, wild horses and deer in the woods and the fields that they are hunted only for their skins, while their carcasses, with the exception of the hind parts, are thrown away; goats and wild hogs are not even hunted. Chamois flee from the steppes into the woods in the wintertime and again into the steppes in the spring in such numbers that every peasant kills them by the thousands every year. On the banks of rivers there is a large quantity of beaver nests. Birds are in such abundance everywhere that in the spring boys collect whole boats of eggs of wild ducks, geese, cranes and swans, and later on fill chicken coops with young fowl. Young eagles are kept in cages for their feathers, which are affixed to arrows. Dogs are fed with the meat of wild beasts and with fish, because the rivers are filled with immense quantities of sturgeon and other big fish. . . . Therefore, many rivers are called ‘golden,’ especially the Pripet, which at one place near Mozyr at the mouth of the Tura River (Ubort), during the influx of fresh water from the sources at the beginning of March, is filled with such a big quantity of fish that a spear thrown into the water stands upright, as if pushed into the ground. I would not have believed this, had I not seen for myself how the people fished and in one day loaded about 1,000 wagons belonging to merchants, who came every year at the same time.

“The Borysthene (Dnieper) is the largest and richest river of this country, on which an immense quantity of fish and other

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merchandise is shipped to Kiev. . . This river is referred to as 'flowing with honey and milk' because at its sources it flows through woods filled with the wealth of bees, and near its delta, through pastures; therefore, it provides honey and milk for its population. . . All the affluence of the Dnieper brings quantities of fish, meat, furs, honey, and also salt from the Taurian mouths (deltas) to Kiev."

His description of Kiev is as follows:

"The castle occupies a signal place among the other castles and is situated on the bank of the river at the edge of the steppe and Polissia. In Kiev there have remained ancient churches, beautifully built from a refined marble and other imported materials and covered with zinc and copper, some with golden cupolas; there are many famous monasteries. Especially famous is the convent of the Virgin Mary, with its underground galleries and caves. . . Kiev is filled with imported merchandise, because there is no better way than this ancient and well-known route that leads from the Black Sea port of Kaffa (Theodosia), through the gates of Taurica and through the Tavan ford on the Dnieper into Kiev; on this route all oriental merchandise, such as precious stones, silks and silk textiles, incense, perfume, saffron, pepper, and other spices from Asia, Persia, India, Arabia and Syria go to the north to Moscovia, Pskov, Sweden, and Denmark. This route is full of foreign merchants who travel in long caravans. . . Previously at the Tavan ford on the Dnieper a toll was collected, but now they collect one in Kiev. In Kiev there is such a great quantity of costly silk clothing, precious stones, beaver and other costly furs that I myself was able to see silk being sold cheaper than flax was in Vilno, and pepper cheaper than salt. . . On the Dnieper there live many people, there are many cities and villages. The inhabitants are known for their valor and skill. . ."

The richness of the Ukrainian land is pictured in like manner by a French traveller, BLAISE DE VIGENERE, an archeologist and scientist, in his book *La description du Royaume de Pologne* (Paris, 1573). He describes what is known as Western Ukraine, to which he refers as "states of the Polish Kingdom." The book

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is illustrated with a picture of an aurochs and a hunt for bison. Although the author deals in the main with the history of the neighboring countries, he provides ample material on the geography, ethnography and production of Ukraine. He is especially impressed with the wealth of Ukraine:

“They say that the land of this country (Podolia) is so good and fertile that if one leaves his plow in the field, the grass grows so fast around it that after two or three days the plow can hardly be found. The country, overflowing with honey and wax, could raise a great quantity of cattle, if the opportunity were given to do so.” What the author had in mind here were the frequent incursions of the Tartars which prevented the country’s normal economic development.

About Galicia, Volhynia and Podolia, Blaise de Vigenère writes that these provinces are inhabited by one people, whose “language, life and customs are almost identical.” He adds that the fauna of the right-bank Dnieper Ukraine, Volhynia and Galicia include aurochs, bison and moose. The aurochs were on the borders of Mazovia and Lithuania, where even at that time special enclosures were put up for the protection of these animals.

“The bison is a species of wild bull, but far bigger than a domesticated bull, and of all animals smaller only than the elephant. His hair is black, with the exception of a white streak along the spine . . . Aurochs sometimes mate with domesticated cows, but in such event they are thenceforth shunned by the herd; they are chased away and sometimes even killed. . . The meat of the bisons is no worse than ordinary beef, but its skin is at a premium, especially for manufacturing belts.”

CHAPTER THREE

THE RISE OF THE ZAPOROZHIAN SICH

THE sixteenth century saw the rise of the *Zaporozhian Sich*. While in Western Europe armed and fearless seadogs were crossing the Atlantic and reaching the shores of North and South America, in Ukraine the same zeal for the Faith and for freedom caught up the Ukrainian people and started a new political movement. Desirous of forming their own state, thousands of Ukrainians formed an armed camp on the Dnieper River, the *Zaporozhian Sich*. In their courage and bravery they rivaled the early rulers of Kiev, and they began a new and dynamic period in the history of Ukraine. In a few years they became an object of terror and concern to all of their neighbors, Poles, Muscovites, Turks, Tartars or whoever else attempted to restrain their exuberance and reduce them to the status of serfs.

Small wonder, then, that the strong and inspiring nature of the Zaporozhian Host, its truly democratic system of government and the devotion of its members to the interest of their people—all evoked considerable interest and comment in Western Europe. The struggle of the Kozak Host against the Polish rule and the Tartars for equality and national emancipation, based on justice and freedom, attracted many foreign travellers to Ukraine who, upon returning to their respective countries, made some remarkable comments about the Free Ukraine and its armed might, the Zaporozhian Host.

It must be added that at that time, as now, enemy propaganda stopped at nothing to persuade the world that the Ukrainian Kozaks were common outlaws fighting for loot rather than for national ideals. But the reports of the Western European travellers who visited Ukraine were far more accurate and unbiased.

For instance, GAMBERINI, an Italian traveller who in 1584 visited Ukraine, wrote:

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"From among the Kozaks one could organize 14,000 to 15,000 well-armed troops, desirous more of glory than of loot, troops that would be ready for any danger. Their arms consist of swords and muskets, of which they have a great abundance. They are good in warring on foot and on horseback. . . they are also dexterous on the sea. They have all kinds of boats in which they make extensive raids against the Black Sea shores."

L. MUELLER, DUKE OF KURLAND, in his *Memoirs*, published in Leipzig in 1585, touches on the reign of the Polish King Stefan Batory and also gives very important data on the arrest and execution by the Poles of Ivan Pidkova, a Ukrainian Kozak leader:

"Pidkova was an outstanding man, gifted with unusual physical strength. He could bend a new and unused horseshoe like a stick. This Pidkova, elected by the frontier Kozaks (on the border between Moldavia and Wallachia) as their leader (*Het-man*), mercilessly attacked the Turks. But the King of Poland (who was on good terms with Turkey) had some apparently good friends write a letter to Pidkova asking him to come to a designated place for a talk, with the king's promise of protecting his honor and faith. Pidkova, being an open man, believed this and went to his good friends, who thereupon told him to leave his Kozaks and to report to his royal highness, assuring him that not a hair of his head would be harmed. . ."

But the Polish king broke his word, arrested and executed Pidkova in order to placate the Turkish emperor.

The same author wrote of Kiev:

"The city of Kiev in ancient times must have been a beautiful and great city. It is evident from the ancient walls which gird it over eight miles, and from its great and illustrious churches. In those churches there are beautiful and splendid underground cellars. . . mighty stone columns like monoliths. . . It is quite clear from this what a wonderful city Kiev must have been in the past."

He comments on the unused wealth of the steppes on the Black Sea shore: "The grass there grows so high and dense that one cannot ride there with a wagon; the grass entangles the

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spokes of the wheels and stops the wagon. In the wood of the trees there is a profusion of bees."

ERICH LASSOTA VON STEBLAU, the Legate of the Emperor Rudolph II to the Ukrainian Kozaks, spent an entire month in the summer of 1594 at the Zaporozhian *Sich*. He made a very comprehensive report not only on the *Sich* but on the several Ukrainian towns through which he passed. Of his stop at Lviv, he wrote:

"Lviv is the capital of Red Ruthenia (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: it is above all in the hands of Armenians who have settled here and who have a beautiful church, in which mass is celebrated according to their habits and rite."

Of Kamyanets in Podolia the author writes: "The city also has an episcopal cathedral, is the seat of a governor, a garrison and a county administration, and is located in a place strongly fortified by nature itself, and no other city in Poland can be compared with it; it has a castle, which is connected with the city by a high bridge."

Another Ukrainian town Lassota describes is Pryluky:

"Pryluky, a great and new fortified city with a castle; it has four thousand houses 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 field 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."

Of Kiev, Lassota states that it is "a glorious capital and an independent principality. . . It is huge and well fortified, and in the past possessed a great number of beautiful churches and buildings, both public and private. . . Especially famous is the

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St. Sophia Cathedral, which is unequalled in greatness and which was built by Emperor Volodymyr with the St. Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople as a model. Although the cathedral has been preserved, it is now in a state of sorry neglect. The upper ceilings, particularly in the middle, are decorated with mosaics, while the floor is made up of beautiful colored stones; there is a gallery or choir loft, the railing of which between columns is made up of undivided discs of sculptured azure stones. From the choir loft a series of spiral steps lead into a turret, where Volodymyr, according to what has been passed down from generation to generation, was in the habit of calling his *rada*; this light and clear place even now is referred to as the 'capital of Volodymyr.'

"Attention should also be drawn to the ruins of the beautiful gates, which even now are called 'Golden' by some, and 'Iron' by others; they were beautiful and artistic structures, if one is to judge by their remains."

Of St. Michael's Church in Kiev, the author writes: "It is a splendid structure, in the middle of which there is a round cupola, with a golden roof; it is decorated inside with mosaics, while the floor is made up of small colored stones."

His reports on the Zaporozhian *Sich*, make it clear that the Kozak officers were well acquainted with all the subtleties of diplomatic relations and etiquette, and often surprised Lassota by their breeding and education.

Lassota thus describes his arrival at the Zaporozhian *Sich*, which then was located on the island of Bazavluk in the Dnieper, where the Zaporozhian officers greeted him with an honor guard and the firing of cannons:

"Early in the morning (June 19) the leader of the Zaporozhians (Hetman Bohdan Mykoshynsky) in the company of a few officers paid us a visit; later on he gave us a reception. After dinner they heard the Muscovite legate. . . But before they received him, their leader sent us word that the audience to be given to the Muscovite legate was not to create any misunderstanding, because they knew only too well that his imperial highness stood above all other European kings, and his legates accordingly

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were to be heard first. But they anticipated and in fact were virtually positive that the Muscovite wanted to express his views as to the recruitment of military forces; therefore, it was considered advisable to hear him first."

During the talks of Lassota with the Zaporozhian officers, the latter complained that it was "difficult for them to rely on the Moldavians, by nature a people unstable and treacherous, whose infidelity was well known to the Kozaks." In addition, the "Kozaks said that they were not in the habit of rendering their services or moving into military campaigns when conditions were uncertain, and therefore desired that I make a treaty with them in the name of the Emperor."

Apparently, Lassota came to enlist the Kozaks into the service of the Emperor against the Turks. He writes that the Kozaks unmasked Casimir Chlopicki, a Polish agent, who tried to represent himself as a "former Kozak hetman." He allegedly was an intermediary between the Emperor and the Kozaks, but in reality, writes Lassota, "being an impostor he caused serious misunderstandings."

With respect to the Muscovite legate, Lassota writes that even before he came to the Zaporozhian *Sich* he met the Muscovite at the mouth of the Psiol River, at which time the Muscovite told Lassota that the Muscovite prince already had the Kozaks in his service, but that he (the legate) "would further consolidate relations with the Kozaks through honors and gifts."

This deceitful role of the Muscovite legate was soon unmasked when it became evident that he had come to the Zaporozhian *Sich* as a bargainer and observer rather than as a protector.

Lassota calls the Zaporozhians "brave and enterprising people, who from an early age are trained in the military art and who have thoroughly come to know the enemy—the Turks and Tartars. They have their own artillery and many of them know how to handle this weapon, so that they do not need to hire and support special artillerymen (the general custom of the day). Their officers, satisfied with the regular pay, do not seek more."

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Lassota draws some interesting conclusions as to the role of the Zaporozhian Kozaks:

"Because of the fact that the internal affairs of Poland, as it appears, threaten to erupt into a rebellion, therefore we consider it of the utmost importance to underscore the friendliness of this brotherhood (the Zaporozhian Kozaks), who not only enjoy immense influence in Ukraine (Volhynia and Podolia), but toward whom all Poland looks."

He says of his departure from the Zaporozhian *Sich*:

"On July 1 I said good-by to the officers and their leader and to all the Zaporozhian knights; they for their part thanked me for my labors and presented me with marten furs and a hat made of beautiful foxes; they also gave me and their legates (Captains Sasko Fedorovich and Nichipor) letters to the Emperor and credentials." There was music and cannon salvos in honor of the departing legate.

Of his return to Regensburg in Bavaria, Lassota writes:

"I and the Kozaks (the Zaporozhian legates who came with him from Ukraine) were cordially received in the presence of privy secret counsellors at an audience granted by the Emperor, during which the Kozaks gave the Emperor two Turkish flags (which they had captured in a battle with the Turks)."

Later on, Lassota and the Kozak legates departed for Vienna to visit the headquarters of the supreme commander of the Emperor's forces. Unfortunately, Lassota discontinued his memoirs at this point.

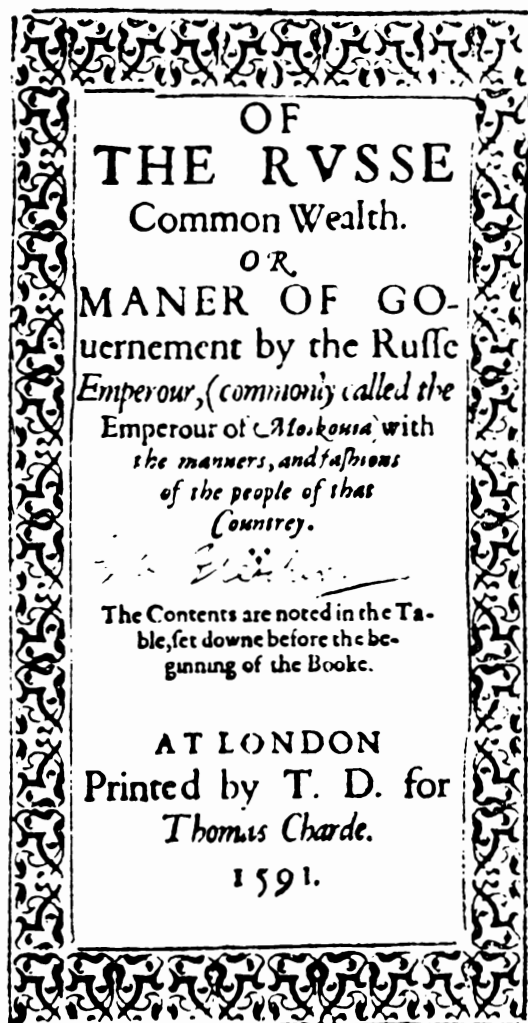
In so far as the Polish historiographical sources are concerned, they present the Ukrainian military forces and the Zaporozhian *Sich* negatively. But even among the Poles there were some observers who depicted the Ukrainian military organization in its true light. To such certainly belongs the Polish writer BARTOSZ PAPROCKI, who published a book, *Panosza*, in 1572 in Cracow. Knowing only too well the prejudices entertained by the Poles with respect to the Ukrainians, Paprocki writes:

"Do not think that I am flattering the Rus (Ruthenians or Ukrainians). I lived but a short time among them and have not

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as yet conspired with them; but I have recognized their glorious deeds and am certain that their glory will not die but will go down into posterity. Like brave lions, they defend all Christianity. Almost yearly these serious people hunt down the Tartars, being not afraid of military adventures. . . . Almost every one could be called Hector. . . . You yourself should contribute to the Ruthenians from your wealth in recognition of the fact that only because of them (Ruthenians) do you live in peace. Show your worth by commemorating the deeds which are continually being performed by these, one might say, holy people. Who in our time could in anything ever surpass a Ruthenian? Send him as a legate, he will perform his tasks better than you could show him. You should seek among the Ruthenians both the *Hetman* (general) and good soldier. . . . Because your spoiled brat becomes a man here (Ukraine). He does not play pranks on the street, he disturbs no one.

“Your spoiled brat becomes the soldier; your gentleman-son becomes (in the Zaporozhian *Sich*) the captain and the brave knight. . . . Please heed me: It is not proper for a wise man to enrich himself with things which belong to others, nor is it manly for a rich man to deride those who are poor. Among the Podolians (Ukrainians in Podolia) 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 a glory far more precious than clothes. The fame of the people (Ukrainian) is spreading over the world, and it will stay with them eternally, although Poland may die. What Hercules did, none could do, not even the terrestrial gods; yet every Ruthenian 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 (Ukrainian Kozaks) hurl themselves off the precipice of war, forgetting all else, and if they attain victory, we all shall be covered with glory. Be grateful for the glory they (Ukrainians) bring you, although



3. The title page of the book by G. Fletcher on *Moscovia*, London, 1591.

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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.”

One of the most important works of the XVIth century dealing with Eastern Europe, and especially with Muscovy is the book by GILES FLETCHER, entitled: *Of the Russe Common Wealth, or manner of government by the Russe Emperour, (commonly called the Emperour of Moscovia) the manners, and fashions of the people of that countrey*, London 1591.

No author or political man who wants to know the background and conditions in Eastern Europe and its policies can afford to miss this book by Giles Fletcher, for its careful analysis of the Moscow government in the XVIth century throws much light on the present regime in the Kremlin.

Born in Kent, England, Giles Fletcher attended the University of Cambridge, where he received the degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence. In 1588 Queen Elizabeth appointed him minister to Moscow to a “friendly union and renovation of trade relations between England and Moscovia.” Fletcher spent the years 1588-89 in Moscow, and upon his return to London in 1591 wrote his remarkable book.

Before we cite from this book, it is worthwhile to mention the curious and significant events that accompanied its appearance. When it was published in 1591, the Muscovite government, through the English merchants who were at that time in Moscow, requested Minister William Cecil (1520-1598) to prohibit the sale of the book on the London markets and have the whole edition burned. This may account for the disappearance of virtually the entire first edition (the only known copies are now in the British Museum in London and the New York Public Library).

Subsequent editions of the book did appear in the English language in 1643 and 1656. The first attempt to publish Fletcher's book in the Russian language resulted in a great cultural scandal. The translation was prepared by O. Bodyansky, a well-known Ukrainian scientist and a professor at Moscow Univer-

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sity, and published in the *Memoirs of the Imperial Society of History and Russian Antiquities (Chleniya Imperatorskoho Obshchestva istorii i drevnostey rossiyskikh)* in 1848, where O. Bodyansky was general secretary. Despite the fact that the book passed the official censorship, its sale and circulation were prohibited by the Imperial Minister of Education two hours after its publication. Even those copies which had been sent to members of the Scientific Society were confiscated. Professor Bodyansky himself was suspended and sent to a provincial university in Kazan. The issuance of Fletcher's book in the Russian language was possible only after the revolution of 1905, when the Bodyansky translation was used.

Giles Fletcher proved to be an author with highly developed powers of observation and a capacity for seeing through the whole system of government of the Muscovite tsars and princes and the habits and customs of the Muscovite people as a whole. Significantly, Fletcher's book received the recognition and approval of even some Russian historians.

In the preface to the book, dedicated to the English Queen, Fletcher writes:

"My meaning was to note things for mine owne experience, of more importance than delight, and rather true than strange. In their manner of government, your Highness may see both a true and strange face of a tyrannical state, (most unlike to your own) without true knowledge of God, without written Lawe, without common iustice. . ." (The work of Fletcher was reprinted in the original spelling in *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, (ed. by Edward A. Bond, London, Hakluyt Society, No. 20, 1856).

In Chapter 7, "The state or forme of their Government," we read:

"The state and forme of their government (Moscovia) is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open and barbarous manner: as may appear by the *Sophismata* or secretes of their government afterwards set downe as well for the keeping of the nobilitie and commons in an under

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proportion, and far uneven balance in their severall degrees, as also in their impositions and exactions, wherein they exceede all just measure without any regard of nobilitie or people . . . both nobilitie and commons are but storers for the prince, all running in the ende into the Emperours coffers: as may appear by the practice of enriching his treasure, and the manner of exactions set downe in the title of his customes and revenues. . .

“To shewe his Soveraintie over the lives of his subjects, the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich, in his walkes or progresses, if hee had misliked the face or person of any man whom hee met by the way, or that looked upon him, would command his head to be strook off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.”

In Chapter XII of the emperours customers and other revenue, he writes:

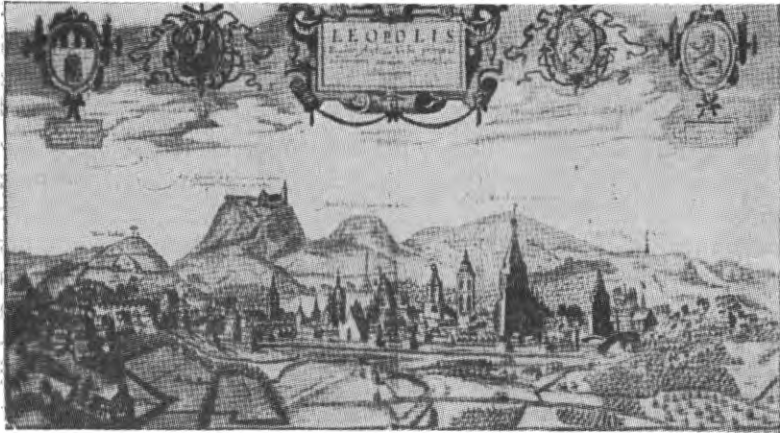
“Means used to draw the wealth of the land into the emperours treasure: To prevent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoever, done upon the commons by their dukes, diaks, or other officers in their provinces: but to suffer them to go on till their time bee expired, and to sucke themselves ful. Then to cal them to the *pravezh* (or whippe) for their behaviour, and to beate out of them all, or the most part of the bootie, (as the honie from the bee), which they haue wrung from the commons, and to turne it into the emperours treasure, but never any thing backe againe to the right owners, how great or evident soever the injurie be. To this ende the needy dukes and diaks that are sent into their provinces, serve the turne very well, being chaunged so often (to wit) once a yeare, where in respect of their owne and the qualitie of the people (as before was said) they might be continued for some longer time, without all feare of innovation. For comming still fresh upon the commons, they sucke more egerly: like Tiberius the emperours flies, that came newe still upon all olde sore; to whome hee was wont to compare his praetors, and other provinciall officers.

“To make of these officers (that have robbed their people) sometimes a publike example, if any be more notorius then the

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rest: that the emperour may seem to mislike the oppressions done to his people, and transferre the fault to his ill officers.

“As, among divers other, was done by the late emperour Ivan Vasilowich to a diack in one of his provinces: that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a goose ready drest



4. The City of Lviv. Engraving of the publication *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Koeln, 1617.

full of money. The man was brought to the market place in Mosko. The emperour himselfe present made an oration. ‘These, good people, are they that would eate you up like bread,’ etc. Then asked hee his *polachies* or executioners who could cut up a goose, and commaunded one of them first to cut off his legges about the middes of the shinne, then his armes above his elbowes (asking him still if goose fleshe were good meate), in the ende to choppe off his head: that he might have the right fashion of a goose readie dressed. This might seeme to have beene a tolerable piece of justice (as justice goeth in Russia) except his subtil end to cover his owne oppressions.”

Stating that the Muscovite people are in a state of complete slavery, Giles Fletcher writes:

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"Wherein they name and subscribe themselves *kolophey* that is, their villaines or bondslaves: as they of the Nobilitie doo unto the Emperour. This may truly be saide of them, that there is no servant nor bondslave more awed by his maister, nor kept downe in a more servile subjection, then the poore people are, and that universally, not only by the emperour, but by his nobilitie, cheif officers, and souldiers. So that when a poore *mousick* meeteth with any of them upon the high way, he must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall down with knocking of his head to the very ground as he doth unto his Idoll. . .

"For this purpose also they are kept from traueling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other countries abroad. You shall seldome see a Russe a traveller, except he be with some ambassadour, or that he make a scape out of his countrie. Which hardly he can doo, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death if he be taken, and all his goods confiscate."

Following the Muscovite terminology, Giles Fletcher refers to the Ukrainians as "Chircasses." Mentioning that south of Muscovy there live various Tartar hordes and other uncivilized peoples, he writes:

"Except the Chircasses that border Southwest, towards Lithuania, and are farre more civil than the rest of the Tartars; of a comely person and of a stately behaviour."

Other English sources describing Moscovia make references to Ukraine and its inhabitants, the "Chircasses."

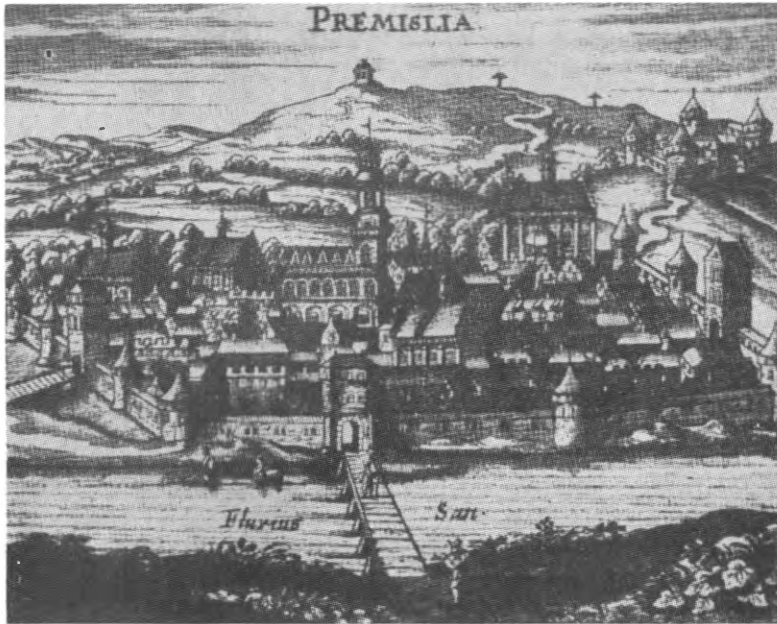
For instance, Sir JEROME HORSEY in his book, *The Voyages of Master Jerome Horsey ouer Land from Mosco* (1584), writes under date June 10, 1584 of the hired soldiers in Muscovia:

"Not long after 1,200 Polish gentlemen, valiant souldiors, and proper men came to Mosco offering their service to the Emperour, who were all entertained: and in like sort *Chirkasses* (Ukrainians), and people of other nations, came and offered service."

Another English book, *The Voyage of Master HENRY AUSTEL*

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*by Venice and Thence to Ragusa ouer Land, and to Constanti-
nople: and from thence by Moldauia, Polonia, Silezia and Ger-
manie to Hamburg* (1586), contains some references to Ukrain-
ian towns and rivers:



5. The City of Peremyshl. Dutch engraving of 1659.

“The 19 (October 1586) we came to Zotschen, which is the last town of Bogdania upon the river of Neister (Dniester), that parteth the said country from Podolia.

“The 20. we passed the river of Dniester and came to Camyanetz in the country of Podolia subject to the king of Poland; this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that can be seen.

“The 21. we came to Skala. The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow (Zolochene, Zolochiv).

“The 24. to Leopolis (Lviv) which is in Russia alba, and so is the most part of the country betwixt Camyanetz and it.

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And it is a towne very well built, well gouverned, full of trafique and plentiful: and there we stayed five dayes."

P. PETERSON, a Swede who was in Moscow in 1608 and wrote a history in Swedish of the rebellion of Dimitri the Impostor, underscores the important role played by the Ukrainian Kozaks who opposed Moscow and its interference in the internal life of the neighboring countries. He writes that Dimitri crossed the borders of Moscovia with the help of the Ukrainian Kozaks under the leadership of Korela, (who captured the fortress of Chernihiv), and describes him as a "magician who through his miracles helped Dimitri" to ascend the throne in Moscow.

The first newspapers that appeared in the first half of the XVIth century contained general remarks about Ukraine and the Ukrainian Kozaks. These news items were, of course, fragmentary and based on second-hand information.

For instance, in the first issue of the official French weekly, *Gazette de France*, which appeared in the first days of May, 1631, and on September 14, 1638, the following was printed:

"The position of Turkey has deteriorated because the Kozaks on their boats entered the Black Sea, trying to reach Constantinople. On their way they destroyed Mizena and other cities which belong to the Sultan."

In issue No. 81 of the same newspaper there is a report of 4,000 Ukrainian Kozak horsemen who, under the command of Taraska, fought on the side of the Emperor against the French troops under the command of General De Suasson in Luxembourg. The report says that under the pressure of the Ukrainian Kozaks the French troops were scattered and fled in panic across the river.

"The Kozaks rose against the Pol. King, and are willing to make a truce under the following conditions: a) they demand freedom of religion with all the rights and privileges which were abrogated by the Warsaw *Sejm*; b) that the Polish army may enter Ukraine only in a case of extreme danger and that they themselves will protect their frontiers; c) that the registration of 6,000 Kozaks be abolished. (These Kozaks were under the command of Polish officers.)"

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION OF UKRAINE BY SIEUR de BEAUPLAN

AMONG these descriptions and references to Ukraine first place must be given to the indefatigable French scientist, engineer and author, GUILLAUME LE VASSEUR DE BEAUPLAN.

He was the first scholar of the post-Renaissance Europe to regard Ukraine as an independent geographical and political unit, which possessed its own individual, natural, economic and cultural characteristics. His outstanding *Description d'Ukraine* may be called the first Ukrainian geography. His maps of Ukraine were models for western European cartography until the beginning of the XVIIIth century. Finally, it was de Beauplan who made the Ukrainian liberation struggle of the XVIIth century and the name of Ukraine known in the Western World.

Unfortunately, little is known of de Beauplan's life. He was born in Normandy about 1600 and received his engineering education in the schools of France. It was in France also that he began his career as a military engineer.

In 1630 he was invited to Poland, where he joined the Polish army as a specialist in the construction of forts. In this capacity, he was dispatched to Ukraine, where he served with the Polish troops from 1630 to 1647.

During his seventeen years in Ukraine, de Beauplan continually worked on the surveying of the country and studied its geography in all its aspects. In spite of the fact that he served in the Polish army and more than once took part in battles with the Kozaks, he maintained close relations with the Ukrainian population and its armed forces, the Kozaks. As a result, he came to sympathize with their struggle for liberation and freedom.

De Beauplan's work on the cartography of Ukraine is copious and significant. He left ten maps of Ukraine: the "Large General

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Map" (1648); the "Small General Map" (1650); the "Map of Ukraine with her Neighboring Countries" (1660), six maps of separate parts of Ukraine, consisting of the provinces of Kiev, Podolia, Bratslav, Pokuttya and Volhynia, a detailed map of the Dnieper Rapids, and a special map of Ukraine of 1650, entitled, *Delineatio specialis et accurata Ukrainae*.

De Beauplan's "General Map of Ukraine" bears the title: *Delineatio Generalis Camporum Desertorum vulgo Ukraina cum adjacentibus provincilis*. On this map de Beauplan includes within the boundaries of Ukraine the districts of Chernihiv, Poltava, Zaporozhyya, Kherson (without the Tartar Ochakiv), Kiev, Podolia, Pokuttya and Galicia, with the city of Lviv. The map therefore takes in all the Ukrainian lands from "the boundaries of Muscovy to the borders of Transylvania," as he himself emphasized.

On some of the maps there is a scale of the Ukrainian, Polish and French miles and the Muscovite *versty*. The workmanship and decoration of the maps are extraordinarily careful and artistic. They are adorned with typical Ukrainian figures, groups of Ukrainian soldiers and officers, fauna and flora, and the like.

As mentioned above, his maps of Ukraine were the models for all other maps of Ukraine, printed in the second half of the XVIIth century, and even well into the XVIIIth century. All the later changes in these maps concerned only topographical details and names, and did not affect the general appearance of the territory as a whole.

On these maps the name of Ukraine is given in several forms: *Ukrania*, *Ucrainia*, *Ukran*, *Ukraina*, *Ucraine*. In addition, very often the title *Ukraine ou Pays de Cosaques*, or some similar description, is found in other languages; in a few cases there is also the designation *The Zaporozia Lands* (Morden, Paris, 1700).

De Beauplan's basic work, *Description d'Ukraine*, is extraordinary in every respect. It was first published in French in Rouen in 1650 (according to some other historians, in 1649), and was reprinted three times, in 1651, 1660 and 1661. Its success was underscored shortly thereafter by its appearance in Latin,



6. The general map of Ukraine by Beauplan of 1648: *Delineatio Generalis Camporum Desertorum vulgo Ukraina cum adjacentibus provinciis...*

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English and German versions. It was published also in the Polish and Russian languages in the XIXth century. The Ukrainian translation appeared comparatively late, due to the tsarist ban on the printing of Ukrainian books.

It is characteristic of the Russian government that it took all possible precautions to prevent the popularization of the *Description d'Ukraine* in Ukraine itself. When at last under the pressure of the scientific world the Russian government permitted the printing of the translations by W. Lyanskoronsky, de Beauplan's original title of *Ukraine* was changed to *Yuzhnaya Rossiya* (South Russia). It was printed in Kiev in 1901.

The *Description d'Ukraine* is extremely rich in material on the geography, history and ethnography of the land and the nation. It contains a wealth of information on the folk life, customs, social organization and the military grades of the Kozaks; also on the flora, fauna and climate, and on the crafts, industry and trade. The book contains various illustrations: a map of Ukraine, a plan of a Kozak encampment, Kozaks fording a river, and a Kozak boat.

In the preface to the third edition of the book, the editor gave some interesting details about other illustrations which were to have been printed in the book and which "represented the inhabitants, animals, plants, and other important and unusual articles of Ukraine." But after the death of the engraver Hondius (circa 1651), they were bought by the Polish King and never seen again. The greater part of the book is dedicated to the description of the organization and life of the Ukrainian army, its tactics, military ability and armament.

A full translation of de Beauplan's *Description d'Ukraine* into English appeared in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, by A. and J. Churchill, London 1744, Vol. I, p. 446-486.

The text of this first English translation is used here although it contains many archaisms and old grammatical forms. The full text of the title of the book reads: *A Description of Ukraine, containing several Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, Lying between the Confines of Muscovy, and the Borders of Tran-*

Description of Ukraine by Beauplan



7. Ukrainian Kozak officers. Engraving on the map of Beauplan.

sylvania. Together with their Customs, Manner of Life, and how they manage their Wars. Written in French by the Sieur De Beauplan.

In the preface to the book, we read:

“The Sieur De Beauplan, author of this small account, had a long time to make himself perfect in it, having served as he tells us, seventeen years in the Ukraine as ingineer to the king of Poland...He describes their persons, particularises much upon their manner of making war, which was his profession, sets down to a tittle the manner of the Cossacks making their irruptions into Turkey and Tartary by way of the Black Sea, describes the country, and particularly the river Borysthènes (Dnieper), with that exactness, as may be expected from a

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mathematician who had viewed all those parts, and made special observations, not only for his own curiosity, but to fulfil the Duty of his Imployment, which was to erect forts, and even build towns in convenient places. . . .”

The book contains “A Map of Europe” by R. W. Seale. On this map, the name *Ukrain* is printed along the Dnieper River, while the eastern part of Ukraine, between the rivers Dnieper and Don, is marked *Cosacks*. The Muscovite territory is called *Russia or Muscovy in Europe*.

A Description of Ukraine by de Beauplan begins with a description of Kiev, capital of Ukraine:

“Kiow, otherwise called Kiovia, was one of the ancientest cities in Europe, as may be seen still by the remains there of antiquity: as for instance, the height and breadth of its ramparts, the depth of its ditches, the ruins of churches, the old tombs of several kings found within them. Of the churches, only two remain as a memorial, which are those of *S. Sophia* and *S. Michael*; for of all the rest there is nothing left but ruins, as of that of *S. Basil*, whose walls are yet standing five or six foot high, with *Greek* inscription on them of above fourteen hundred years standing upon alabaster stones, but now almost worn out with age. Among the ruins of those churches are to be seen the tombs of several princes.

“The churches of *S. Sophia* and *S. Michael* have been rebuilt after the ancient manner. That of *S. Sophia* makes a fine front, and looks graceful on every side, for the walls are adorn’d with several histories and Mosaick figures: which work is made of very small bits of several colours, shining like glass; and so well put together, that it is hard to discern whether it is painting or tapestry: the arch is made only with earthen pots fill’d and plaister’d all about. In this church are the tombs of several kings; and the *Archimandrita* or chief of all the monks resides there. *S. Michael*’s church is called the Golden Roof, because it is cover’d with gilt plates. The body of *S. Barbara* is shewn there, said to be brought thither during the wars of *Nicomedia*.

Description of Ukraine by Beauplan

"This antient city is seated on a plain that is at the top of a hill, which commands all the country on the one side, and the *Borysthenes* (Dnieper) on the other, that river running along the foot of the hill; between which and the water stands *New Kiow*, a town at present but little inhabited, there being not above five or six thousand people in it. It is about four miles in length along the *Borysthenes*, and three miles in breadth from the *Borysthenes* to the hill, being inclosed with a scurvy ditch twenty five foot wide. Its shape is triangular, encompassed with a wooden wall, and towers of the same materials. The castle stands on the ridge of a hill commanding the lower town, but commanded by Old Kiow."

In telling about the ten churches of the "Greek rite," the author continues:

"One of which is near the townhall, where is an University or Academy, call'd by them *Bracka (Bratska) Cerkuils*."

The author had in mind the famed Kiev Academy which had long remained a center of Ukrainian cultural and religious life. About the Ukrainians and their army, the author writes:

"...Brave people, known at present by the name of Zaporousky Cossacks, spread of late years into so many places along the *Borysthenes*, and the neighbouring parts, whose number at present amounts to 120,000 disciplin'd men, and ready in less than eight days upon the least command they receive from the king, these are the people, who very often, and almost every year, make excursions upon the *Euxine Sea* (Black Sea), to the great detriment of the *Turks*. They have several times plunder'd the Crim Tartary, ravag'd *Anatolia*, sack'd *Trebisond* (Trabzon), and run to the mouth of the Black Sea, within three leagues of *Constantinople*, where they have put all to fire and sword, and then returned home with a rich booty, and some slaves, which are generally young children, whom they breed up to serve them, or present them to some lord of their country; for they keep none that are grown up, unless they think them rich enough to pay a good ransom. They are never more than between six and ten thousand men when they make their ravages, and cross the sea

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miraculously in pitiful boats they make themselves, and of whose shape and structure I shall speak hereafter.

“Having mentioned the bravery of the *Cossacks*, it will not be amiss to give an account of their manners and employment. It is therefore to be understood, that among those people in general there are men expert in all sorts of trades necessary for human life, as house and ship-carpenters, cartrights, smiths, armourers, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, coopers, tailors. They are very expert at preparing of salt-peter, whereof there is great plenty in those parts, and make excellent cannon-powder. The women spin flax and wool, whereof they make cloth and stuffs for their own use. They all understand tilling, sowing, reaping, making of bread, dressing of meat, brewing of beer, making of *hydromel*, *breha*, *aqua vitae*, etc. There is no body among them, of what age, sex, or condition soever, that does not strive to outdo another in drinking, and carousing effectually; and no Christians trouble themselves less for t'morrow than they do.

“There is no doubt but all of them in general are capable of all arts; yet some are more expert than others in certain professions, and others there are more universally knowing than the common sort. In short, they are all ingenious enough, but they go no further than what is necessary, and profitable, particularly in country affairs.

“The land is so fruitful, it often produces such plenty of corn, they know not what to do with it, because they have no navigable rivers that fall into the sea, except the *Borysthenes*, which is not navigable fifty leagues below *Kiow* or *Kiovia*, by reason of thirteen falls on it, the last of which is seven leagues distant from the first, which makes a good day's journey, as may be seen in the map.

“This is that hinders them carrying their corn to *Constantinople*; and is the cause of their sloth, and that they will not work but just when necessity obliges them, and that they have not wherewithal to buy what they stand in need of, chusing rather to borrow of the *Turks*, their good neighbours, than to take pains to earn it. So they have meat and drink, they are satisfied.



8. Middle stream of the Dnieper River on the map of Beauplan.

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“They are of the Greek church, which in their language they call *Rus*; have a great veneration for festivals, and fasting days, which take up to eight or nine months of the year, and consist in abstaining from flesh. They are so positive in this formality, that they believe their salvation depends on this distinction of meats: and I believe there is no nation in the world like this for liberty in drinking; for no sooner is one drunken fit off, but they take a hair of the same dog. But this is to be understood when they are at leisure; for whilst they are in war, or projecting some enterprise, they are extraordinarily sober. Nothing belonging to them is so coarse as their habit, for they are subtile and crafty, ingenious and free-hearted, without any design or thought of growing rich; but are great lovers of their liberty, without which they do not desire to live; and for this reason it is, they are so subject to revolt (against Poland) of the country, when they see themselves crush’d, so that they are scarcely seven or eight years without mutinying against them.

“They are of a strong constitution, able to endure heat and cold, hunger and thirst; indefatigable in war, bold, resolute, or rather rash, not valuing their lives.

“They shew most valour and conduct when they fight in their *tabors* (camps), and covered with their carts (for they are very expert at their fire-arms, their usual weapons) and in defending strong places. At sea they are not bad, nor very good on horseback. I remember I have seen two hundred Polish horses rout two thousand of their best men; true it is, a hundred of these *Cossacks*, under the shelter of their *tabors*, do not fear a thousand *Polanders*, nor as many *Tartars*, and were they as brave on horseback as they are afoot, I should think them invincible. They are well clad, and make it appear when they have been plundering among their neighbours, for otherwise their garments are indifferent enough. Naturally they are very healthy, and free enough even from that distemper peculiar to *Poland*, which the physicians call *blica*; because all the hair of the head is sensible of it, tangles and clots together in a most unaccountable manner; the people of the country call it *gosches*. Few

A
DESCRIPTION
OF
UKRAINE,
Containing Several
PROVINCES
OF THE
Kingdom of Poland,
Lying between the Confines of *Muscovy*,
and the Borders of *Transylvania*.

Together with their Customs, Manner of Life,
and how they manage their Wars.

Written in French by the Sicur DE BEAUPLAN.

Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Bell* in *Parliament* Row.

9. Title page of *A Description of Ukraine* by Beauplan in the English translation of 1744.

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there die of sickness, unless they be of a very great age, most of them dying in the bed of honour, being kill'd in war."

Speaking about the Ukrainian village, which was under the Polish nobility, de Beauplan writes:

"The peasants there are very miserable, being obliged to work three days a week, themselves and their horses, for their lord; and to pay proportionately to the land they hold, such a quantity of wheat, abundance of capons, pullets, hens and goslings; that is at Easter, Whitsontide and Christmas: besides all this, to carry wood for the said lord, and a thousand other jobs they ought not to 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. In short, they are obliged to give their masters what they please to demand; so that it is no wonder those wretches never lay aside anything, being under such hard circumstances. 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 galley-slaves. This slavery makes many of them run away and the boldest of them fly to the *Zaporozhe*, which is the *Cossacks* place of retreat in the *Borysthenes* (Dnieper River), and after having pass'd some time there, and been once at sea, they are reputed *Zaporozhsky Cossacks*; and this sort of desertion much increases the number of their troops. This the present revolt sufficiently testifies; these *Cossacks* after the defeat of the *Polanders*, rising in rebellion to the number of 200,000; who being masters of the field, have possessed themselves of a country above a hundred and twenty leagues in length, and sixty in breadth. I had forgot to observe, that in time of peace, hunting and fishing are the usual employments of the *Cossacks*; and this is what I had to say in general of the manners and customs of these people."

Description of Ukraine by Beauplan

De Beauplan's analysis of the military tactics of the Ukrainian Cossacks is especially noteworthy:

"It remains that we perform what we promised before which is how the *Cossacks* choose their general (*Hetman*), and also how they make their excursions, crossing all the *Black Sea* even to *Anatolia*, to make war upon the *Turks*. Thus it is they choose their general: when all the old colonels and ancient Cossacks, who are in esteem among them, are assembled together, every one gives his vote for the man he thinks fittest for the employment, and the one that has most voices carries it. If he that is chosen will not accept of the place, excusing himself as being incapable of it, or for want of experience, or his great age, that does him no good, for they make no other answer, but that he is not worthy of that honour, and immediately kill him upon the spot as a traitor; and it is they themselves that are treacherous in so doing, which you may remember I said they were when I spoke of their manners and frequent infidelity. If the Cossack elected accepts of the generalship, he thanks the assembly for the honour done him, though unworthy and incapable of that post, yet protests he will use his utmost endeavours to become worthy to serve them either in general or in particular, and that his life shall be always exposed for the service of his brethren (so they call another:) having spoke these words, they all shout, *Vivat, vivat*, ec. Then they go in order to pay their respects to him, and the general gives them his hand, which is the manner of saluting one another among them. This is the manner of choosing their general, which is often done in the desert plains. They are very obedient to him, and in their language he is called *Hetman*. His power is absolute, and he can behead and impale those that are faulty. They are very severe, but do nothing without the council of war, which they call *rada*. The general may fall into disgrace if he have not such conduct when he leads them out to war that no disaster befall them, and if he does not appear brave and politick upon any unexpected or unlucky accidents; for if he commits any act of cowardice, they kill him as a traitor. Immediately they choose another among themselves in

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the usual manner, as was said before. It is a troublesome employment to lead and command them, and unfortunate to him it falls upon; for during seventeen years I served in the country, all that had this post died miserably.

“When they intend to go to sea, it is without the king’s leave, but they take it of their general, and then they hold a *rada*, that is, a council, and choose a general to command them during that expedition, observing the same ceremonies we have mentioned in the election of their great general, but this now chosen is but for a time. Then they march to their *Sczabenisza Worskowa* (Arsenal), that is, their place of rendezvous, and there build boats about sixty foot long, ten or twelve foot wide, and twelve foot deep; these boats have no keel, but are built upon bottoms made of the wood of the willow about forty five foot in length, and raised with planks ten or twelve foot long, and about a foot broad, which they pin or nail one over another, like the common boats upon rivers, till they come to twelve foot in height, and sixty in length, stretching out in length and breadth the higher they go. This will be better understood by the rough draught I have inserted here. You may observe they have great bundles of large reeds put together as thick as a barrel end to end, and reaching the whole length of the vessel, well bound with bands made of lime or cherry tree; they build them as our carpenters do with ribs and cross-pieces, and then pitch them, and have two rudders one at each end, as appears in the draught, because the boats being so very long, they should lose much time in going about when they are forced to fly back.

“They have commonly ten or fifteen oars of a side, and row faster than the *Turkish* gallies: they have also one mast, which carries an ill-shaped sail made use of only in very fair weather, for they had rather row when it blows hard. These vessels have no deck, and when they are full of water, the reeds above-mentioned tied quite round the boat, keep it from sinking. Their bisket is in a tun ten foot long, and four foot diameter, fast bound; and they take out the bisket at the bung. They have also a puncheon or half-tun of boiled millet, and another of dough

Description of Ukraine by Beauplan

dissolved in water, which they eat mixed with the millet, and make great account of it; this serves for meat and drink, and tastes sourish; they call it *salamakha*, that is, a dainty food. For my part, I found no delicacy in it, and when I made use of it upon my voyages, it was for want of better. These people are very sober, and if there be a drunkard found among them, the general causes him to be turned out; therefore they are not permitted to carry any brandy, being very observant of sobriety in their expeditions and enterprizes.

“When they resolve to make war upon the *Tartars* in revenge for the mischiefs received from them, they take their opportunity in autumn. To this purpose they send all necessaries for their voyage and enterprize, and for the building of ships and other uses, to the *Zaporozhe*: then five or six thousand *Cossacks* all good able men well armed take the field, and repair to *Zaporozhe* to build their boats: sixty of them go about a boat, and finish it in a fortnight; for, as has been said, they are of all trades. Thus in three weeks time they make ready eighty or a hundred boats, such as I described above; between fifty and seventy men go aboard each vessel; with each of them two firelocks and a scymitar, carry four or five falconets upon the sides of the vessel, and provisions proper for them. They wear a shirt and drawers, have a shift, a pitiful gown, a cap, six pounds of cannon powder, and ball enough for their small arms and falconets, and every one carries a quadrant. This is the flying army of the *Cossacks* on the *Black Sea*, able to terrify the best towns in *Anatolia*.

“Thus provided, they run down the *Borysthenes* (*Dnieper Riv.*); the admiral carries his distinction upon the mast, and generally has the van, their boats keep so close that the oars almost clash. The *Turk* has commonly notice of their coming, and keeps several gallies ready at the mouth of the *Borysthenes*, where the gallies dare not go, having far’d ill there formerly, and think it enough to wait their coming out, in which they are always surprised: yet the *Cossacks* cannot slip by so swiftly but they are discovered, then all the country takes the alarm, and it runs as far as *Constantinople*. The grand seignior sends ex-

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presses all along the coast of *Anatolia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Romania*, that all people may be upon their guard, giving them notice that the *Cossacks* are at sea. But all this is to no purpose, for they make such use of their time, that in thirty-six or forty hours time they are in *Anatolia*, where they land with every man his firelock, leaving but two men, and two boys to keep each boat: There they surprize towns, take, pillage and burn them, and sometimes go a league up the country, but return immediately, and go aboard with their booty, hasting away to try their fortune in another place. If they find any *Turkish* gallies or other ships, they pursue, attack and make themselves masters of them, which they do in this manner: their boats are not above two foot and a half above water, and they discover a ship or galley before they themselves can be perceived by them. Then they strike their masts, observe how the enemy winds, and endeavour to have the sun upon their backs at night; then an hour before sun-setting they row with all their might towards the ship or galley till they come within a league of it, for fear of losing sight of it, and so continue: Then about midnight (the signal being given) they pull up again amain towards the vessel, half the crew ready to fight, only expecting when they come together to board. Those in the ship or galley are astonished to be attacked by eighty or a hundred vessels, which fill them full of men, and in a moment bear all down; this done, they pillage what they find in silver, or goods of no great bulk, that cannot be spoil'd by the water, as also the brass guns, and what they think can serve them, then sink the vessel and men in it. This is the practice of the *Cossacks*: had they skill to manage a ship or galley, they might carry it away, but they have not that knack. When they are to return home, the guards are doubled upon the mouth of the *Borysthenes*; but tho' weak they laugh at that, for when they have been forced to fight, they have often lost many men, and the sea has swallowed some of their vessels, for they cannot be all so good, but some must fail. Therefore they land in a creek, three or four leagues east of *Oczakow* (*Ochacov*), where there is a valley very low, about a quarter of a league in length, the spring tides sometimes over-

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flowing it half a foot deep, and is about three leagues over to the *Borysthenes*: there two or three hundred *Cossacks* draw their boats across one after another, and in two or three days they are in the *Borysthenes* with their booty. Thus they avoid fighting the gallies that keep the mouth of the river of *Ochacov*. To conclude, they return to their *Karbenicza*, where they share the spoil, as was said before. Besides this, they have another refuge; they return by the mouth of the *Don*, through a strait that lies between *Taman* and *Kerch* and run up the mouth to the river *Mius*, and as far as this river is navigable, from whence to *Taczawoda* is but a league, and *Taczawoda* falls into the *Samara*, which runs into the *Dnieper* a league above *Kodac*, as may be seen in the map. But they rarely return this way, because it is too long for them to return to *Zaporozhe*. Sometimes they go this way out to sea, when there is a great force at the mouth of the *Borysthenes* to obstruct their coming out, or that they have but twenty or twenty-five boats.

“When the gallies meet them at sea in the daytime, they set them hard with their guns, scattering them like so many rooks, sink several, and put them in such a consternation, that those who escape make haste to put in wheresoever they can. But when they fight with the gallies, they do not ply their oars, which are lashed to the side by withs; and when they have fired a musquet, their comrades give them another ready loaden to fire again and thus they ply it without ceasing, and effectually. The gallies are not able to board one of them, but their cannon does them much harm. Upon these occasions they commonly lose two-thirds of their men, and seldom come off with half, but they bring rich booty, as *Spanish* pieces of eight *Arabian* sequines, carpets, cloth of gold, cotton, silks, and other commodities of great value. Thus the *Cossacks* live, and these are their revenues; for as for trades they use none, but drinking and debauching among their friends when they return home.

“To proceed in the performance of what I promised, something must be said of the customs they observe in some of their marriages, and how they make love, which will seem odd and

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incredible to some persons. There, contrary to the practice of all other nations, the maids make love to those young men they take a liking to; and a certain superstition they have among them, and observe punctually, is the cause they seldom miss of their aim, and they are more sure to succeed than the men would be if application were made by them. This is the manner of it.

“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, *Pomagaboz (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 shews you will know how to rule and love your wife, and hoping from your virtue that you will be a good *Dospodorge (Hospodare)*: 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 never depart till she has married him, as long as he and she live. These words being spoken, and the maid persisting, and positively asserting she will not depart the room till she has obtained her desire; after some weeks the father and mother are forced, not only to consent, but also to persuade their son to look favourably upon her, that is, as one that is to be his wife. The youth perceiving the maid fully bent upon loving him, begins to look upon her as one that is in time to be mistress of his inclinations, and therefore intreats his father and mother to give him leave to place his affections upon that maid. And thus amorous maids in that country cannot miss of being soon provided, for by persisting they force the father, mother, and son, to comply with them; and this, as I said above, for fear of incurring God’s wrath, and that some disaster may



10. Map of Ukraine by Sanson, reproduced in Rome in 1678:
Ucraine o Paese de Cossacchi.

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not befall them; for to thrust the maid out would be an affront to all her kindred, who would resent it; and in this case they cannot use violence, without incurring, as I was saying, the indignation and punishment of the church, which is very severe in these affairs, imposing, when such a thing happens, penances and great fines, and declaring the family infamous. Being kept in awe by these superstitions, they, as near as may be, avoid the misfortunes they believe, as firmly as they do their articles of faith, will befall them, by refusing to give their sons to those maids that demand them. And this custom holds only among people of equal rank, for in that country the peasants are all rich alike, and there is but little difference as to their worth.

“Now I will speak of other unequal amours between a peasant and a gentlewoman, allowed by ancient custom and privilege kept up among them.

“It is the custom in all the villages of that country, for all the peasants, with their wives and children, to meet at the usual place of rendezvous, every Sunday and holiday after dinner. The place of rendezvous is the tavern, where they spend the rest of the day a merry making together; but only the men and women drink, while the youth spend their time in dancing to a *douda*, that is, a horn-pipe. The lord of the place is usually there with all his family to see them dance. Sometimes the lord makes them dance before his castle, which is the most usual place; and there he dances himself, with his wife and children. At that time the gentry and peasants mix together, and it is to be observed, that all the villages of *Podolia* and *Ukraine* are for the most part encompassed with underwoods, where there are lurking places for the peasants to retire in summer, when they are alarmed with the coming of the Tartars. These underwoods may be half a league over; and though the peasants are kept under like slaves, nevertheless they have this ancient right and privilege of conveying away, if they can, out of this dancing assembly, a young maiden gentlewoman, though she were their own lord’s daughter, provided he does it so dexterously as to come off well, otherwise he is a lost man, and that he can fly into the neighbouring copses,

Description of Ukraine by Beauplan

where if he can lie hid four and twenty hours, without being discovered, he is cleared of the rape committed; and if the maid he has stole will marry him, he cannot refuse her without losing his head; if not, he is acquitted of the crime, and cannot be punished; but if it happen that he is taken within the twenty-four hours, his head is immediately chopt off, without any form of law. Though I lived there seventeen years, I never heard that this was once done. I have seen the maids make love to the young men, and often succeed, as I said above; but this last practice is too dangerous, for a man must have good heels to carry away a maid by force, and run away with her in sight of a considerable company, without being overtaken; and it would be yet harder, unless the maid was consenting to it; besides that at present the peasants are more kept under than they were formerly, and the nobility is grown more haughty and imperious."

After describing the Ukrainian wedding, de Beauplan continues:

"I must add this one word more upon this subject, concerning the manners of their women, and allow them the honour of being chaste when fasting; but the liberty allowed them of drinking *aqua vitae*, and their liquor made of honey, would render them more easy of access, were it not for fear of publick shame, and the dishonour done to maids if they will marry, as has been shewn above, without having the tokens of their virginity."

In a chapter entitled "Strange Birds," we read:

"There are along this river birds that have such a large neck that within it there is as it were a pond, where they keep live fish, to eat when they have occasion. I have seen some of the same sort in the *Indies*. The other most remarkable birds there, and most numerous, are the cranes, of which there are vast multitudes. As for buffaloes, and other large creatures, they are on the frontiers of Muscovy; as are the white hares and wild cats. There are also in that country, but towards *Wallachia*, sheep with long wool, their tails shorter than usual, but much broader and triangular. The tails of some of them have weighed above ten pounds, generally it is above ten inches broad, and

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more in length ending in a point, all of it excellent fat. The great men of the country have fine horses spotted like leopards, beautiful to behold, which draw their coaches when they go to court.

“The greatest inconvenience in that country of *Ukraine* is the want of salt, and to supply that want they have it brought from *Pocoutya*, a country belonging to Poland, on the frontiers of *Transylvania*, above eighty or a hundred leagues in length, as will appear in the map. In that country all the wells are of salt-water, which they boil, as we do white salt, and make little cakes an inch thick and two inches long, giving three hundred of them for a penny. This salt is very pleasant to eat, but does not salt so much as ours. They make another sort of elder and oak, which is good to eat with bread, they call this salt *Kolomey*.”

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PERIOD OF BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY AND HIS SUCCESSORS

THE rise of the Ukrainian Kozak State caused many repercussions and comments in western Europe. It found its reflection particularly in the memoirs of the numerous travellers, who in great numbers visited Ukraine in that period. The Kozak resurgence, which "even shook the Polish throne," as one French author expressed it, and the great personality of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky himself naturally attracted the attention of neighbors near and far and especially of their diplomats, statesmen and writers. Not only were the foreigners interested in knowing more intimately the Ukrainian land and its political organization, but they endeavored to win the sympathy of the Kozaks and their leaders. As a result, the French, Italians, English, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Dutch and Syrians have left many descriptions and personal memoirs in which Ukraine is mentioned not only favorably but often with enthusiasm and admiration.

Of the various legates and ministers who went to see Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the one who has left the most interesting comments on Ukraine is ALBERTO VIMINA, the Minister of the Venetian Republic, who visited Ukraine in 1650. He writes that the Ukrainian land in the Zaporozhe is so fertile that "not only could it be compared with the most fertile lands of Europe, but it could satisfy the requirements of the most exacting farmer."

Writing about the life of the Kozaks, Vimina comments:

"According to their appearance and manners the Kozaks seem to be simple, but the fact of the matter is that they are not simple and do not lack a keen sense of perception. This can be grasped by their conversation and their method of government."

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He says that the supreme organ of the state is the *Rada* (Council), at which the Hetman is always present. Vimina writes:

"In the *Rada* the Kozaks deliberate various matters, and support their viewpoints without any 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."

Further on Vimina says that the Kozaks do not enjoy full welfare and comfort because all their extra income is spent on liquor; and that generally they do not care about being rich but are satisfied with little, freedom being treasured above all.

Characterizing Hetman 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."

The room of the Hetman was simply furnished in order that the duties of office be kept in mind and to discourage the growth of vanity.

"But the table of the Hetman is not poor with its choice and delectable food and drink celebrated throughout the land: *horilka* (*aqua vitae*), beer, honey. Wine, which is seldom drunk, is served only for outstanding foreigners. As I had occasion to experience myself, at table and at drinking, festivity and humor are not lacking. I could give a few examples of this, but in order to be brief I will mention but one. Once one of my officials boasted of the greatness and marvel of Venice, and the Kozaks drank in his words. After he had talked at length of the position,



11. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky.
Engr. by Hondius, Danzig, 1651.

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structures and wealth of the city and its size, the narrator added that the streets of the city are so wide that the citizens not infrequently are lost in them.

“‘Why, no!’ interrupted one of the Kozaks. ‘Don’t pride yourself on your Venice. I will tell you that the same may happen to me in this crowded room; if I continue to sit a little longer behind this table, I will not be able to find the door to get back home!’ ”

The popularity of Ukraine at this time, even in western Europe, is indicated by the numerous pictures and engravings of a political and satirical nature on Ukraine which were circulated in the western European community.

As an example, we might mention an engraving made in 1650 in the Dutch city of Dellft by an unknown engraver. Entitled *Foreign-European and also French-Dutch Meeting*, the engraving is a political caricature of the helplessness of Christian Europe in the face of Turkey, and shows the unreliability and duplicity of some countries. Beside the figures which symbolize Spain, England, Sweden, France, Germany, Poland and Muscovy, there is a figure of a Kozak, representing Ukraine (No. 9). Under this Kozak is an inscription in Dutch: “My heart inside wants to break,” and in the text under the same number runs the verse:

“The Kozak is extremely angry, his heart wants to break. . .

“With great hatred (toward Turkey) he sharpens his sword

“Ukraine trembles and thunders. . .” [anew. . .

In the same engraving Muscovy is depicted as a conniving power which is trying to instigate and inflame Turkey against Europe (*Ich will das Feuer schueren*).

One of the most vivid descriptions of Ukraine of that time is the *Diary of Travel* by PAUL OF ALEPPO of Syria, who was secretary to the Patriarch Macarius III of Antioch and who travelled through Ukraine in the years 1654 and 1656. (The English translation of Paul of Aleppo’s *Diary* (*The Travels of Macarius*, London 1936, 1946) is shortened and inaccurate. It lacks the most pertinent and interesting references to Ukraine which were



12. The "European Assembly" with the participation of Ukraine (*"Die Ukraine zitternd bebt"*).
A Dutch engraving of 1650, made in the City of Dellft.

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in the original. The chapter on Ukraine is entitled "Little Russia," a name which was given by the London translator, as Paul of Aleppo called Ukraine the "Land of the Kozaks.") He refers to Ukraine as a "beautiful country, teeming with inhabitants and castles, as a ripe apple is full of pits."

Paul of Aleppo first set foot on Ukrainian soil at Rashkiv on the Dniester, and was immediately impressed by the level of Ukrainian culture:

"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. In addition, the priests instruct orphans and do not permit them to roam on the streets. . . In the Kozak Land, in every city and every village there are shelters for the poor and the orphans. Whoever enters there gives them alms, not as in Moldavia or Wallachia, where the poor and orphans wander into churches and disturb people in their prayers." (Part IV, Chap. I.)

Paul of Aleppo also directed his attention to the beautiful buildings in all the cities and towns. He was surprised to find public baths, large clocks on the towers of belfries and water fountains in the public squares.

On June 24 his entourage arrived at Kiev and was lodged in a building which the monks of the Pechersky Monastery (*Lavra*) occupied in that city. Kiev and a hundred other towns were ancient fiefs of this famous monastery. Two days later they visited it. Of this visit Paul of Aleppo wrote:

"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.' And when the Bishop or Archimandrite drives out in his

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coach, they go before and behind on handsome horses, richly clad and armed. In every apartment of these dignitaries, and even in the cells of the priests and monks, there are valuable arms in great numbers. . . . On the 27th we went to visit their Church of the Adoration of the Cross, where are to be found thousands of bodies of holy hermits. We were shown the caves excavated to a great depth into the mountain, and were conducted to the cave wherein had lived Saints Antony and Theodosius. We made our reverences to their heads, which were placed here in separate glass vessels. In Kiev, near the Cathedral of St. Sophia is an excellent printing press, serving for all this country. It publishes all the church books with a surprising print of various forms and colors and also drawings on large sheets of the remarkable objects of the land, ikons of the saints, learned studies, etc. Here we printed, as other patriarchs had done before us, a complete set of Indulgences, with the signature of the Patriarch in red ink and adorned with the picture of St. Peter the Apostle, in three sizes—for the grandees, the common men, and the women. . . .” (Book IV, 16)

Leaving Kiev on July 10th they journeyed through inundations and fogs, deserts and river, to Pryluky, where they were lodged in a large mansion with pleasant balconies overlooking a great lake. But alas! There “was no sleep to be had at this season, for the bugs and gnats were more numerous than the particles (motes) in the air, there being a succession of lakes and pools from one end of this country to the other.”

Paul of Aleppo was immensely impressed by the fact that the population of Ukraine was literate, and that its upper strata were highly educated. He wrote that “among the monastic leaders (in Kiev’s *Pecherska Lavra*) there are highly educated people, orators, who know logic and philosophy and who dwell on deep questions.”

The Kiev women, according to Paul of Aleppo, are beautifully attired and are preoccupied with their own affairs, “and no one on the streets looks upon them with an impudent eye.” (Book IV, 20).

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He paid special attention to Ukrainian architecture. He was greatly interested not only in church architecture, but in the secular buildings and in the defensive forts as well.

"We had occasion to visit the majestic churches...with richly decorated windows which filled our hearts with joy; all have been built since the coming to power of Hetman Zenovy Khmelnytsky."

In all cities and towns he saw "huge, beautiful and splendid" churches. Of St. Sophia he wrote:

"The human mind is incapable of grasping these multicolored mosaics of marble, their unity and the harmonious system of the various parts of the church; its innumerable tall columns, its tall domes, and the vastness of the church itself, which has many porticos and naves."

He declared that the *ikonostas* of St. Sophia "is beautiful and huge; it is new, so immensely big that the spectator cannot stop marveling. No one has talent enough to describe it, so beautiful are its various carvings and gildings." (Book IV, 19).

In reference to his trip through the Ukrainian countryside, he wrote:

"The route through Ukraine led in most part through orchards, of which there is 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!"

By way of the city of Putyvl, Paul of Aleppo together with the Patriarch travelled to Moscow where they stayed almost two years. He describes his sojourn in Moscow in the most unfavorable terms, despite the fact that the Patriarch received many gifts there. He says that the Muscovites, "are all of them, from the highest to the lowest, of a silent disposition, suspicious... They will not tell anything to a foreigner... either good or bad, of their own affairs. The life of the Muscovites is so constricted that no foreigner can bear with this, and one comes to feel imprisoned himself." (Book VI. 14).

He generalizes of his stay in Moscow:

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"Mirth and laughter became completely alien to us, because the suspicious Muscovites constantly spied on us and reported on us. May God save us and liberate us from them!"

It was with great relief that Paul of Aleppo and his party returned to Ukraine. After their last bivouac on the Dnieper before reaching Kiev, he wrote that they reached Kiev on June 28 (1656), "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." (Book XII, 16).

While at Kiev the Patriarch assisted at several services in the Cathedral, the Pechersky Monastery and various other monasteries. The citizens flocked around them wherever they went, "filling not only the rooms and the courtyards of our house, but also the street outside from morning to evening; and we could not find room for all the loaves given us."

The travellers left Kiev on July 14, again crossed the Dnieper, and after a journey of ninety miles reached Cherkassy, where the traders fitted out vessels for the Black Sea. "In this town the Kozaks first made themselves conspicuous". . . Another thirty miles brought them to the city of Chyhyryn, where Hetman Khmelnytsky resided.

"His secretary, along with a large troop of soldiers, came out to meet us and escorted us into the main avenue, which resembled a large river of sand. On Sunday, July 27th, we celebrated mass in their Church of the Assumption, a large wooden building, one of five churches which the city possesses. The Hetman lives in Chyhyryn, a frontier town facing towards the Tartar, between whom and the Kozaks is a distance of uninhabited wilds of five or six days' journey.

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"On August 2 we departed; and after passing over a long bridge over lakes, islands and rivers, came to a town called Subotiv, where Timoty, the Hetman's deceased son, used to live. . . On Sunday, August 3, after matins, we performed in her (the widow's) presence a memorial service for her husband in the large new Church of St. Michael, where his tomb is located. . ." (Book XII, 18).

After travelling sixty additional miles the travellers reached Lysyanka where, at the request of the *sotnik* of the town, Kyr Macarius dedicated a new convent which he had built in the suburb. Thence they travelled to Uman; where on August 12 the *Polkovnyk* escorted them to the *Tabor*, an encampment of Kozaks that was being formed not far from the city, for news had reached the town that the Khan was preparing to march against them, and they were making ready to receive him with great alacrity and exultation.

"On our arrival at the *Tabor*, and immediately after the Patriarch had blessed the troops and prayed over them, they fired all their muskets, and reared their horses three times. They escorted us on our way with banners and troops; we passed by towns which the Poles and Tartars had burned and depopulated the year before. On August 18 we left the Kozaks, who, at parting again fired their guns." (Book XII, 18).

An interesting book from the viewpoint of Ukrainian-Russian relations was the *Relation* by A. MEYERBERG, minister of Emperor Leopold I of the Holy Roman Empire at the Muscovite court in 1661. The book was written in 1654, the year of the Treaty of Pereyaslav between Ukraine and Muscovy, a date which began a new and unhappy era in the modern history of the Ukrainian people. On that date the Russian tsars began the steady and systematic encroachment upon Ukraine which ultimately led to total enslavement. Meyerberg was especially acrid in characterizing the Muscovites as people without honor and trust, whose word could not be relied upon. He writes:

"The talk of the hosts (Muscovites) is that of people who have had no schooling or up-bringing; it is conspicuous in its

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vulgarity, and is, in fact, offensive to a decent man. Quarrels, merriment about base things and impudent boasting which not infrequently harms the good name of others—are a substantial part of the talk and humor. . . . The Muscovites know how to lie with unbelievable impudence and without shame. . . . Ministers of foreign states should not expect truth from the tsarist representatives, because the latter collect all possible techniques of cunning in order to deceive them, or in substituting lies for truth, they endeavor to keep secret that which they ought to talk about, and thus weaken the force of all decisions taken during the meetings. . . . Merchants and artisans are also unusually mendacious, and thieves who profit by thievery and cunning are common, as courts do not punish for such (for thievery and cheating)". . . (Vol. I, p. 116).

There is little mention of Ukraine in Meyerberg's book; what information appears is taken from Polish sources. He refers only to the origin of the Ukrainian Kozaks (*Cosacorum Ortus*) saying that they "once were farmers and lived in the neighborhood of Kiev, but subsequently settled in the Zaporozhe; they are known for their bravery and for their tireless and successful war against Poland that forced her to restore their independence." (Vol. II, p. 48).

Some interesting information on the Ukraine of the Khmelnytsky period is to be found in the memoirs of K. J. HILDEBRANDT, a member of the Swedish delegation to Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky that visited Ukraine in 1656-1657. He describes in great detail his arrival in Chyhyryn and his welcome by the Hetman. Hildebrandt reports that a formal Swedish-Ukrainian treaty could not be concluded, because the Hetman and the Council of Officers insisted that the Swedish king recognize "for them (the Ukrainian Kozak State) the right to the whole of old Ukraine or Roxolania (*Totius Ucrainae Antiquae vel Roxolaniae*) where the Greek religion and their language was and still is used—up to the Vistula."

In reporting on the life of the Ukrainians, Hildebrandt touches upon the clothes and habits of the Ukrainian women. He writes

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that in winter time they wear a long fur coat, without any covering, while the lower part of their bodies is covered with an apron, made out of wool and interwoven with white thread; they wear high boots, while their heads are covered with white kerchiefs, also of wool; they are girded so tightly that the form of their bodies is well marked; they wear blouses decorated with embroidery. They dance well, usually following the steps of the man, and they dance gracefully and with a gay heart. He adds that the "Kozak women are brave, drink well, attend to the serving and very often order their men to work."

Special attention was paid by the Swedish minister to the fortifications of the cities and the military strength of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The very "first Kozak town," Kosnytsi, which Hildebrandt entered, impressed him:

"Here we found very well built fortifications." Going on to Chyhyryn, the capital of the Kozak State, he wrote of the Ukrainian villages: "Although small and insignificant as these settlements seem to be, nevertheless in each of them there was a company of troops (*eine Campagnie*) which came out to greet us with their banner. They even went over to the Transylvanian Prince George Rakoczi II, united with his army and joined the Swedes against the Poles."

Generally, Hildebrandt underscores the great hospitality of the Ukrainians, even in the villages: "The inhabitants of every place brought us chickens, eggs, white bread, whiskey, beer, honey, and hay for the horses. Ukraine is a beautiful land, rich in all sorts of wheat."

Speaking about the Ukrainian Kozaks, the member of the Swedish delegation wrote that they are "brave and clever soldiers . . . Especially their Chancellor Vyhovsky (*der damahlige Canzler Herr Johan Wyhovsky*), who subsequently became Hetman, praised the Zaporozhian Kozaks for their intrepidity. . ."

Regarding their relationship with the Poles, the author writes: "Their sternness has expressed itself in war with the Poles over the faith. Constantly pressing against the enemy, they (the Kozaks) burned and mercilessly destroyed them, saying that

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the Poles behave in their country far more cruelly, not sparing even the small children.”

Hildebrandt emphasizes the knowledge of foreign languages among the Ukrainians. For instance, he writes that with both Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his Chancellor he conversed in Latin, and with one of his escorts, a Kozak officer, in French.

The Swedish legate describes in detail the reception of his minister, GOTHARD WELLING, by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky:

“As soon as His Excellency Minister Welling entered the city of Chyhyryn, he was offered a special dwelling, where he could reside with his people and keep his horses. In addition, the Hetman ordered food supplies provided for the Minister, as well as fodder for the horses. All this cost nothing. On January 17 (1657) the Minister was invited to an audience. The Hetman sent him a beautiful bay horse, with a small saddle embroidered in gold.”

In the audience hall, “after an exchange of greetings and the termination of the conference which was conducted in the Latin language, a special reception followed. . . .”

“Behind the table there sat the Hetman, flanked by the Minister and a Scottish merchant who had arrived at the same time with a letter from the Swedish king. Furthermore, there was the Chancellor Vyhovsky with a few senators. The wife of the Hetman sat for a few minutes near the Hetman. . . . The next day a special reception was given the Minister by Chancellor Vyhovsky.”

The Swedish Minister Gothard Welling himself, in his *Relation*, gives detailed information on his talks with the General Secretary, Vyhovsky, which attest to the independent policy of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky with respect to Moscow. Minister Welling told Vyhovsky, among other things:

“That His Royal Highness (the Swedish King) had been without cause insulted by the Muscovites and had suffered tremendous damages, and what would they (the Kozaks) gain by sitting still and letting such go by. Chancellor Vyhovsky picked up the statement, expressed great regret that the King had been

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so unjustly treated, swore good faith and wanted to show him letters in which he had done his utmost to dissuade the Muscovite tsar from his designs. But the tsar not only did not want to listen, but was displeased with the Kozaks because they would not help him in the war against the King. And now, having seen that the war was not going so well as he had imagined, and having become fearful that the Kozaks also may stand against him, the tsar not so long before my arrival sent a letter to the Hetman, making excuses for his truce with the Poles. He wants to break it, as it does not please the Hetman, and generally, he is ready to do everything that the Hetman wants. In reply to this the Hetman said that the tsar had not listened to him and had begun an unjust war against the Swedish King. He admonished the Great Prince of Moscow to see to it that the war with the Swedish King be terminated as soon as possible, and warned that he (the Hetman) was a friend of the Swedish King, and as long as he lived he would undertake nothing against the Swedish King."

In the concluding talks the "Ukrainian government assured the Swedish Minister that it would call upon the Muscovite prince to abstain from any steps whatsoever against the Swedish King, and for the damages done to provide redress and restitution, for otherwise the Hetman would find other means. He had already ordered his Colonel Antony Zhdanovych, that in case some Muscovites were found in Poland, they be treated as enemies."

These Swedish state documents also prove that despite the fact that the Muscovite princes already had begun the use of the title "Tsar" in the era of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Ukrainian Kozak state and its government under the Hetman did not recognize these titles of the Muscovite princes.

The extent that the Ukrainian government regarded itself independent of Moscow is shown by the negotiations between it, and FRANC SEBESI, Minister of Prince George Rakoczi of Transylvania. During these negotiations the Ukrainian government requested an oath from the Transylvanian prince. The latter

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replied that it was not customary for princes and kings to give their personal oath, to which the Ukrainian government replied that "princes change and a treaty cannot last until it is assured by the country as a whole."

Under date of June 28, 1656 Sebesi recorded the talk of Vyhovsky with a Muscovite legate:

"The Muscovite minister demanded to know how it came about that without the knowledge of the Tsar a treaty was signed with the Swedes and the Transylvanian Prince, and why it was that the Hetman never gets in touch personally with the Tsar, but sends common Kozaks to Moscow. Vyhovsky replied that as the Tsar in his own land, so the Hetman in his own country is a prince or a king, having acquired control of his country with his sword and liberated it from the yoke. If you wish, preserve our friendship and live with us on good terms; if not—we shall fight and bring against you the Tartars, Swedes and Hungarians."

On September 1, the Kozak legates went to Rakoczi, and held official talks with him. The Kozaks promised that they would provide him with as many troops as he desired, but in exchange they demanded the whole of Ukraine "up to the Vistula River," and were ready to break with Moscow because they had enough legitimate reasons for so doing (*Transylvania*, II, 164-166).

Franc Sebesi visited Ukraine a second time as a member of the Swedish delegation under the leadership of Liliencrone, royal counsellor. Sebesi was in Chyhyryn from June 20 to August 16, 1657, and in his *Memoirs* reports that the Ukrainian central government, and particularly Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, vigilantly guarded against the Western Ukrainian lands going into "foreign hands," even if they should be those of the most trusted allies. Sebesi writes that Minister Welling had told the Hetman that the Swedish King was desirous of having Kamenets in Podolia, Lemberg (Lviv) and Bar, and it was only after much reassurance by Sebesi that this did not correspond to the true desires of the Swedish King that Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky finally calmed down.

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"The Hetman was also angered by the Swedish King that he should dare call the Muscovite prince (*Muskoviae dux*) . . . Again he repeated that he favored the Swedes rather than Moscow. In the presence of his son, he declared:

"When I will be ready to die, I will order my son always to maintain a treaty with the Swedish King.' "

The period of Hetman Khmelnytsky preoccupied the Western European historians and writers for several years after the death of the great Hetman. Among those who wrote about the relations of Ukraine (under Khmelnytsky) with Muscovy was PROF. CH. STIEDIUS of Breslau University. His book is entitled *Report on Present Conditions in the Muscovite State* (Frankfurt, 1706). He wrote of Khmelnytsky:

"To Khmelnytsky, leader of the insurgent troops, an assurance was made (on the part of Moscow) that he would be given the whole of the Right-Bank Dnieper Ukraine and that he would be made Prince of Kiev, but he soon realized that he had been deceived and came to know that the Muscovites adhere to their own interests, not to his."

There are several works of an encyclopedic character, particularly texts of geography, wherein Ukraine is mentioned, especially as to the period of Hetman Khmelnytsky. Among such is *Le Nouveau Théâtre du Monde*, by BUSSENGOLT, first published in Paris in 1677. The note about Ukraine reads:

"Ukraine is situated between Moscovia and Transylvania. Kiou, (Kiev), the principal city of this great country, belongs to the most ancient cities of Europe, which is attested to by wide walls remaining to this day, deep moats, ruins and churches and ancient graves of numerous kings. . ."

This and other information were taken from de Beauplan's *Description d'Ukraine*.

There are a few interesting memoirs and books, pertaining to the second half of the XVIIth century, which describe Ukraine during the reign of Hetmans Vyhovsky and Samoylovych.

Among them is the book of ULRICH WERDUM, who travelled extensively in Poland and Ukraine in the years 1670-1672. His



13. A part of a Duch map by De Witte which encompasses *Ukrania*. Amsterdam, the 60'-80' of the XVIIth century.

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comments on Ukrainian life and culture are particularly interesting as compared with those that he made with respect to the Poles. About the latter he wrote:

“The Poles are not lacking in politeness and intelligence; but they are light-hearted 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. . .”

In describing various Polish meals, Werdum continues:

“After very salty and peppery meals, the Poles enjoy sampling liquor. Drinking is widespread here in the upper and lower strata, with both men and women, as nowhere in the world. They especially like *vodka*, which they call in Polish *goralka*, and in the Ruthenian *horylka*, and in their Latin *crematum*. With the consuming of a large quantity of liquor, fights are frequently provoked, whereby the saber of necessity goes into action. They use it to cut each other's chest and faces, which dueling they consider a defense of their honor, and those who are marked with scars on their faces are considered outstanding heroes, as was the practice with both the Goths and the Sarmatians a thousand years ago. . . The entire mode of living of the Polish people is extremely crude and barbarous.”

About the Ukrainians, Werdum wrote:

“One can find much kindness in both words and gestures in Ukraine, particularly in the women, to which contributes also the Ruthenian language (Ukrainian) for its pronunciation is not as hard as that of the Polish. They say that in Lemberg (Lviv) there live 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

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me a polite compliment in the Latin language, and expressed herself in a very charming way. . . . In Ukraine both men and women wear bay coats which they make themselves out of wool. The nobility and merchants wear coats of the same material, but of a blue color. The peasant-Kozaks in the summer wear light coats of white, while in the winter they dress in sheepskin coats, extending from the neck to the feet, and embroidered on the back with red, yellow and bay colored leather fringes which look very attractive. . . . In summertime they wear only shirts. The peasant women's blouses are made of a rough fabric, while the city women and the prosperous ones wear blouses made of embroidered silk which are designed to fit very snugly. Around the neck and at the waist the blouse is gathered, and like the coat, is trimmed with fancy embroideries. As far as the covering of their heads is concerned, it is marked by elaborate elegance. In summer time the head of a young girl is adorned with flowers and green wreaths, which in winter are replaced by wax wreaths. The women also wear rings and big earrings, and strands of beads made of crystal, glass, copper and the like, according to whim and means. . . . The Polish peasants are not so well dressed, and there is little difference between the people of the villages and of the cities."

Werdum was astonished at the hygienic care of children in Ukraine: "In Ukraine, the infants are bathed twice a day in warm water until they are one year of age; they are put in the water so that only their heads stick out. . . . They believe that this helps infants to grow."

PATRICK GORDON (1635-1699), a Scot who was a general in the Russian army, wrote a book which contains several references to Ukraine. Entitled *Passages from the Diary*, the book was published in 1684 in England. Gordon commanded the Russian troops which were engaged against the Zaporozhian Kozaks in 1677, and at one time commanded a Russian regiment which was stationed in Kiev. But with the passage of time Gordon became a sympathizer with Ukraine and made friends with many Kozak officers. The most interesting part of Gordon's *Diary*

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telling of his sojourn in Ukraine in the years 1678-1683 was allegedly lost in Petersburg. It is not improbable that the Russian government conveniently destroyed this part of the book, as it was the policy of Moscow to keep the Western world in the dark as to what it was doing in Ukraine.

His book was also translated into German in 1849, and into Russian in 1891, 1892 and 1916. In 1932 in London, Sophie Buxhoeveden wrote a book about Patrick Gordon, entitled *A Cavalier in Moscovy*, which was based almost exclusively on the Russian sources. This explains why the name "Ukraine," which appeared in the book of Gordon, was replaced with that of "Little Russia." Not only did she not mention Gordon's visit to Hetman Samoylovych, but she omitted most of his references to Ukraine.

In his *Diary* we read about his visit to Hetman Samoylovych in Baturyn:

"On March 23 in the morning, which was Palm Sunday, I was invited to come and see Hetman Samoylovych with whom I had long talks. We discussed very thoroughly the Muscovites and other state matters. Afterwards the Hetman sent me home with most cordial expressions and dispatched to my quarters all sorts of foods and provisions."

Gordon writes that in Koselets, "I was very cordially entertained by my old friends, the Ukrainian Colonels Hryhoriy Koropchynsky and Konstantin Solonyna; each of them presented me with a hunting rifle."

Gordon's *Diary*, moreover, contains a great deal of information about Hetman Samoylovych, his sons, Ivan Mazepa and other prominent Kozak officers. He also gives various episodes from life in Ukraine and the development of military events, particularly the movements of the Polish and Ukrainian troops in the Right-Bank Ukraine (the territory west of the Dnieper River) and the military activities of Colonel Paliy at Bila Tserkva and Nemyriv.

Under the date of July 9, 1684, Gordon recorded the conduct of the Russian troops in Ukraine:



14. Hetman Petro Doroshenko.
A Flemish engraving of the late XVIIth century.

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"These soldiers (Muscovite) came from Orel... They said that they had been sent from various cities and towns of Ukraine. But in reality they were sent without a penny by the Moscow command with an order to occupy both banks of the Dnieper River in order to impede the crossing of people fleeing to the Zaporozhian troops and to cut off the line of supplies, and also to prevent the Zaporozhians from trading on the Dnieper in fish or anything else, which understandably could not please these Kozaks."

Another Western European who reported events in Ukraine of that time was the Dutch emissary in Ukraine, JOHAN WILHELM VON KELLER, in 1677-1679. In several letters which he dispatched to his government he reported the events of 1679 in Ukraine with much detail and keen observation. For instance, in one of the letters, he wrote that the largest Ukrainian city, Kiev, "has now become like a maiden whose hand is being sought by the Tartars, Turks and the local cavaliers (Muscovites), and on both sides swords are being readied."

Von Keller wrote that the Zaporozhian Kozaks "were the flower of the Kozak nation, and therefore their favors are being sought by both Turkey and Moscovia" (letter of June 18, 1679).

Still another Westerner, A. TYLER, in a book about the Ukrainian Kozaks published in Edinburgh in 1685, writes:

"Ukraine is a country populated by the freedom-loving nation of Kozaks... The Kozaks of Ukraine love their liberty intensely and do not tolerate any yoke."

In the second half of the XVIIth century, there appeared several tourist guides and booklets for travelers which very often give some general information on Ukraine and its people.

One such guide, published in Augsburg in 1687, contains details on Ukraine. Entitled *Cyaneae*, the guide reads:

"On the Dnieper, on its numerous islands, live the Kozaks, who also have settlements and houses and lands in the Kiev and Bratslav provinces. They are of the Greek religion, excellent soldiers, who have caused Turkey much trouble in the Black Sea... They are afraid of nothing, and often risk their lives..."

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During the reign of King Stefan their outstanding leader and hero was Pidkova. He inflicted enormous damages on his enemies. The Kozaks use small boats, with a capacity of 60 persons and food supplies for this number, and raid the Black Sea, not infrequently seizing towns and villages near Constantinople."

The guide states that Bohdan Khmelnytsky was "an experienced and learned soldier. After the victory at Korsun he united the peasants and Tartars in an uprising against the Poles and put 200,000 troops in the field."

In describing various cities of Ukraine, *Cyaneae* reports:

"Up northward on the Dniester River in Podolia there are strong cities and castles, among the strongest is Kamenets, also called Podilsky."

This city was built on rocks and encircled by the Smotrych River. The entrance to the city was by a single bridge, defended by a strong fortress, also built on rocks. *Cyaneae* cites a well-known legend that when in 1621 a Turkish sultan approached the castle with his troops, he asked the people:

"Who fortified Kamenets that it is unconquerable?"

"God built it up," was the answer.

"Let God also conquer it," replied the Sultan and ordered a retreat from the city's walls.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PERIOD OF HETMAN MAZEPA

NEXT to the era of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the period of Hetman Ivan Mazepa attracted most attention in foreign memoirs, reports, and official press and diplomatic accounts which more often than not commented on the Ukrainian state and the relationship between Ukraine and Muscovy. Ukrainian culture, especially Ukrainian art, evoked wide-spread interest on the part of foreigners; Ukrainian art at that time was in its "golden age" and was widely known in Western Europe. The Ukrainian art of this era was known as the "Ukrainian baroque" and was extensively imitated.

Western European literature on Ukraine at the end of the XVIIth century and the beginning of the XVIIIth century is so vast in quantity that we limit ourselves here to quoting only some paragraphs from the most important sources. Significantly, those foreigners who had the opportunity to see and talk to Hetman Mazepa, wrote about him in terms of recognition and esteem, depicting him as a man of great intelligence and erudition and with unusual perspicuity and knowledge of human psychology.

BAILLET DE LA NEUVILLE, a diplomatic agent of the French government in Moscow who spent over five months in the Muscovite capital, in his *Memoirs About Moscow*, made very interesting comparisons between "Muscovy" and the "Muscovites" (as he called them) and Ukraine and the Ukrainians. Describing the rebellion of Golitsyn against Peter I in Moscow, he writes:

"During all that time the Hetmans were considered subordinate to the Muscovite Tsar, yet they never went to Moscow. But Golitsyn, under the pretext of presenting a decoration to the Hetman in the presence of the Tsar, but in reality with an entirely different purpose in mind, summoned Mazepa to Moscow

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with 500 of his higher officers. During the sojourn of Mazepa in Moscow I could not receive permission from the Muscovites to see him; and only a few times at night, in disguise, did I visit him."

De la Neuville on that occasion did not spare any epithets with respect to the Muscovites, terming them "true barbarians, distrustful, mendacious, cruel, debauchees, greedy and profit-lovers." He described Mazepa: "This prince is not handsome, but he is a highly educated man who speaks the Latin language fluently... He is by birth a Kozak."

Another French diplomat, JEAN BALUSE, was in Baturyn, Mazepa's capital, at the end of 1704. (His description of his trip to Baturyn was discovered by Elias Borschak, a Ukrainian scholar, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris). Baluse writes:

"From Muscovy I went to Ukraine, the country of the Kozaks, where for a few days I was the guest of Prince Mazepa, who is the supreme authority in this country... On the frontier of Ukraine I was met by a Kozak guard of honor which conducted me with elaborate ceremony to the City of Baturyn, where Prince Mazepa resides in a castle."

Baluse underscores that Mazepa spoke Latin perfectly. "His language is, in general, selected and ornate, although during conversations he usually keeps silent and listens to the others. At his court he has two German doctors, with whom he converses in their tongue; to the Italian masters of whom there are several in the castle, he speaks in the Italian language. I spoke with the master of Ukraine in the Latin language, inasmuch as he assured me that he was not very fluent in French, although in his youth he had visited Paris and southern France and had been at the reception in the Louvre upon the occasion of the celebration of the Pyrenean Peace (1659). I do not know whether this statement of his concealed a special motive, for I myself saw French and Dutch newspapers in his study."

He further writes of Mazepa:

"He is held in great esteem in the Kozak country, where the people are generally freedom-loving and proud, and entertain

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no love for anyone who would dominate them. Mazepa succeeded in uniting the Kozaks around himself through rigid authority and his great 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 this 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 that he likes the Muscovite Tsar, because he did not say a word against my complaints about 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. This was not a routine courtesy typical of *Monsieur Mazepa*, but seemed to be quite genuine; in the salon in his castle where hang portraits of foreign rulers, a beautiful portrait of His Majesty (Louis XIV) occupies the most prominent place. In less prominent places, I saw portraits of the Emperor, the Sultan, the Polish King and other rulers. . .”

The circumstances under which Hetman Ivan Mazepa was compelled to conduct his state politics in relationship to Moscow are best covered in a book in the Latin language, *Diarium itineris in Moscoviam Perillustris* by J. G. KORB, published in Vienna about 1700-1701. The author was secretary of the legation of Emperor Leopold I of the Holy Roman Empire to Moscow in the years 1698-1699. Being an extremely observant traveler and diplomat, Korb succeeded in gathering much information on life in Muscovy: the system of government, army,



15. Ukraine on a Dutch map of the end of the XVII century:
Ukraine of 'T Land der Cosacken.
 (Found in the Baworowski Library of Lviv)

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administration, and the customs and characteristics of the Muscovite population. The book contains several references to the Ukrainian army and various military developments, and in addition priceless engravings of the fortifications, and cities on the shores of the Azov Sea.

But these rather objective observations and conclusions about Moscow were not pleasing to the Muscovite government, which made a strong protest to the Vienna court. This protest resulted in the banning of the book and prevented the issuance of a second edition. But this was not all. The Muscovite government dispatched special agents to Vienna, who bought up all the books and burnt them. This is why the first edition of Korb's *Diarium* has become a real bibliographical rarity.

Translations of Korb's book finally appeared in the XIXth century; it was translated into French in 1859 and into English in 1863.

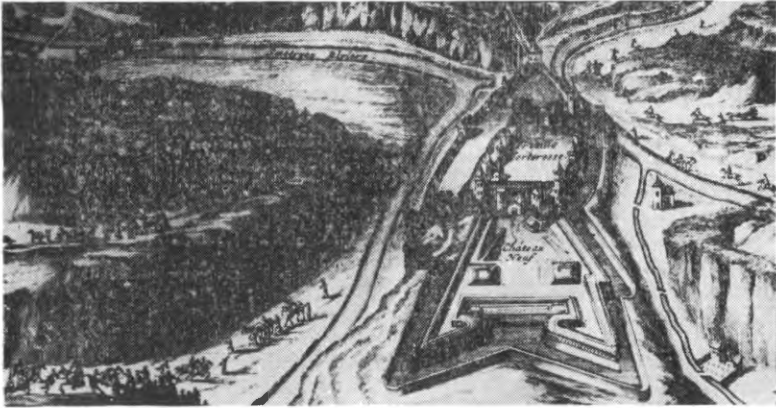
The full title of the London (English) translation reads: *Diary of an Austrian Secretary of Legation at the Court of Czar Peter the Great. Translated from the original Latin and edited by the Count MacDonnell. London 1863.* In the chapter entitled "Of the Manners of the Muscovites," we read:

"The whole Muscovitian race is rather in a state of slavery than of freedom. All, no matter what their rank may be, without any respect of persons, are oppressed with the harshest slavery. Those that are admitted to the dignity of the privy council, assume the lofty name of magnates, and come next in rank after their sovereign, have merely more splendid bonds of slavery; they are chained in golden fetters, being liable to all the more bitterness in that they strike the eye more insolently, and by their very flash upbraid the vileness of the lot in which they are held up before the world.

"He that should happen to subscribe his name in the positive degree to petitions or letters to the Tsar would be publicly tried for treason. Diminutives must be used. Thus, for example, one whose name may be James, should write himself little James (*Jacobulum*). For they deem it greatly derogatory to the su-

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preme rank of majesty not to revere their sovereign with all respect by the humble diminutives of name. This was a crime imputed to the military engineer Laval, by which the Ministers contended that he had deserved the Tsar's hatred: for that he



16. The Castle of Kamenets in Podolia.
Engraving from *La Galerie agréable du Monde*, 1699.

ought to write and style himself the Grand Duke's *cholop*, or most abject and vilest slave, and acknowledge that all the goods and chattels he possessed were not his, but the Monarch's. And in this opinion they have a capital practical hand in their sovereign, who uses his native country and its inhabitants (*patria civibusque*) as if power absolute, unbounded, uncircumscribed by any law, lay open with him to dispose as freely of the property of private individuals, as if nature had produced everything for his sake alone. Let him trample upon these souls born for slavery, and let the Muscovitian bear the lot that the gods have appointed...

"The people are rude of letters, and wanting in that virtuous discipline by which the mind is cultivated. Few study polite manners or imitate them. John Barclay, in his *Mirror of Souls*, describes at length how this race, born for slavery, becomes ferocious at the least trace of liberty; placid if oppressed, and

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not refusing the yoke, they of their own accord confess themselves slaves of their prince. He has a right to their wealth, their bodies, and their lives. Humility more solidly crouching the very Turks entertain not for their Ottoman sceptre. They esteem other races as well by their own character. Foreigners whom chance or choice has led into Muscovy they condemn to the same yoke, and will have them be slaves of their monarch. Should they catch and bring back any of them departing furtively, they punish them as runaways (*ut fugitivos*). As for the magnates, though they be slaves themselves, towards their inferiors and the plebeians, whom they usually call, out of scorn, *black men* and *Christians*, their arrogance is intolerable, and the vulgar dread their frown extremely.

“Devoid of honest education, they esteem deceit to be the height of wisdom. They have no shame of lying, no blush for a detected fraud: to such a degree are the seeds of true virtue proscribed from that region, that vice itself obtains the reputation of virtue.

“...In truth, the nation (Muscovites) itself has such a dislike for liberty, that it seems to exclaim against a happiness for which it was not created and is so inured to its slavish condition that it will scarcely endure the prudent...and kindly solicitude of the Prince for his dominions and his subjects to be carried out to the full extent. The Muscovite tests friendship by its utility.” (Vol. II, p. 192-ff).

Korb devotes much space to the armed rebellion against Tsar Peter I in the years 1698-1699. The author describes unbelievably cruel tortures and executions of soldiers in which the Tsar himself participated personally. About one such public execution, which took place on October 23, 1698, we read:

“This differed considerably from those that preceded. The manner of it was quite different, and hardly credible. Three hundred and thirty at a time were led out together to the fatal axe’s stroke, and embued the whole plain with native but impious blood; for all the Boyars, Senators of the realm, *Dumnoi*, *Diaks*, and so forth, that were present at the council constituted against

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the rebel *Streltsy*, had been summoned by the Tsar's command to Bebraschentsko (Preobrazhenskoye), and enjoined to take upon themselves the hangman's office. Some struck the blow unsteadily, and with trembling hands assumed this new and unaccustomed



17.—18. The title (cover) page of the book, *Diarium itineris in Moscoviam Perillustris*, by G. Korb, Vienna, 1071. — The City of Azov from *Diarium*.

task. The most unfortunate stroke among all the Boyars was given by him (Golitsyn) whose erring sword struck the back instead of the neck, and thus chopping the *Streltsy* almost in halves, would have roused him to desperation with pain, had not Alexasca reached the unhappy wretch a surer blow of an axe on the neck.

“Prince Romadonovsky, under whose command previous to the mutiny these four regiments were to have watched the turbulent gatherings in Poland on the frontier, beheaded, according to order, one out of each regiment. Lastly, to every Boyar a *Streltsy* was led up, whom he was to behead. The Tsar in his saddle, looked on at the whole tragedy.” (Vol. II, p. 107).

In the account dated February 4, 1699, we read further:

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“The officials of a certain Envoy, whose curiosity for sight-seeing had led them to Bebraschentsko (Preobrazhenskoye), had inspected various prisons of the criminals, hastening whithersoever more atrocious howls betokened a tragedy of greater anguish. Already they had passed with horror through three, when howls more appalling and groans more horrible than they had yet heard stimulated them to examine what cruelty was going on in a fourth house. But hardly had they set foot within it than they were about to withdraw again, being startled at the sight of the Tsar and the Boyars. Naryshkin, Romadonovsky and Tikhon Nikitich were the chief persons. As they were about retiring Naryshkin addressed them, inquiring who they were, and whence and why they had come there. They felt sore at being caught by foreigners in the performance of that office.” (Vol. I, p. 241).

Korb was puzzled by the judicial practices in Moscow and the “truth-telling by the Muscovites.” By way of illustration, the author tells of an event which occurred on July 24, 1698 on a street in Moscow. It so happened that some sort of misunderstanding arose between the servants of the Minister and the Muscovites. Subsequently, the latter took the case to court, and for sums of money hired false witnesses, who testified to the effect that the servants of the Minister had attempted to kill the citizens of Moscow with their swords. He goes on to describe the “trial”:

“One of the Muscovites went about showing his wounds, and having suborned witnesses at a cheap rate, contended that he bore the marks of a sword that had been drawn against him: the falsehood of which being evident to our eyes, we could not but marvel prodigiously at the corrupt morals of this people, and how their abominable custom of lying and perjury is allowed to go unpunished. Search for false witnesses where you will among the Muscovites, and you will find them. For fate hath instituted such a universal perversity of reasons in Muscovy, that it is very nearly the index of a superior intellect to be able to cheat.” (Vol. I, p. 135).

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Another similar case Korb registered under date of July 5-6, 1699:

“A Muscovite merchant claimed a debt of four roubles from a certain German for goods bought. When the German denied that he owed so much, the Muscovite with much vociferation, several times most atrociously calling on all the powers celestial and infernal to witness, endeavoured to prove his claim. So the German appointed the Muscovite arbiter on his proffered oath; who thereupon entering the nearest church, falsely made the requisite oath. In a short time after he himself confessed that the German did not owe him four roubles, but only two; that the other two were due to him by another, also a German and that he could claim them in turn. This is respect for an oath! This is piety towards God! The taking of whose name in vain is no scruple of conscience to this people.” (Vol. II, p. 23).

Writing about the Ukrainian troops, Korb ascribes to them the following characteristics:

“ The Cossacks are a great element of strength for the Tsars. The Muscovites conciliate them with annual gifts, and study 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 in bravery of soul.” (Vol. II, p. 165).

In addition, he reports on the war against Turkey conducted near the cities of Ochakov, Bilhorod (Akerman), Perekop and Tavan, underscoring that alongside the Muscovite troops there were also Ukrainian troops “under the command of the Cossack leader Mazepa.” The author makes a definite distinction between the territory and country of Ukraine and that of Muscovy or Russia.

Important and extensive information about Hetman Ivan Mazepa is to be found also in the newspapers of the time. For instance in the election of 1704 of the *Europaeische Fama*, which was published in Leipzig and was widely read in the royal courts of Europe, there is an article about the Hetman, together

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with his portrait. About the Ukrainian army we read that "it is commanded by their leader Mazepa, who, thanks to his ability and great military genius, enjoys great fame in the world."

In a biography of the Hetman the paper reports that "he was born and reared among the Cossacks." In early youth he was at the Polish royal court, where he had an opportunity to observe the quarrels between the King and the nobility. "Mazepa, being cunning, had a good opportunity to learn about very important functions of state, which lessons he was to apply in the future. . .

"It is known that Mazepa had occupied the post of a secret secretary and *Kammerherr* under the Cossack leader Ivan Samoylovych, a post which he occupied at the outset at the Polish court—such posts in this case being the most important to be held by any person. Mazepa was known not only for his intelligence, but also for his bravery in war; therefore, at the beginning he was a lieutenant-general, and subsequently, when Samoylovych had many reasons for his retirement, took his place as a leader. In this role (of Hetman) Mazepa tried to fortify the frontiers against the Tatars and built Samara (or Novoselytsya on the Samara River, a tributary of the Dnieper). Next year he was encircled near Perekop, but not overpowered. For although the Muscovite leader Golitsyn had under his command an army of more than 50,000 men, he let himself be persuaded by the Turks and French to commit an unheard of betrayal, thus not only wasting time and money before that city but in the retreat that followed the major part of his troops was destroyed in the deep steppes through a fire caused by himself; and the cunning Mazepa through his diplomatic ability succeeded in creating a split between Golitsyn and his men and evicting him from the country."

In the time of Mazepa there appeared in Western Europe a number of brochures, leaflets, theatrical pieces, dialogues and the like which satirized the Muscovite tyranny and derided the "reforms" of Peter I, his mania for grandeur and his sadistic disposition. In all these publications Russia is designated as

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Muscovy or Moscovia, while in contrast Ukraine and the Ukrainian Kozaks are depicted as a separate country and people.

One such pamphlet bears the title: *Morphei Moscovitische Schau-Buehne, oder des traumenden Rationis Status Curiose und Politische Schwaetz-gesichter ueber den gegenwaertigen Statum Moscau*. It was published in 1691 by a man who hid his identity under the pseudonym of "Freymund." The pamphlet depicts a large gathering of literary men of many nations in one of the hotels in Danzig, at which there are carried on discussions of Peter I, his policies and behavior.

Among the principal debaters are: a Polish nobleman, a Muscovite Boyar, a priest from Hungary, a Venetian merchant, and a *Ukrainian Kozak*, a young German with his tutor, and a "*Ratio Status*," an allegorical female figure that listens surreptitiously to the discussion. It seems that every one, with the exception of the Muscovite Boyar, denounces Peter I for his tyrannical brutality against his own people. The Muscovite is the only one to defend his Tsar's policies.

WITHWORTH, an English Minister to Moscow, in a report dated November 10, 1708, describes Ivan Mazepa as a man seventy years of age, very rich and without children. He is depicted as enjoying in full measure the confidence and respect of the Tsar and as one who ruled his flourishing country almost as a monarch. Withworth makes the following observation: "When we take all this into consideration, it becomes difficult to give a true picture of why at his advanced age the Hetman made a decision to go over into a new camp and subject himself to new activities."

Withworth's words only emphasize the unselfishness and patriotism of Mazepa. He wanted to leave Ukraine forever free, and so he made an alliance with Charles XII of Sweden against Peter I.

This alliance of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa and King Charles XII of Sweden and the campaign of the united Swedish-Ukrainian forces against Peter I have been treated and interpreted by Russian historiography in a totally false and biased manner.

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Following are the verdicts of eye-witnesses and impartial reporters, mainly Western European diplomatic agents and observers, on Mazepa:

DAVID NATAN SILTMAN, a Swedish officer and participant in the campaign, in his *Diary* describes the meeting of the Ukrainian troops under the command of Hetman Mazepa with Charles XII. Under date of November 5, 1708, he writes:

"Mazepa marched in to the accompaniment of trumpets and drums; also Colonel Hielm received him not far from the quarters with music. . . In the morning (November 7) Mazepa arrived before the King in the general headquarters; he brought with him a great number of officers; some of them rode before him, others behind him. Immediately before Mazepa there rode an officer who carried a staff (*bulava*) decorated with precious stones and gold; a detachment of the Kozaks followed.

"In the King's headquarters he was received by Court Marshal von Dieben; Mazepa dined with the King, and at the table there were only seven of the most important Kozak officers. The Hetman was seated at the right of the King."

The author writes further that when the Swedish troops passed through the Ukrainian villages, "everywhere the peasants welcomed the King with bread, salt and fruits."

Describing the preparations for the battle of Poltava on June 17, 1709, the day on which King Charles was wounded, Siltman writes:

"Hetman Mazepa was present and led his Kozaks, who, together with the Zaporozhians, held the enemy on the right and left flanks."

Another Swedish officer PETRE writes that the Ukrainian Kozaks "had good wrought muskets," which they fired "from a sitting position at the enemy in the woods, inflicting considerable losses." The fact that the Ukrainians fired from a sitting position puzzled the Swedish officer a great deal, although he finally acknowledged that this system was not at all bad.

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Another Swedish officer WEIHE wrote not only about the military actions, but also dwelt upon the geographical conditions of Ukraine, its customs, economy, industry and the characteristics of the Ukrainians. He writes in his memoirs that Ukraine was unusually fertile and that "benevolent nature has neglected nothing here which could be useful to the carefree and contented life of the inhabitants; they have salt and iron mines, and also glass-making plants, wherein they manufacture great quantities of glass for windows and all sorts of drinking glasses. Wheat grows here in unlimited quantity. . . Oxen and sheep are of beautiful breed and size. . . The horses have great endurance and are favored more than any other animal because of their racing speed. The Kozaks have a uniform pattern of life, and dress alike."

In describing the costume of the Ukrainians, Weihe devoted special attention to the attire of the Ukrainian women, which he found extremely picturesque. For instance, he writes that a woman's skirt is made of a thin woolen material of various colors, and is so fashioned that it fits tight around her body. Both Ukrainian men and women wear boots and "like to indulge in drinking." "Even prominent women," he writes, "do not hesitate to drink whiskey at the market, and it is not surprising that they have great inclination towards adventure."

Weihe characterizes Ukrainian Kozaks as good horsemen who are "equally good foot soldiers, and aim well with their muskets, and have therefore won a reputation as the best fighters."

Referring to the battle of Poltava, Weihe writes: "Our Zaporozhians with their precise muskets inflicted heavy losses on the Muscovite infantry, so that the latter was forced to retreat through the marshes, which enabled the King to make a circle towards Poltava." Immediately after the battle of Poltava, during which the King barely escaped capture by the Russians, Weihe comments:

"Strong detachments of the enemy dragoons appeared in the morning, but they did not dare to attack (the King's camp) so soon, as they were confronted by the Zaporozhian cavalymen and infantry. . ."

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Also during the crossing of the Dnieper River, continues Weihe, the Ukrainian Kozaks held back the Russian troops, thus enabling the Swedish army to escape complete destruction. (*Karolinska Krigares Dagbocker*, Lund 1907).

The daring courage of the Ukrainian troops during the crossing of the Swedish army over the Boh River is gloriously epitomized by DANIEL KRMAN, a Slovak, who was an emissary of the Lutherans to the Swedish King. (His report appeared in the Hungarian language in 1894, in the collection: *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*).

In describing Hetman Mazepa, Krman writes:

"He was a man of over seventy years of age, with a severe face and typical Kozak features, learned in the Latin, Polish and Ruthenian languages, and owner of great estates."

About Mazepa's joining with the Swedes, the author writes:

"He called in his colonels whom he considered the most trustworthy (about thirty in number) and presented them with the problem of what to do and with whom to ally themselves. The Tsar had violated many of their freedoms, was placing Muscovite garrisons in Ukraine, every year confiscated a quantity of horses, withheld the Kozaks' pay, and had already taken three regiments from Ukraine in the last three years. On the other hand, the Swedish King lived far away and presented no danger to their freedoms, and their freedoms could be expected to be increased; he was extremely true to his royal word, and he would not desert them should they recognize his authority; to date he had always been victorious because behind him there stood justice and Divine assistance. The Hetman was close to his grave but he wished to make an effort yet and give of his blood for the good of his Ukraine. All present unanimously agreed to accept the Hetman's plan and swore to maintain secrecy."

With respect to the attitude of the Ukrainian population to the Swedes and Mazepa the following note of Krman is indicative:

"On November 17 both armies (Swedish and Ukrainian) marched through Rayhorod and Lukniv. In the latter village the inhabitants came out and presented to the Hetman and the King

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salt and bread, fish, honey and cheese. The King was pleased with such a custom, graciously accepted the gifts, and before the eyes of the peasants ate the bread and partook of the other offerings."

The Slovak emissary writes that during the battle of Poltava the odds were heavily against the Swedish-Ukrainian forces: there were about 18,000 Swedish troops and 6,000 Ukrainian troops as against 50,000 Muscovite troops. In addition, he continues, the anti-Muscovite Swedish-Ukrainian allied troops had suffered from extreme cold and hunger which during the last winter had inflicted heavy losses upon the Swedes, and at the battle they were weakened by the heat and the lack of food supply during the battle of Poltava itself.

He says that during the crossing of the Swedish troops over the Boh River some 500 soldiers, including many Kozaks, were caught by the pursuing Russian troops. All died fighting rather than surrender, knowing that they would be tortured by their captors.

Krman also reports that after the battle of Poltava both Mazepa and King Charles found themselves in the city of Bendery (present-day Bessarabia); here on August 16 came Meyerfelt with terms of agreement from the Tsar, followed by Tsarist emissaries, "among whom was Skoropadsky, Colonel of Starodub, who had been appointed hetman in place of Mazepa." Skoropadsky, Krman writes, "tried to justify himself before Mazepa for his acceptance of the title of Hetman, which was proposed by the Tsar; he promised to be faithful to his Hetman and to bring to him (Mazepa) those Kozaks who had rebelled against him at a propitious moment."

The Poltava tragedy and the brutal and barbarous conduct of the Muscovite troops in Ukraine evoked a storm of indignation and condemnation in Western Europe.

For instance, FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN WEBER in his *Memoirs*, which appeared in French in 1720 in Frankfurt, wrote:

"The Muscovite General (*Général Moscovite*) Menshikov brought to Ukraine all the horrors of vengeance and war. All

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sympathizers with Mazepa were disgracefully tortured. Ukraine was flooded with blood (*l'Ukraine est inondée de sang*) and devastated by looting, and presents a frightful picture of the barbarity of the victors."

Discussing the cultural development and life of the Ukrainians, Weber comments on the son of Hetman Apostol:

"Although he never was abroad, he speaks fluently Latin, French, Italian, German, Russian and Polish, and knows how to build fortresses."

Of especial interest are the lengthy *Memoirs* of JUL JUST, Danish envoy to Petersburg, who spent the years 1709-1712 in Russia and made a trip through Ukraine in 1711. He described in great detail not only his itinerary through Ukraine, but made extensive comparisons between the Ukraine of the Mazepa era and Muscovy with respect to life, habits and culture. Although the Danish envoy was in Moscow as a minister of a friendly and allied power, his careful and keen conclusions are not in favor of Moscow.

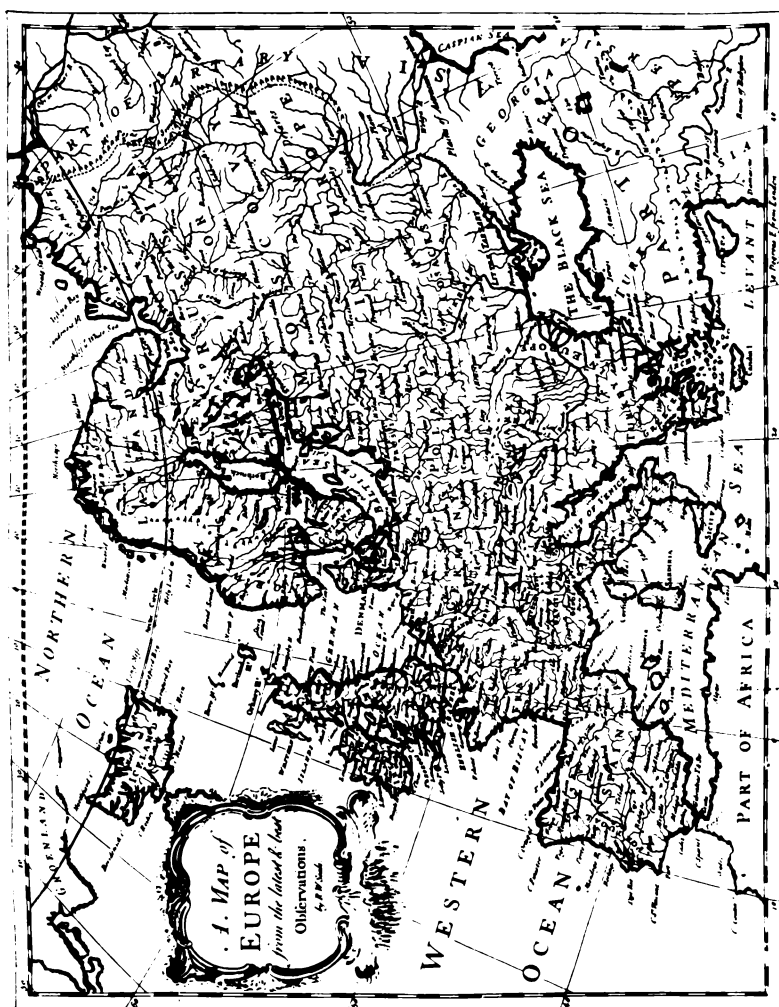
Jul Just came to Moscow at a time when great "reforms" and the "Europeanization" of Russia by Peter I were being enforced. The author was quick to detect the superficiality of the grotesque "Europeanization:"

"Although at the present time the Russians in their conduct are trying to emulate in monkey fashion the other nations, and though they don French attire and in their external appearance they appear more civilized, inwardly, however, there sits a *cholop*" (rude peasant, slave — p. 259).

His experiences at the court of the Tsar were not of the most pleasant kind, to be sure. To a Westerner such as he, the "normal" behavior of the Muscovites was shocking and repulsive:

"When the Russians are enraged they call each other thieves and deceivers (*moshenik*), and one of the most practiced habits is to spit in one another's face."

Even among the highest Russian classes and particularly among the Tsar's attendants this uncivilized behavior was com-



19. Map of Europe in the book: Churchill: *A Collection of Voyages*, 1744. The Ukrainian territory is marked: *Ukrain-Cosacks*.

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monplace, as he witnessed at the reception of Tsar Peter at Narva:

"The Tsar's entourage behaved without conscience and shame; they shouted, whistled, belched, spat, berated each other, and even shamelessly spat in the faces of decent people."

The Danish envoy wrote sarcastically that "in Russia for all diseases there are three doctors, used by both sick and healthy: the first doctor are the Moscow public baths; the second—whiskey or beer which all drink like water if they have the means, and the third—garlic, which the Russians use not only as seasoning for every meal, but eat it raw during the day."

The Russian officials, writes Just, are anything but honest: "What good can one expect from those who openly proclaim that they are working for their own gain and comfort and pay no attention to whether foreigners talk well or ill of them."

After two years of life among the Russians, Just makes some practical conclusions on how to deal with the Russians:

"Sometimes in relations with the Russians strong language helps. . . Generally speaking, when dealing with the Russians, you must talk sharply and vulgarly to them: then they give in; when one behaves graciously with them, nothing is to be obtained from them."

Touching on public instruction in Russia, Just writes that the only school of the higher type in Muscovy was the "Patriarchal School" or *gymnasium* in Moscow. Its head or rector was Teofilakt Lopatynsky, who "was born and reared in Lviv" (Western Ukraine), and all its professors were either Ukrainians or Byelorussians, whom Just calls "orthodox from Poland." Even the students in the same school," he writes, "were Orthodox from Poland."

The cultural level of the top-ranking Russian leaders and statesmen astonished the Danish envoy. He writes:

"Prince Menshikov, a figure second to the Tsar, could neither read nor write."

Chancellor Golovkin knew no language but Russian; not a single one of the Tsar's high dignitaries could speak Latin, with

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the exception of Musin-Pushkin, who was fluent in that language. Even Tsar Peter, whose "enlightenment" was widely known, spoke only one Western European language, namely Dutch, and even here, writes Just, who talked to him in that language, "the Tsar had difficulty in making himself understood."

Highly unbelievable, the author continues, was the taxation system in Russia:

"There is not a single state income which is not monopolized and shared by the Tsar. Even saloons in Muscovy are kept by the Tsar and he derives profit from them. Every fisherman's net, which provides a livelihood for the poor, is taxed yearly."

Just emphasized the corruption in the courts in Muscovy: "In Muscovy the law is by-passed at every step and cases are tried outside the courts. Every court case can be bought off by paying to Menshikov ten, twenty or thirty thousand roubles, from which the Tsar is given 'his own share.'"

After reading this part of Just's *Memoirs* in which he describes Muscovy so vividly, one highly appreciates his description of Ukraine.

On seeing the Ukrainian villages and towns for the first time, the envoy was pleasantly surprised by their neatness and orderliness. He writes that "the Kozaks, being a freedom-loving people, are dissatisfied with the appointment by the Tsar of Russian commanders for their garrisons. And considering themselves a free people, they are resentful in that they are compelled to serve the Tsar and execute his orders."

In Ukraine, Just was received in the residence of Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky by Vice-hetman Andry Martynovych inasmuch as the Hetman himself was away at war with his 30,000 Kozak troops. For the first time the Danish envoy uses the word "splendid" in connection with his receptions. Commenting on the people of Ukraine, he continues:

"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 lik-

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ing and trade with whatever they want. They are subject to only a small taxation to the Hetman."

The prices of products, he writes, were very reasonable, and such articles as flour, fish, salt, whiskey, and tobacco were extremely cheap and of good quality. Just emphasizes the fact that during his whole trip through Ukraine he was welcomed and feted not only in the cities and towns, but in the villages as well, something he did not experience in Muscovy.

"The inhabitants of the Chernihiv province," writes Just, "as well as the entire population of Kozak Ukraine, are known for their politeness and cleanliness, dressing neatly and keeping their homes immaculately clean."

Elsewhere in his book he says that the Ukrainian Kozaks "in all respects are cleaner and more polite than the Muscovites."

Just was also impressed by the neatness of the Ukrainian towns and cities:

"Korolevets is a big town. . . The streets are beautiful, such as I never saw in Russia; the buildings are stately, strong and clean and are along the streets as in Denmark, and not as in Russia, where they are hidden in courtyards. Prior to Mass all bells peal in three tunes just as in our country, and during Mass itself the bells ring quietly and at longer intervals not as in Russia where they ring loudly and haphazardly. . .

"Nizhyn is a great commercial city, fortified by a strong wall. In the city there are two beautiful octagonal churches of marvelous architecture."

The Danish envoy visited many Ukrainian dignitaries, such as the General Judge, the Metropolitan of Kiev and others, all of whom he found to be extremely learned and educated. He writes that not only did these command the Latin language, but that the ordinary monks of the Pecherska Lavra of Kiev spoke fluently with him in Latin. He was greatly surprised to see the Ukrainian peasants in many villages going to church with prayer books, indicating that they were literate.

In Podolia, which Just calls "Polish Ukraine," he saw widespread devastation as a result of war, particularly in the city of

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Nemyriv, but adds that in this city "the meanest building was much cleaner than the most sumptuous palace in Moscow" (p. 246). He was greatly impressed with the beauty of the city of Lviv, where he found that the "men don Polish attire, while the women French." Just noticed that in Lviv the Ukrainian women in the main showed few traces of Polish influence.

His comments on the internal intervention of the Russians in the affairs of the cities of Galicia (Western Ukraine) are worthy of attention inasmuch as they depict the indignation of the Ukrainian population against the Muscovite "liberators," an indignation which was the greater because the Swedes "behaved politely, while the Russians conducted themselves in the most vulgar fashion." Although the Russians came to Galicia as "liberators," they imposed heavy taxes upon the population and after receiving them, they openly resorted to looting and stealing.

Just left Ukraine via the city of Yaroslav and by barge went down the River San to Warsaw. In the town of Uliyaniv on the San, Just went to the Ukrainian church, the last Ukrainian church he visited before departing for Denmark.

Some interesting comments on Hetman Mazepa and his political actions were made by MAXIMILIAN EMMANUEL, Duke of Wuerttemberg, in his report entitled *Relatione*. He took part in the campaign of Charles XII of Sweden in Ukraine and was an eye-witness of the battle of Poltava. These comments are exceptionally interesting as an account of the events between Poltava and Bendery.

As to the aspirations of the Ukrainians under Mazepa the Duke of Wuerttemberg wrote:

"They want to be a free people not subjected either by Poland or Moscow; therefore, they always fight for their privileges and rights, and this was the reason that Mazepa selected the Swedish side, as their country was burdened by all sorts of rationing, and appropriations (*Onoribus und Quartieren*, p. 420)."

The *Relatione* also mentions that on September 27, 1708 King Charles of Sweden issued a manifesto to the population of Ukraine in the Latin language, in which he explained the purpose

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of his march against Moscow. The next day, September 28, 1708, over 8,000 Ukrainian Kozaks went over to the Swedes.

After the battle of Poltava, both King Charles and Hetman Mazepa found themselves in the city of Bendery. Peter I sent an emissary to the Turkish Sultan to Constantinople to convince the Sultan to arrest Mazepa and extradite him. The Duke of Wuertemberg writes of the event:

“Charles XII found out that the Tsar sent a delegation to the Turkish Sultan with a plea that the Kozak leader Mazepa, known in their language as Hetman, should not be granted the right of asylum, but that he be returned together with his nephew Voynarovsky.”

The Tsar, says the Duke, wanted to have the Hetman as soon as possible and expressed his belief that the “just Sultan” would not give him (Mazepa) shelter, inasmuch as the Tsar and the newly-elected Hetman promise the Sultan to “be a good and faithful neighbor.”

“Although this plea,” we read in the *Relatione*, “did not seem too unjust, nevertheless it did not find any approval at the Turkish court. There they did not consider this plea strong enough to warrant the extradition of a person who had fervently fought for the freedom, customs and rights of his people and who had suffered so much from persecution and torture only because he, together with his fellow citizens, had refused to submit to the Muscovite yoke and had been compelled to flee and to seek protection first with the Swedish King, and now with Turkey.”

Hence the Muscovite emissaries were refused Mazepa and sent back with the following reply:

“It would not be in accordance with Turkish laws to refuse asylum to a man who seeks it justly.”

The *Relatione* adds: “The magnanimity of the Sultan was especially to be commended since he did not take advantage of a splendid opportunity to avenge himself on the Hetman.”

Apparently, the author had in mind the former struggles of Mazepa with the Turks and the Crimean Tatars.

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After the death of Mazepa, Pylyp Orlyk, one of his closest political advisors and counsellors, became the Hetman of Ukraine in exile. He went to Sweden where he enjoyed privileges as an outstanding political exile.

A. DE MONTI, French Ambassador to Warsaw, in an official report to Premier Fleury dated November 9, 1729, writes of Orlyk:

"The Kozak Hetman Orlyk, who served under the flag of the famous Hetman Mazepa, Hetman of Ukraine, as general commissioner and secretary, a post which is considered by the Kozaks first after that of the Hetman, was elected the Kozak Hetman after the death of Mazepa in Bendery. Pylyp Orlyk, together with 7,000 to 8,000 Kozak troops, remained loyal to His Majesty King Charles XII. After the pressure exerted by the Turks upon the person of the Swedish King, the Kozaks passed under the protection of the Porte, but Hetman Orlyk went with the King to Sweden, where he enjoyed all the privileges and prerogatives of a 'chief of an allied army,' and where he found, together with his family, support even after the death of the King himself. . . We know Hetman Orlyk as a man of great hostility towards the Muscovites, a man intelligent and courageous and extremely well liked by the Kozaks in Ukraine, from whom the Tsar took away almost all their ancient rights and freedoms. But the Kozaks, despite the fact that 18,000 Muscovite dragoons keep Ukraine under a heavy oppression and serfdom, only seek an opportunity to rise against the oppressor and to recover their ancient freedom." (*Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris*).

A review of the history of Ukraine under Hetman Mazepa as recorded by Western diplomats and observers would not be complete without mentioning FRANCOIS VOLTAIRE, the great French writer and historian. In 1731 in Rouen he published his brilliant work, *Histoire de Charles XII*, which had some 100 editions up to the end of the XIXth century; and there are some 20 English translations of it. In this work the two pages devoted to Ukraine and the personality of Hetman Mazepa greatly con-

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tributed to the popularization of the name of this great Ukrainian leader in Western Europe.

To what extent Voltaire himself was interested in the problem of Ukraine is revealed by his letter written to Choiseul dated December 16, 1767:

"Whatever one may say, I have devoted much labor to writing the history of Charles XII. . . One must take into consideration that I was the first to write about it. The case of Ukraine, for instance. We knew only the book of de Beauplan, but this book was written by a man favorably disposed towards the Poles. In the meanwhile Ukraine under Hetman Khmelnytsky became almost an independent state, and later on was in alliance with Muscovy. . . I have collected much material about Mazepa." (The letter was found by Elias Borschak, Ukrainian historian, in the *Bibliothèque Chantilly* in Paris).

The passage on Ukraine in Voltaire's book reads:

"The Ukania is the country of the Cossacks, between lesser Tartary, Poland, and Muscovy. This country extends about a hundred French leagues from south to north, and almost as many from east to west. It is divided into two nearly equal parts by the Borysthenes, which crosses from north-west to south-west; the chief town is Baturyn, on the little river Seym. The northernmost part of Ukania is under cultivation, and rich; the southernmost part, in the forty-eighth degree, is one of the most fertile and at the same time the most deserted districts in the world; bad management quite counteracts its natural advantages.

"The inhabitants of those parts, which border on lesser Tartary, neither plant nor sow lest the Tartars of Budziac, Perecop and Moldavia, who are all brigands, should carry off their harvests.

"Ukania has always aspired to liberty (freedom); but being surrounded by Muscovy, the dominions of 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 Mus-

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covites, 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.

"The office was then filled by a Pole called Mazeppa, born in the palatinate of Podolia. He had been brought up as page to King John Casimir, and had gotten a little learning at his Court. On the discovery of an intrigue with the wife of a Polish nobleman the latter had him tied, stark naked, to a wild horse, and set him free in that state. The horse, which had been brought from Ukraina, returned to its own country, carrying Mazeppa with him half dead from hunger and fatigue. Some of the peasants gave him relief, and he stayed a long time among them, and distinguished himself in several attempts against the Tartars. The superiority of his intelligence made him a person of consideration in the eyes of the Cossacks, and as his reputation daily increased the Tsar was forced to make him Prince of Ukraina.

"One day, as he was sitting at table with the Tsar at Moscow, the emperor proposed to him to drill Cossacks, and render them more dependent. Mazeppa replied that the situation of Ukraina, and the genius of the nation, were insuperable obstacles to such a scheme. The Tsar, who began to be overheated with wine, and who had not always the command of his passions, called him a traitor, and threatened to have him empaled.

"Mazeppa, on his return to Ukraina, formed the design of a revolt; and the execution of it was greatly facilitated by the Swedish army, which soon after appeared on his frontiers. He resolved to render himself independent, and to erect Ukraina and some other ruins of the Russian empire into a powerful kingdom. He was a man of great courage, of considerable enterprise, and most painstaking, though he was advanced in years.

"He made a secret league with the King of Sweden, to hasten the Tsar's downfall and gain something himself out of it. He gave him a rendezvous near the river Desna; Mazeppa promised to meet him. There with 30,000 men, ammunition and provisions, and all his treasure, which was immense. The Swedish army was

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therefore ordered to march towards that part of the country, to the great regret of the officers, who knew nothing of the King's treaty with the Cossacks.

"Charles XII sent orders to Loevenhaupt to bring his troops and provisions with all haste to Ukrania, where he intended passing the winter, that, having subdued that country, he might conquer Muscovy the following spring; meanwhile he advanced towards the river Desna, which flows in the Borysthenes (Dnieper River) at Kiouw (Kiev)...

"They then marched for twelve days in this painful and laborious fashion till they had eaten the little biscuit they had left, and so they arrived, spent with hunger and fatigue, on the banks of the Desna, where Mazeppa was to meet them. Instead of the Prince, however, they found a body of Muscovites advancing towards them on the other side of the river. The King was much astonished, and decided to cross the Desna and attack the enemy. . .

"The band of Muscovites, which arrived at the same time, were only 8,000 so that their resistance was feeble, and this obstacle was also overcome.

"Charles advanced further into this desolate country, uncertain of his route and of Mazeppa's fidelity; at last the latter appeared, but rather as a fugitive than as a strong ally. The Muscovites had discovered and prevented his plan: they had fallen upon the Cossacks and cut them in pieces, his chief friends were taken red-handed, and thirty of them had been broken on the wheel. His towns were reduced to ashes, his treasures plundered, and the provisions he was preparing for the King of Sweden seized. He himself escaped with difficulty, accompanied by 6,000 men, and some horses laden with gold and silver. But he held out to the King the hope that he would be of some service from his knowledge of this unknown country, and by the affection of the natives, who enraged at the Muscovites, came in troops to the camp, and brought provisions."

CHAPTER SEVEN

ENGLISH, FRENCH AND OTHER FOREIGN TRAVELERS VISITING UKRAINE IN THE XVIIIth CENTURY

IN the XVIIIth century, particularly in the second half, there were many travellers in Ukraine who left extensive memoirs containing their impressions of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian land. But the character of these memoirs differs sharply from those of the preceding century because of the change of the political status of Ukraine. In the XVIIth century Ukraine had been an object of international politics; and various European powers had endeavored to win the friendship of the Kozak state for their respective governments. Now, after the weakening and destruction of that state by Moscow, Ukraine had become the object of alien exploitation. Foreigners who for one reason or another visited Ukraine were still impressed by the beauty of Ukrainian nature and praised the Ukrainian customs and the old Ukrainian culture. However, they stressed the economic exploitation of the country and its economic possibilities for Moscow.

An exception to this type of foreign comment of foreign writers on Ukraine are the memoirs of General CHRISTOPH HERMANN MANSTEIN, which cover the years 1727-1744. Although they are not completely impartial and do not altogether reflect the actual situation, they do present a fairly accurate historical account and they are interesting because of the author's views on the Ukrainian troops and the influence of Ukrainian culture on Muscovy.

The translation of Manstein's memoirs into the English language bears the title: *Memoirs of Russia, historical, political, and military. Translated from the original manuscript*. The book was published in London in 1773 and contains maps of Perekop, the Crimea and the Sea of Azov, as well as diagrams of the fortifications of Azov and Ochakov.

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Under date of April 7, 1728, General Manstein writes in his *Memoirs*:

"It was nearly about this time that the Cossacks of the Ukrain made some stir. Peter I had brought them low enough after the revolt of Mazeppa, to hinder them from ever shaking off his dominion, so that not having dared to lift their heads during the life of that Prince, they imagined the time of the ministry of Peter II would be more favorable and began to raise commotions; but they were soon reduced to order, by the sending troops against them. Some of the richest, and the most turbulent, were seized, and sent to Siberia: the rest begged mercy, and obtained it; not, however, without having been compelled to send a numerous deputation to Moscow, to implore the imperial mercy. Their Prince, or Hetman, was at the head of it. They were, besides, obliged to leave hostages for the security of their future good behaviour. Since that time, there has been no need of watching them so narrowly. They were so thoroughly subdued after the last war with the Turks, that they cannot for a long time be in any condition of revolt. As probably this nation is not sufficiently known, I shall here give a succinct account of them. There are several kinds of the Cossacks; the most known are those of the Don, the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and those of the Ukrain. It is of these last I have just made mention: they inhabit the Ukrain, which is also called Mala Russia, or little Russia, and is unquestionably one of the finest countries in Europe; one half of it belongs to the Emperor of Russia, the other to Poland. The Borysthenes or Dnieper divides this country into two parts, forming at the same time their respective frontiers.

"These Cossacks were once a free nation, descending from the same race; when these people were united, they could bring a hundred and fifty thousand men into the field. They were long under the protection of the republic of Poland, and did it great service in its wars against the Turks; but the Poles attempting to treat them like slaves, they revolted about a hundred years ago, under the conduct of the Hettman Chmelninski (Khmelnysky)... Some years after the death of Chmelninski, the suc-

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cessor, Doroschenko (Doroshenko), gave himself and country up to Russia. This brought on a war, which terminated in the destruction of the town of Czigrin (Chyhyryn), at that time the capital of Ukrain. This happened in the year 1674.



20. The city of Ochakiv.

An engraving of the middle of the XVIIIth century.

“For the first years ensuing they preserved all their privileges, and were governed by a Prince of their own chusing among themselves. But the Hettman Mazeppa having taken the part of Charles XII, King of Sweden, Peter I reduced this restless people to a condition of inability of striving to shake oft their yoke.

“At present they have no longer any privileges, and are looked upon in the light of a conquered province. Their last Hettman, Apostel (Apostol) dying in 1734, they were not left at liberty to chuse another, and are actually now governed by a Russian Regency, which resides at Glouchov (Hlukhiv). They can absolutely bring two and twenty thousand men into the field. . .

“The Zaporovian Cossaks inhabit the islands of the Borys-thenes, and a small tract of country on the side of Crimea, beyond the cataracts. . . Their general, or chief of their republic, has the

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appellation of Koschovy (Koshovy) Hettman. They chuse him among themselves, and for so long a time as pleases them, they pay him a blind obedience; but the moment they are discontented with him, they depose him, without further ceremony, and chuse another in his place."

In the "Supplement" on pages 391-394 Manstein writes about the founding by Peter I of the Russian Academy and other schools in Moscow, where the principal organizers and professors were Ukrainian pedagogues, educated in the Kiev Academy (University) and other Ukrainian schools. He writes:

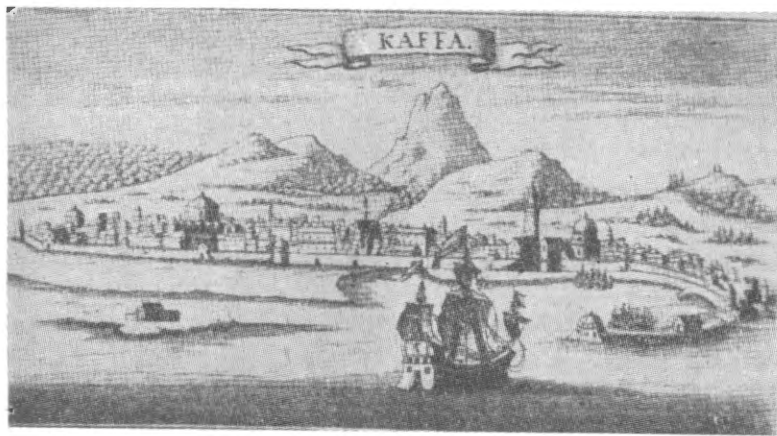
"When Peter I ascended the throne, he found his people plunged in the grossest ignorance; even the priests could scarce write: the most essential qualities required at that time in a good divine, were, to read currently the service, and to know the ceremonies of the church; if with that he had a fine bushy beard, and a grim visage, he passed for a great man.

"It was only the clergy of the Ukrain that had some tincture of erudition; yet among them it was that there was a necessity of selecting personages fit in any degree to instruct others. For Peter I having wished that his subjects, and particularly the clergy, should be more enlightened, gave it in charge to the Archbishop Stephen Javorsky (Yavorsky), to establish schools in the monasteries of Moscow, and in other proper places. This prelate sent for professors from Kiow. (Kiev) and Czernichov (Chernihiv), and the instruction of youth was begun, who did not, however make much progress. In 1709, he found in the monastery of Kiow a monk, called Prokopowich, who had not only in his youth studied under the Jesuits in Poland, but afterwards passed some years at Rome; and in different academies of Italy, where he had acquired a reasonable fund of learning; and having sent for him to Petersburg, declared him abbot of the monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky, newly built near that capital, giving him at the same time in charge, to establish some good schools and academies in Russia.

"Prokopowich began with having several youths taught in a school which he had set up in his own house, and after that they

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had made some progress, he sent them to foreign academies, to acquire learning enough to be employed at their return in quality of professors and preceptors, in the academies that were to be instituted in Russia. In the meanwhile, till these new establish-



21. The city of Kaffa (Theodosia).
An engraving of the middle of the XVIIIth century.

ments could be ready, he took care the instructions of youth should be continued in the monasteries, where they were taught the Latin language, and the first elements of philosophy. Prokopowich did not, however, succeed in his design. A part of those whom he had sent abroad did not return at all; and those that did, did not bring back with them the necessary qualifications for instructing others; so that the scheme fell to the ground."

Some information on the Zaporozhian Kozaks is found in the *Relation* by CLAUDIUS RONDO of 1730, a British resident in Petersburg. His report pertains to that period in the history of the Zaporozhian Kozaks when, after the first destruction of the Zaporozhian *Sich* by the Russian troops, the Kozaks returned from Oleshky and Kaminka and founded a new *Sich*. Rondo writes that the Zaporozhians "are a very robust and enduring people. . . They are a caste of Knights, who exclude women from their

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society... If there happen to be cases of thievery and the thief is apprehended on the spot, he is punished for his crime by hanging by his rib. Also a murderer is punished by death and most often he is buried together with his victim in the same grave."

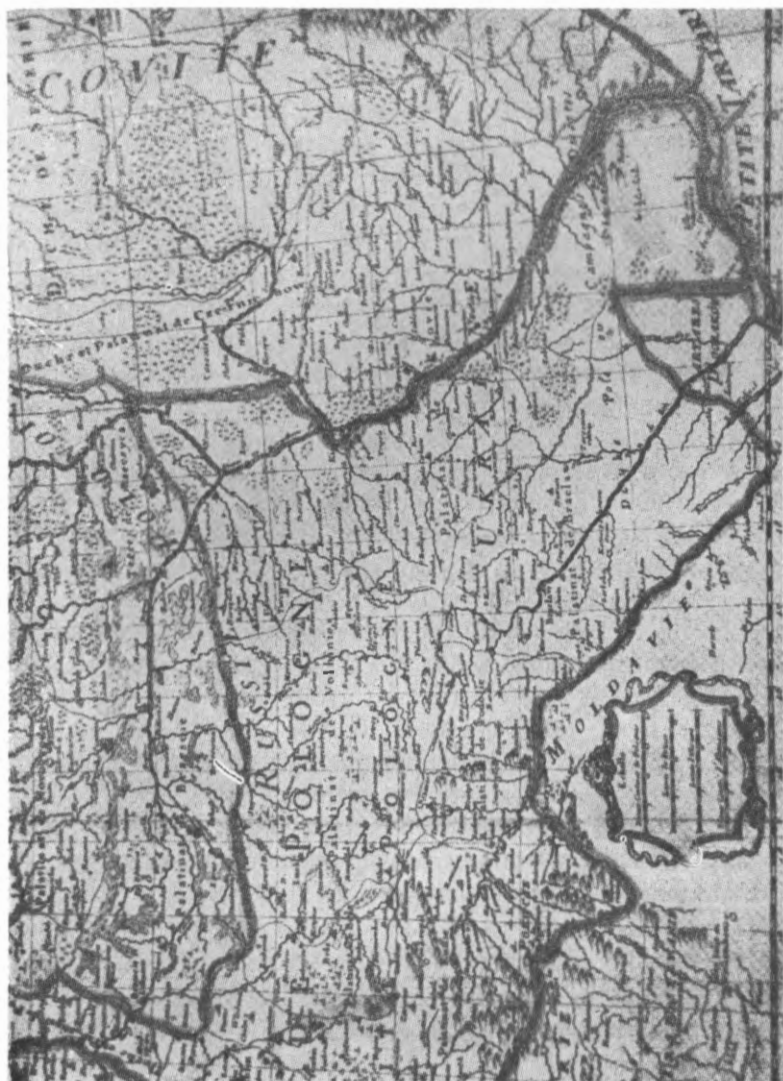
Dr. JOHN BELL of Antermony (1691-1780), being in the Russian service at the time of the Russo-Turkish War, 1736-1739, on instructions of the Chancellor Osterman, travelled with a mission to Constantinople. With this he had to pass almost through the whole of Ukraine, which he describes in the *Diary* of his journey.

On December 15, 1737 John Bell arrived in Hlukhiv, "the first town in Ukraine, a large and populous place"; next day he was in Baturin, "formerly the residence of the Hetman Mazepa... The country adjacent is very pleasant and exceedingly fruitful." Kiev is described in detail, and here the traveller remarks: "Besides they have a University of Kiev of considerable repute in these parts." This is a reference to the famous Kiev Academy, for two centuries a cradle of culture in the East of Europe.

One of the most interesting descriptions of Ukraine in the second half of the XVIIIth century is that in the *Travels* by JOSEPH MARSHALL, an English author, covering the years 1768-1770. It is a very detailed description of the economic life of Ukraine, particularly the cultivation of flax and hemp by Ukrainian peasants. The author is particularly impressed by the cultivation of flax and hemp, the cultivation of which he recommends for North America.

The title of Marshall's book reads: *Travels Through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Lapland, Russia, The Ukraine and Poland in the Years 1768, 1769 and 1770*. The first edition of the book appeared in London in 1770 and was followed by four other editions. We are using the text of the second edition which appeared in 1772 in London.

Although Ukraine at that time had been completely subjugated by Russia, Joseph Marshall did not hesitate to single it out as a separate nation, and underscored its geographical, eco-



22. Map of Ukraine by T. K. Lotter, 1745.

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nomical and cultural independence of Russia, which he termed Moscovia.

Under date of October 23, 1770 Marshall on leaving Moscow, wrote:

"I left that city, taking the road towards Ukraine. I was fortunate in having very fine clear weather, and found the roads everywhere exceedingly good, no autumnal rains having yet fallen. I got that night to Molasky, the distance about sixty miles, nor did I find such a day's journey too much for the horses; the country all this way is a level plain, very fertile, and much of it well cultivated, with many villages, and in general, a well peopled territory; the peasants seemed tolerably easy, but scarcely any of them have any property. From Molasky, fifty six miles carried me the next day to Arcroisy, a small town situated in a territory not so well peopled as the preceding; the villages thinner, and but a little of the soil cultivated, being covered with much timber of great size and beauty. The 25th (October, 1770) I reached Demetrioivitz, at the distance of more than fifty miles, every step of which was across a forest in which I saw not the least vestige of any habitation. The road was not difficult to find, even if I had not had a guide, but it is not much frequented; the mercantile people making this part of the journey to the Ukraine by water. This immense track of wild country, is part open meadow and part covered with timber, which would in England be thought a glorious sight; the soil is all a fine sand, and, if I may judge from the spontaneous vegetation, a most fertile loam; so that nothing is wanting but an industrious population, but without that, the whole territory is of little worth. I baited the horses in the middle of the forest, and refreshed myself and company, much admiring the uncommon extent of country that was without the least appearance of being inhabited. I apprehended that the country must have a great resemblance of the boundless plains and woods of Louisiana.

"The 26th I rode forty miles through an uninhabited plain to Serensky, no timber in it, but all one level fertile meadow. I saw some herds of cattle feeding as if wild, but the land was

T R A V E L S

T H R O U G H

HOLLAND,		LAPLAND,
FLANDERS,		RUSSIA,
GERMANY,		The UKRAINE,
DENMARK,		AND
SWEDEN,		POLAND,

I N T H E

Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

In which is particularly Minuted,

T H E P R E S E N T S T A T E

O F

T H O S E C O U N T R I E S ,

R E S P E C T I N G T H E I R

A G R I C U L T U R E , P O P U L A T I O N ,

M A N U F A C T U R E S , C O M M E R C E ,

T H E A R T S , A N D U S E F U L U N D E R T A K I N G S .

By JOSEPH MARSHALL, Esq;

V O L. III.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington House,
Piccadilly.

MDCCLXXII.

23. The title page of the book: *Travels*,
by Joseph Marshall, London, 1772.

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not a tenth part stocked; for the grass, if we turned out of the road, was up almost to the bellies of the horses. Such meadow would, I apprehend, in any part of England let readily for five and twenty shillings an acre, yet here of no value. Such are the effects of population, liberty and industry! The same distance the 27th carried me to Brensky (Bryansk), a pretty little town on the banks of a river in the middle of a forest, a place truly romantic. I felt myself rather fatigued with hard riding since I left Petersburg, and therefore rested myself here the 28th, lest a continuance of this great exercise should give me a fit of illness, for which Russia is the most unfit place in the world; for every man out of Petersburg or Moscow must be his own physician.

"The 29th I got to Staradoff (Starodub) at the distance of fifty miles: full twenty of which are through a rich and pleasant country, much of it very well cultivated; they were getting in part of their harvest; they cultivate all the grain and pulse common in England; and from what I saw I have little doubt but their husbandry is extremely good." (p. 162-164).

Marshall was especially impressed with the agriculture of the Ukrainians, writing:

"I found they had an idea here, that hemp is a great cleaner of the land, and that no weeds can live among it, which is what I do not recollect any writer of husbandry mentions, as being the practice of English farmers. . . .

"The quantity of hemp sown in all this country is very considerable. Indeed, I was told, that this province, which joins a part of the Ukraine in some places, is much like that country, only the soil is not quite so fine." (p. 165-166).

The industrial city of Chernihiv, which Joseph Marshall visited on November 1, 1770, is described by him as follows:

"Czernishen (Chernihiv) is a very well built town, finely situated on the banks of the River Desna, which is navigable for barges of fifty tons, is very well fortified, and inhabited by about fifteen thousand people. . . . All the track of country, which lies upon the River Desna, is very rich, and well cultivated. . . . For the government, although milder in the Ukraine, and the neigh-

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bouring provinces, from having been conquered from Poland, is yet the same, and the police as strict as in any other part of the empire. I made inquiries here concerning the danger of travelling through the Ukraine in this time of war, and they assured me, that whether it was war or peace, I should not see the least appearance of any danger, that I should find the Ukraine. . .as well regulated a province as any county in England.” (p. 167-168).

On November 3, 1770 Marshall arrived in Kiev and wrote in his *Travels*:

“Kiovia, the capital of the Ukraine . . . a great part of it is being well-peopled and cultivated. . . The present race of the Ukraine are civilized people and the best husbandmen in the Russian empire.

“Kiovia (Kiev), one of the most considerable cities I have seen in Russia, is a place well known in the history of that empire; for tho’ it has been subject to many revolutions, which reduced it to a low state compared with its former grandeur, yet it has now recovered all those antiens blows; it is well built of brick and stone. The streets are wide and strait and well paved, it has a very noble cathedral, much of it lately rebuilt, and eleven other churches. It has forty thousand inhabitants, and is strongly fortified. The Nieper (Dnieper) is here a noble river; and several larger rivers falling into it, after washing some of the richest provinces, enable this town to carry on a very considerable commerce. It is the grand magazine of all the commodities of the Ukraine, particularly hemp and flax, which in this fine province are raised in greater quantities and of a better quality than in any other part of Europe. The Ukraine is the richest province in the Russian empire (1770).

“November 5th, I left the capital of this province, and as I purposed making a circular detour of the western part, I went to Buda that day, which is about fifty miles; most of the country rich and very well cultivated; the soil is a black loam, and they raise the various sorts of grain and pulse that are commonly met with in England. I passed through great tracks of stubble ground, from off which the wheat, barley, and oats were carried. And

as in any other part of the empire. I made enquiries here concerning the danger of travelling through the Ukraine in this time of war; and they assured me, that whether it was war or peace, I should not see the least appearance of any danger; that I should find the Ukraine, tho' inhabited by Tartars, as well regulated province as any county in England. They said, there had been no incursions made into any of these provinces, as the theatre of the war was pushed on to the countries around the Black sea, and where they doubted not but it would continue.

November the 3d I reached Kiovia, the capital of the Ukraine, and fourscore miles from Czernicheu. The road leads on the banks of the Desna, through a beautiful country; great part of it being well-peopled and cultivated. It is inhabited by Tartarian descendants; but I found the present Cossacks, who have very little idea of husbandry, come far from the eastward, from countries that reach to the river Don, at the distance of above a thousand miles from hence. The present race of the Ukraine are a civilized people, and the best husbandmen in the Russian empire.

Kiovia, one of the most considerable cities I have seen in Russia, is a place well known in
the

the history of that empire ; for tho' it has been subject to many revolutions, which reduced it to a low state compared with its former grandeur, yet it has now recovered all those ancient blows ; it is well built of brick and stone : the streets are wide and strait, and well paved ; it has a very noble cathedral, much of it lately rebuilt, and eleven other churches. It has forty thousand inhabitants ; and is strongly fortified. The Nieper is here a noble river ; and several larger rivers falling into it, after washing some of the richest provinces of Poland, enable this town to carry on a very considerable commerce. It is the grand magazine of all the commodities of the Ukraine, particularly hemp and flax, which in this fine province are raised in greater quantities, and of a better quality, than in any other part of Europe. The Ukraine is the richest province in the Russian empire. Part of it formerly was a province of Poland, and the rest an independent sovereignty, under a Tartar prince ; but the whole is now a mere province of Russia, and much the richest acquisition that crown has made. It is upon an average two hundred and fifty miles long east to west ; and one hundred and forty broad north to south.

November

25. A page from the book by J. Marshall
from his travels in Ukraine, 1770

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I observed numerous hemp grounds, though not so much of the country is under that crop as corn; in some villages where I made enquiries. . . In the management of their cattle they are very good farmers; they have large stocks, and they house them all whenever the snow is above four inches deep upon the ground . . . and they sell immense quantities of butter and cheese, though it is extremely remarkable. . . The property of all this country is very much divided, here are very few great estates belonging to nobility. The old inhabitants of the country were very free, and had a great equality among them, and this in possessions as well as other circumstances; and fortunately this continues, though in subjection to Russia, most of the peasants are little farmers, whose farms are their own, with ten times the liberty among them that I anywhere else saw in Russia; the government is extremely cautious of oppressing or offending them, for they never will be in want of solicitations from the Turks to join the Tartars in alliance with the Porte. They pay a considerable tribute, but raise it among themselves according to their own customs; and they also furnish the Russian armies with a great many very faithful troops.

“These points, with the immense value of the trade the Russians carry on by means of their products, hemp and flax in particular, render the province of the first importance. I passed in this line of fifty miles, great numbers of villages and scattered farms.

“Buda is a little town or rather a large village, prettily situated between two rivers in a country perfectly pleasant. I turned off to the north-west and got the 6th to Kordyne a little town fifty two miles from Buda. All this country is equal to the preceding day's journey; I never saw a track of land that had more resemblance to the best parts of England. Nothing could be more fortunate than the weather for my expedition; the rains usually come very heavy the middle of September, and soon after them frosts and snow, but I have yet had a constant azure sky, with warm winds. If it holds five days more, I shall have passed this province, and I do not hear that there is any thing worthy of notice between the Ukraine and Petersburg,

therefore the weather will not be so essential to the journey. I remarked in the country I passed today, several tobacco plantations; they resemble hop grounds when the hillocks are not poled; they reckon it as profitable as hemp, which is owing I believe to the ready vent they find for all they cultivate. . . The 7th I reached Leszoryn, at the distance of six and thirty miles, the country continuing the same; much hemp and tobacco being planted through the whole. At a village by the way where I stopped to make enquiries, I found they preferred a red clay for their hemp, and planted all the black mold with tobacco. I observed many ploughs at work, some with six horses, of a little weak breed, but in general each was drawn by four stout oxen." (p. 169-174).

Travelling south down the Ukrainian steppe to the city of Ochakov, Marshall wrote:

"All the country is divided into small estates, or rather farms, cultivated by the owners; though I am told that in some parts of the province to the south, where I have not been, there are large estates belonging to the nobles, and that those parts are not near so well peopled or cultivated as these parts, which is a strong proof that much of the good husbandry met with in the Ukraine is owing to the peasants being owners of their lands, and vassalage almost unknown in the province. . . They have, it is true, a noble country, equal, I think, in soil, etc. to Flanders, and almost as well cultivated; but I have seen in other provinces of this empire immense waste tracks of land, not at all inferior in every thing derived from nature; but enslaved peasants are utterly inconsistent with a flourishing husbandry.

"It is this territory (Ukraine) which raises nine-tenths of the hemp and flax which we import at such a vast expense from Russia; it is therefore deserving of a little attention; for the best politicians, who have given most attention to the affairs of our American colonies, have all of them insisted very strenuously upon the possibility and even ease of supplying ourselves totally from thence. What truth there is in this I know not; but it will be of use to consider this province of the Ukraine with more attention than any writer has hitherto done, because from know-

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ing it perfectly we may judge how far we can reason by analogy when America is spoken of; and this is the more necessary, as the accounts which have hitherto been published of it are strangely contradictory; for on one hand they tell us truly, that the Russian hemp comes from thence; but on the other, they give such a picture of the state of the country, that one would suppose it was possessed by herds of wandering Cossacks, which is utterly inconsistent with the idea of such a state of agriculture as is necessary for making so great a proficiency in the culture of hemp and flax."

Furthermore, he points out the lack of information about Ukraine in Western Europe, and that such information as is available is scant and not infrequently untrue. It is particularly untrue, he writes, that hemp and flax are being imported from Russia, that is, from Moscow and Petersburg. He continues:

"It has been supposed that hemp and flax, coming to us from so northern a place as Petersburg, would grow in the midst of perpetual frosts and snows; but though we import it from latitude 60 (degrees), yet it all grows in the Ukraine, which lies between latitude 47 and 52, and is besides as fine, mild a climate as any in Europe; this is the latitude of the south of France. And with these advantages, the soil is superior to most I have seen, being in general a very rich, deep mould, between a loam and a dry clay, but without any of that tenacious stickiness which is so disagreeable in moving through a clay country in England. I am clear in the importance of conveying a precise idea, when we speak of soils; but not having been used to practical husbandry so much as I wish I had, I cannot properly make use of the necessary technical terms. To these advantages, which this province enjoys, I should certainly add, whether from accident or natural ingenuity, their good husbandry, which is much superior to any thing that I have seen since I left Flanders.

"After giving these particulars, we may examine, upon a good foundation, the capability of our colonies affording hemp and flax in equal quantities. These gentlemen who have travelled through them, best know how well they answer to the above

description: but if I may be permitted to speak on the authorities which many modern relations give us, the settlements on the sea-coasts of North-America will never yield hemp in any quantities; the climate is much too changeable and severe; sharp cutting frosts are met with in Carolina, in 30 degrees of latitude, and a burning sun, equal in heat to any part of the world: in New-England, Nova-Scotia, etc. where hemp has been attempted, it has always failed, from the severity of the climate and the badness of the lands. But all accounts give a very contrary description of the countries on the Mississippi: from the descriptions which I have read of the track on that river, from lat. 33 to lat. 40, I should apprehend it to be, of all other places in America, the most adapted to this culture: for the soil is rich, black, and very deep; the climate much more regular and pleasant than on the sea-coast, which is all marshes and swamps, and the lands in immense plenty, and all fresh. Hemp certainly might be raised in those parts to great advantage, provided the descriptions of them, which we have had, are just, which I do not see any reason to doubt.

“But then the misfortune is, that these beautiful tracks of country are without inhabitants; and great numbers of people are necessary for an advantageous culture of hemp. Another circumstance to be considered is, the profit of such an application of the land: hemp would never be cultivated to any purpose in Carolina, or our southern colonies, if the climate was proper, because rice and indico, and I believe even cotton, pay the planter much superior profits; and if indico and cotton were introduced on the Mississippi, as in all probability they would be, hemp would be neglected till those markets failed which took off the more beneficial articles. But, on the other hand, we ought not to regret this, for the national profit is proportionably greater; the more the planter’s advantage, the more the national income is increased. Hemp in fact is not an article of culture that is comparable to many others in profit, and will consequently never be cultivated except in those countries where corn and pulse, and other less profitable articles, would occupy the land if that did

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not; but when the soil and climate will do for richer commodities, it is idle to suppose that poorer ones will be attended to.

"If, therefore, it is an essential point to raise all the hemp in our colonies which we bring from Russia, new plantations must be formed on the Mississippi, in a latitude that will not do for the rich American staples; such for instance as that of 37 to 40, or thereabouts. The country so included is one of the finest in the world for all common husbandry; so that the inhabitants, like those of the Ukraine, would very easily raise all the necessaries of life, at the same time that their principal attention was given to hemp as their staple." (p.176-183).

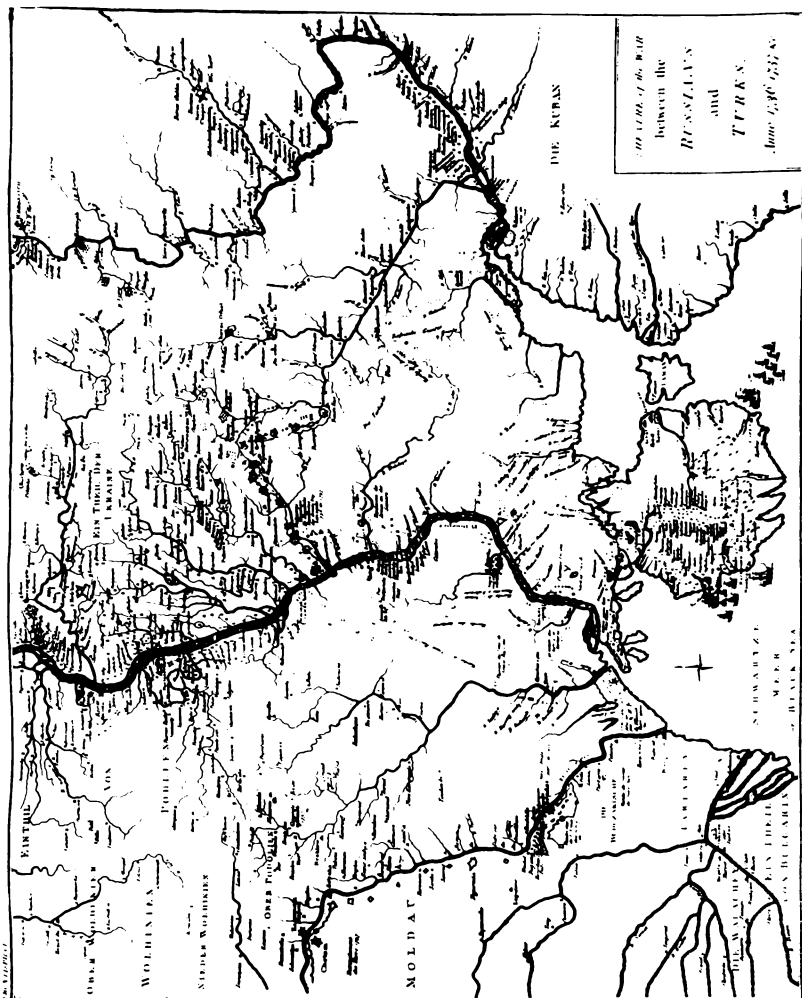
The well-known German writer, philosopher and ethnographer, JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER in his *Diary of My Travels* of 1769 wrote of Ukraine:

"Ukraine will become one day a new Greece; the beautiful climate of this country, the gay disposition of the people, their musical inclination and the fertile soil will all awaken; from so many small tribes which in the past were Greeks, there will rise a great and cultured nation and its boundaries will extend to the Black Sea, and thence into a far-flung world."

KAROL CHOJECKI, a Polish nobleman of Cracow who was captured by Russian troops in Cracow and sent together with the other Confederates of Bar (Polish insurgents) through Ukraine into Siberia, left his *Memoirs* of 1768-1776, in which he mentions the *haydamaks*, the Zaporozhians who participated in the Uman uprising against the Russian government.

Chojecki writes that in the town of Polonne over 90 Ukrainian *haydamaks* were incorporated into a party of Polish Confederates in the fall of 1768. In Kiev, he writes, both Poles and Ukrainians were imprisoned in barracks under such inhuman conditions that five to eight persons died every day, their corpses being left inside for three or more days despite the fact that many of the prisoners were seriously ill.

"Every day," writes Chojecki, "we saw them take them out (*haydamaks*), punish them by flogging with knouts and tearing



26. Map of Ukraine from the book, *Memoirs of Russia*, by C. H. Manstein, London, 1773.

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out their nostrils, as is a custom of the Muscovites, and then send them into exile for life."

Going through Ukraine in a convoy of Polish prisoners, Chojecki remarks that the Ukrainian population was unusually sympathetic:

"Nizhyn was a well-ordered, densely populated and well-built city; the buildings were mostly of wood, but a few were built of stone. The inhabitants conducted trade on a large scale, and their merchants were partly Greeks and partly Ukrainians. The inhabitants proved to be very humane: not only the dwellers with whom we had to pass the night were gracious and polite, but all the other inhabitants were equally so, for as we were leaving the city, they passed us on their sleds and threw wheat and rye bread to us and even money. We were deeply touched by the humanity of these people."

But when the prisoners crossed the Ukrainian border and found themselves in Muscovy, conditions quickly changed for the worse, Chojecki wrote.

"We met an entirely new population, which differed sharply (from the Ukrainians) in its behaviour. . . Whenever we entered a (Muscovite) village, the inhabitants regarded us as if we were a circus; they ridiculed us, threw snow-balls and dirt at us, and treated us as enemies; in general, they refused to sell us anything, and if they did consent to sell some things, it was at exorbitant prices."

The German doctor and scientist, SAMUEL GOTTLIEB GMELIN, in his four-volume *Travels Through Russia* (1770-1784) wrote that the Ukrainians were "very diligent, gay by nature, and friendly, devoted to music and a drink. . . They like and cultivate cleanliness; therefore, even the humblest house is much cleaner than the richest palaces of the Russians. . . Also, their food is much more delicate."

Gmelin also comments on the clothing of the Ukrainians and upon their appearance:

"They shave their heads. The lower part of their attire (trousers) is made of wool, silk or cloth, which they support with

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silk sashes; the outer covering, which falls to the heels, is always of cloth. They wear nothing around their necks, and their hats are round. . . The women also wear long frocks of good cloth."

Gmelin also mentions that in Ukraine there was a well developed chemical industry; he was amazed to find that the Ukrainians possessed a saltpeter industry. He was also impressed with the fact that in Ukraine various types of chemical medicines were known and that inoculation against smallpox was common.

An unknown author who wrote an article entitled "Remarks on Travel from Petersburg to Crimea in 1771," which appeared in the *Magazine of Science and Literature* of Goettingen, devoted much space to the moods of the Ukrainians and the system in Ukraine. On passing through the former capital of the Ukrainian *hetmans*, Baturyn, the author comments:

"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. . . In the land of these people one can travel much more safely than in states of the greatest police surveillance. This difference is at once evident upon crossing from Muscovy into Ukraine. In Muscovy the post stations usually had to warn the passengers of dangerous places, whereas such places simply do not exist in Ukraine."

The English diplomat HARRIS MALMESBURY, in a letter sent to William Eden from Petersburg on February 2, 1778, characterizes the life of the capital of Catherine II as follows:

"Great splendor and immorality seem to be typical among all classes; servility and kowtowing characterize the lower classes, while conceit and pride are rampant among the upper classes. . . Their (Russians') entertainment, furnishing of homes and the number of servants have a distinct Asiatic character, and despite the fact that they like to imitate foreigners and have nothing of their own to show, a foreigner finding himself among them, is received very crudely."

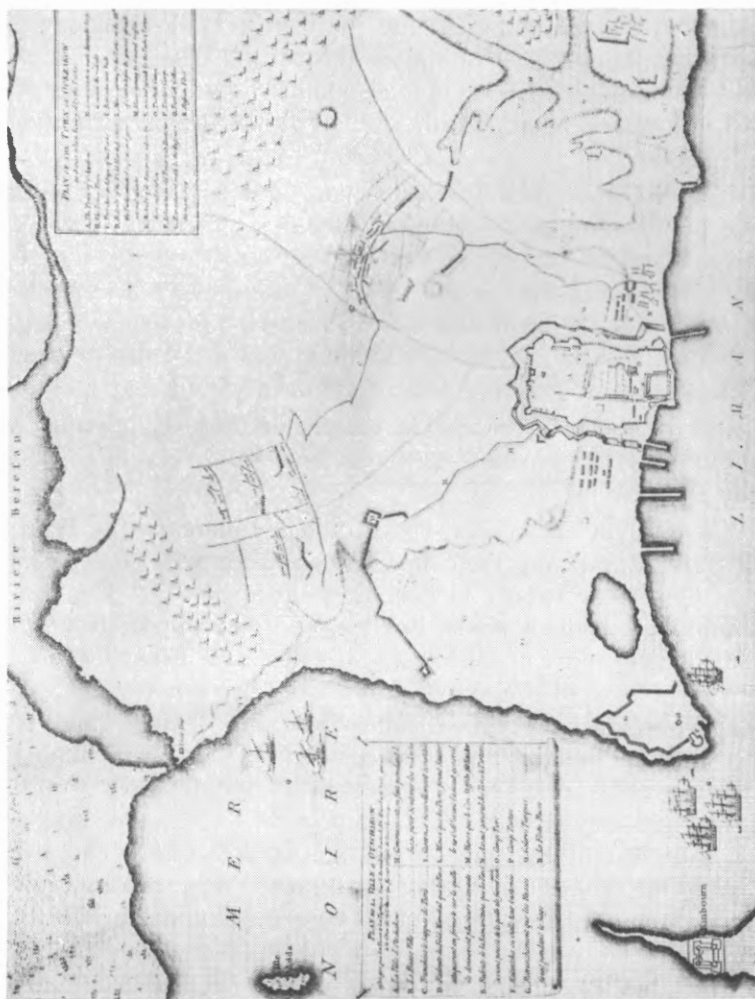
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A very interesting description of Ukraine is found in the writings of J. A. HUELDENSTAEDT, an academician who devoted much time to the study of the economy of Ukraine. During his first trip to the coast of the Azov Sea in 1771-1774 Hueldenstaedt describes the coastal town, their trade and industry, the rivers and the transportation system area around the Sea of Azov. In describing the city of Rostov, he comments on the Kozak settlement outside the city and writes about the shipyards and the types of vessels near Rostov and Tahanrih (Taganrog), which were built by Ukrainian engineers. He writes that Turkish prisoners of war and Ukrainians were working on the enlargement of the port of Rostov.

Hueldenstaedt also writes about the methods of preparing dried fish and canned fish, which at that time comprised one of the main industries in that part of Ukraine. He also refers to the hauling of salt from the salt lakes, which "the Zaporozhians are using for their fish factories." He also describes a leather factory near Azov.

From Hueldenstaedt's remarks it is evident that the Russian administration was trying to settle the unpopulated steppes on the Black Sea with Don Cossacks, who spoke the Russian language, while the Ukrainians were used as specialists in agriculture, industry and shipbuilding. He mentions three Ukrainian settlements near Tahanrih on the banks of the Mius River with 100 families in each. Ukrainian villages were also located in the vicinity of the forts of Mius and Pavlovsk. He writes that the fish industry contributed to the richness of the area, and that the Ukrainians were the people engaged in the fish industry. He also makes a distinction between the houses of the Russians and those of the Ukrainians: the former "for the most part live in smoky huts," while the latter dwell in houses built of clay, which, unlike those of the Russians, had chimneys.

"By order (of the Muscovite government), he writes, "the River Kal-Mius was declared the boundary between the Don Cossacks and the Zaporozhian Cossacks. But up to the time of the war with the Turks, in which the decisive part was played



27. Map of the Dnieper delta and the city of Ochakov from *Memoirs of Russia*, by C. H. Manstein, London, 1773.

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by the Ukrainian Kozaks, the Zaporozhians had settlements all the way up to the fort of Mius. . .”

In the account of his second journey in 1774 Hueldenstaedt gives much important material on the natural resources, industry and trade of Ukraine. There is also much information about Kiev itself, where, we read, “fruit trees could be found near almost every house.”

He also wrote that in Kiev walnut and mulberry trees were to be found, while in “the Podol in Kiev (a section of Kiev) there was a state silk (mulberry) plantation with 500 big mulberry trees.” He writes that in the towns of Khorol and Kamyshyn of the Myrhorod regiment (district) a ceramic industry was highly developed, while in “Reshetylivka there was a tannery producing a fine quality of furs for men’s hats used throughout Ukraine.”

One of the most important centers of trade in Ukraine was the city of Nizhyn, where the merchants were Ukrainians, Russians and Greeks.

“In Nizhyn,” he writes, “one could see merchandise from all countries: European, Turkish, Crimean, Muscovite, Siberian. . .” From there they export to Danzig, Leipzig and Silesia all sorts of furs, wax, leather, paste, bristles; and they import from there a thin Dutch and English cloth, Silesian linen, French and German silk and woolen apparel, scythes and dry goods. To Poland they export furs, tobacco, leather and fine leather, and from there they import salt and finished tobacco. Also they export to Moldavia and Turkey such products as rough linen, furs and leather, and import from Moldavia and Wallachia wine and rock salt; from Turkey they import silk and colonial products—sheep, cheese, rice, coffee, almonds, Greek nuts, figs, raisins, spices, lemons, tropical fruits (fresh and preserved), and the juice from them.

The Ukrainians exported to the Crimea such products as rough linen and furs, while importing salt, fine leather, hat furs, nuts, rice and wine. On the Nizhyn market the most common Ukrainian products were rough linen (from Starodub), good leather from Dobryansky on the Dnieper, fine tobacco from Romno, Ivanhorod,

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Ostriv and Uman, and good whiskey from Korop. The author also cites the prices on the Ukrainian markets, which rose considerably after the liquidation of the Zaporozhian *Sich* by Russian troops. In Nizhyn, in addition to its famous markets, there were also textile and hat-making industries. Textile factories also existed in Ryasky near Pryluky and in Baturyn, while fine linen was made in Vyshenka on the Desna.

From the description of Ukraine by Hueldenstaedt it is clear that Ukrainian industry in the second half of the XVIIIth century was well developed, due to the fact that the country was on the road to economic recovery in the time of the Ukrainian Kozak state.

JEAN BENOIT CHERER, author of *Annals of Little Russia* (Paris, 1778), wrote in the preface to the book:

"The chronicle which we are now publishing is a history of a people who are more glorious than they are known, and whose early history dates back 800 years, but whose name has been barely known for the last 200 years."

The Ukrainian people, he wrote, are worthy of the attention of every enlightened European, "because, if the picture of the efforts of that people toward the preservation of their liberties, faith system and customs—in one word, of everything which is treasured by a man is of interest to our century, avid of knowledge, then we are incapable of sufficiently appraising the ardor and motivation which activate these people."

We read that the Ukrainian Kozaks "preferred the inconveniences of difficult campaigns rather than the tranquil life of slaves. From their history we learn how fathers passed on to their sons the proud feeling of independence as the best heritage, where 'Death or Liberty' was the only real bequest which passed from father to son together with the grandfather's arms."

"The Ukrainian Kozaks were a peaceful people; they responded initially by giving in to the usurpation of Polish magnates and clergy; but later on, when they realized that there existed only one motive—to destroy them—it was not surprising that they should have taken to the sword in order to throw off

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the yoke and manifest their inclination for independence. . . This people, rich in the historical tradition which was passed down from generation to generation, threw off the yoke of serfdom, and the oppressors cannot forgive them for it. This, that the Kozaks did to protect themselves, is looked upon as a revolution, and every uprising is considered a crime. . ." (p. VII).

Cherer characterizes the Ukrainians as follows: "The Ukrainians are tall and strong people, friendly and hospitable, not disposed to impose upon others, but not tolerating any limitation of their own personal liberty. . ."

Another Western European writer, JOHAN CHRISTIAN ENGEL, in the preface to his *History of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Cossacks, and also of Galicia and Lodomeria* (Halle, 1796) writes:

"Ukraine, from the viewpoint of territory is equal to the Kingdom; it is a fertile land liberally endowed by nature; it is a frontier wall between cultured Europe and uncivilized Asia, a pasture and gateway to so many Asiatic hordes which have tried to invade Europe, and for this reason alone it merits much attention. Now Ukraine forms a part of the great Russian empire. But how did it come to be under Russia? How did it happen that the independent Kozaks found themselves under the Muscovite yoke, how did the Muscovites succeed in putting shackles on the Kozaks, who in the past were the terror of the Turks, Tartars and Poles? How did it happen that the place of a constitutional Hetman, who was bound to the Kozaks, is taken by a governor (Muscovite)? The history of the Kozaks also had a great influence upon the history of Poland, Sweden and Transylvania. Without it the splendor and the decline of Poland could not be imagined. The successors of Charles Gustave and Charles XII might have ruled up to this day in Warsaw, Moscow and Petersburg, as was desired by Khmelnytsky and the Kozaks of Mazepa. And perhaps Rakoczi would have become a second Batory, had he not been stopped by the Kozaks in his campaign of 1657. . . The history of the Kozaks is instructive in itself. The energy of the entire people as well as of individuals . . . manifested itself on the battlefields of Bilhorod, Korsun and Zbarazh, as well

as in the heroic undertakings of Khmelnytsky and Mazepa. One needs only such a pen as had the one who depicted with such art and intelligence the separation of the Netherlands.”

At the end of the XVIIIth century, as is known, the Russian government began the colonization of the Black Sea Steppes, the conquest of which had cost the Ukrainians tremendous sacrifices during several centuries. This colonization was conducted with the assistance of various foreigners who were given special privileges, such as state loans, equipment, exemption from taxes, and the like. Similar privileges were also enjoyed by Russians brought from Muscovy. At the same time the Russian government pursued a different policy with respect to the Ukrainians in the same area. Not only did they not enjoy any of these privileges, but their taxes were extremely heavy and crushing. In addition, the Russian government treated them with suspicion, because they were Kozaks, former Zaporozhians and “followers of Mazepa” (*mazepynsi*), always ready to fight for their political and cultural liberty, independence, and human decency.

This colonization of the Black Sea steppe was rather severely criticized by DIGUROV, a professor of the Kharkiv University and a Frenchman by birth, who had Russified his name. In his work, *De la Civilisation des Tatars-Nogais*, he writes that the Ukrainians who settled together with the Tatars on the River Molochna and who came from Central Ukraine, were living under extremely adverse conditions.

“The chief reason for their poverty is that they have come here without any means, while at the same time they have been compelled to pay taxes although they have very little land.”

Discussing the methods which eventually could elevate the status of these Ukrainian settlers, Digurov writes:

“Why not give them some agricultural equipment, cattle and money for the construction of houses? They certainly would return this loan with no less dispatch than the Italians, Germans and Jews. . . . An exemption of their taxes for five years by the ‘captain-managers’ (Russian administration) would be a true relief for them.”

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But such voices as this were very few and, as a rule, ignored.

About 1775 there was published an anonymous work in French entitled *Le Faux Pierre III ou la vie et les aventures du rebelle Jemelyan Pugatshev*. It was suspected that the author of this book of 296 pages, was in all probability the French Minister to the Russian government, DURAN, who hid his identity behind the initials, "Mr. F.S.G.D.B." It was claimed that this book, directed against the despotism of Catherine II, was published in London, but in reality it was published in Paris. In this book we find some interesting references to Ukraine and the old-time Ukrainians (*les anciens Ukrainiens*) and their persecution by the Russian troops at the time of the destruction of the Zaporozhian *Sich* by Catherine II. Duran emphasizes that the territory of Ukraine lies between Poland and Russia (Moscovia) and that in this territory are a number of greater and larger rivers—Dniester, Boh, Dnieper, Desna, Donets, Don, Samara and others.

On page 30 of the book the author gives the following explanation of the name "Ukraina" and "Okraina":

"One has to make a distinction between Ukraine, which the geographers also call the Land of the Kozaks, and *l'ukraina* or *l'ocraina*, of which we speak now. The former (Land of the Kozaks) lies between Poland and Russia, and is extremely fertile. . . has a few large rivers. . . L'ocraina, on the other hand, is a land still covered with forest and almost uncultivated, and is populated by Tatars who pay contributions and have no cities or towns. It (*ocraina*) lies between Southern Muscovy (*Moscovie Meridionale*) and Little Tartaria."

There is no doubt that the author had in mind a district (*okraina*), comprising areas of the present-day districts of Voronizh, Kharkiv and Yelets. This small territory, which was known as *okraina*, was identified on some maps of that time, for instance, on the map of J. Massy of 1633, on the globe of Cornelius of 1660-1670, found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, and in the atlas of De Witte of the XVIIth century. (See the Dutch map in this book, found by the author in the Baworowsky Library in Lviv, Illustr. 15).

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In the book of Duran, on page 66, the following statement is made with reference to the events that followed after 1654 (the year of the Treaty of Pereyaslav between Ukraine and Muscovy):

“When Ukraine became enslaved by Russia, many Ukrainians emigrated to *Okraina*. . . and swore to hate uncompromisingly everything that was Muscovite. . .”

Another book that deals with the same period (the end of the XVIIIth century) is the *Memoires secrètes sur la Russie*, by CHARLES FRANCOIS MASSON, which was translated into English in 1801. (The English translation of 1801 was inaccessible to the author.) The author, a Frenchman by origin, served the Russian government in 1762-1802, and was very close to the Tsarist court, its affairs and intrigues. Although he was extremely cautious in expressing his thoughts on the Muscovite tyranny in order to “maintain a balance between the gratitude for the nation which accepted me, and the antipathy toward the government,” nevertheless his remarks regarding Ukraine and the Ukrainian aspirations are extremely interesting. He was well oriented in the relationship between Russia and Ukraine and makes a definite distinction between *russe* and *ukrainien*. For instance, in chapter XIV, Masson writes:

“The warlike nation of the Kozaks is diminishing from day to day. It will soon disappear from the face of the earth as have disappeared others fallen under the Russian sceptre, unless some happy revolution would soon arrive to liberate it from the yoke which it endures. . . The Kozaks have nothing in common with the Russians, with the exception of the Greek religion and corrupted language. Their customs, their mode of life, food, wars—are totally different, if one does not take into consideration certain similarities which always exist in neighboring peoples. The Kozaks are more handsome, taller, more active, more dexterous, more ingenious, and above all, more honest than the Russians, and less used to serfdom. They are sincere and brave and speak their minds. Their appearance is less uniform, and the imprint of slavery has not made midgets out of them nor rendered them base. . . The Kozaks are cruel and bloody, but only in battle,

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while the Russian is, by nature, cold-blooded, merciless and severe. . . The Kozak nation is losing its independence which it enjoyed before uniting with Russia. They are not spared as long as they (the Russians) believe they can go unpunished. The uprising of the great Hetman Mazepa provoked by bad treatment, initiated the beginning of their oppression even during the reign of Peter I. This emperor took away their right to elect their own leader. He conducted compulsory recruitment in the country and had limited Kozak contingents which thereafter could be only periodical and temporary. Angered by their loyalty to Charles XII, he suppressed the Kozaks' families and dispersed their warriors throughout the various districts of his boundless empire. Nevertheless his successors were more careful and respected the remaining Kozak military and civil institutions for fear that by oppressing them more and more severely they might push them under the protection of the Turks or Poland. . . But as soon as these enemies ceased to be dangerous to Russia, the Kozaks found themselves in the enslavement of Tsarism. Now their ancient republican constitution exists no longer, the equality among them has disappeared. . . The union of the Kozaks with Russia was voluntary and conditional . . . their land was always a property of the entire nation . . . and no foreigner, including Russian, could settle there without the approval of the community, and the republic with great determination defended its frontier against the onslaughts of its neighbors. Such was the ancient status of the Kozaks, a status quite happy, when one compares their complete ancient independence with the complete present-day enslavement by the Russians . . . their present-day masters, but comrades of slavery. . . From the time of Mazepa they did not have any great *hetman* elected from among themselves. This dignity was abrogated and the title alone remained as a decoration for a few favorites of the Russian empresses such as Rozumovsky and Potemkin. . .

"The Russian government is always alarmed and always suspicious because it always oppresses, and it has not limited itself to one safeguard against a nation which has so many claws.

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It was not enough that it took away their military strength, that it parcels their territory and incorporates it into old Russian provinces. Not so long ago it began dismemberment of the nation itself.” (What the author has in mind is the forceful deportation and resettlement of some 50,000 Ukrainians into the Kuban territory, the Caucasus and the Crimea).

Masson concludes his chapter on the Ukrainians as follows:

“The Kozak nation is today in a state of crisis, it is restless and endeavors to emerge from under the heel of a colossus which wants to crush it.”

The last of the Western European authors dealing with the Ukrainian problem at the end of the XVIIIth century was GARRON de CULLON, Attorney General (*procureur general*) and member of the French Convention, who wrote *Recherches politiques sur l'Etat ancien et moderne de la Pologne, appliquées à sa dernière revolution* (Paris, 1795). The entire sixth chapter of the book is devoted to the Kozaks and Ukraine, “a land,” as he writes, “limitless and fertile, beautiful and great as a half of France, where there reigned a pleasant air of liberty, independence, brotherhood and equality.”

Touching on the history of Ukraine from the time of the union of Lithuania and Poland, when Ukraine became a vassal state, the author dwells at length on the era of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Russian supremacy of the XVIIth century. He writes:

“Tsar Peter I easily gave royal promises to the Kozaks, promises which rulers never refuse to grant but also never fulfill.” But after the liquidation of Ukrainian autonomy, “a great part of the Ukrainian lands was distributed among the type of slaves known as the Russian nobility (*dvoryanstvo*). In Ukraine there were installed Russian courts, the most corrupt in Europe, with an officer caste of Muscovite origin. Finally, Catherine gathered her slaves from all provinces in order to prepare a law codex, which in fact was never done, and when during that occasion the Kozaks demanded the restitution of their rights and the autonomy of Ukraine, their delegates were shackled and taken to Petersburg where they all died in prison from cold and hunger.

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The unfortunate Kozaks made their last attempt to liberate themselves from under the Russian yoke, and at the beginning of this century joined the Swedes... When peace was established in Ukraine, which always follows enslavement, one day Europe found out about the complete destruction of the Zaporozhians. In her manifesto the 'virtuous' Catherine accused the Zaporozhians of leading 'profligate lives' (!) and of being loyal to their own laws, which she herself—'this religious tsaritsa'—had sworn to uphold. From that time on Ukraine fell more and more into a state of darkness."

Garron de Cullon ended his chapter on Ukraine with a significant prophesy:

"But nature in its creativeness and freedom is stronger than tyranny, and a handful of Goths who escaped into the mountains of Asturia succeeded in expelling the Moors from all the provinces of Spain. The genius of independence wanders also among the unfortunate Ukrainian Kozaks. And it could be that the time is not far off when together with the Crimean and Kuban Tartars under the leadership of a new Pugachev, the Ukrainian Kozaks will change the face of Russia, and Ukraine, enslaved at various times in its history, will no longer tolerate the shame of being shackled by hands, destined to the needle and spindle." (Allusion to Tsaritsa Catherine II.

CHAPTER EIGHT

UKRAINE IN THE FOREIGN LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AT the close of the XVIIIth century the last vestiges of Ukrainian autonomy were completely suppressed by the Russian despotic regime. International treaties with and assurances given to Ukraine by various Russian Tsars had been broken in a fashion seldom found in the histories of other nations. With the liquidation of the independence of the Ukrainian economy, Ukraine was divided into Russian provinces and each of these became a mere administrative province of the Russian empire.

No small wonder then that to Ukraine now came hundreds and thousands of Russian "visitors," "specialists," and officials of all ranks and distinction to see that "promised land," which beckoned to them as a prospective area in which they could establish their future livelihoods. They began to write about Ukraine, its actual and potential natural resources, and rarely also about the national, political and cultural aspects of the people and thus they too carried to foreign literature certain information on Ukraine.

Among the Russian scientists and writers who left a considerable store of such writings was VASILY ZUYEV, who traveled extensively throughout Ukraine at the request of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the years 1781-1782. His attention was particularly drawn to the Eastern Ukrainian territories (*Slobidska Ukraina*). Traveling through the Province of Kharkiv, Zuyev noticed that the people were entirely different in their language, costume and habits from the Russians. He especially remarked that the houses of the Ukrainians were extremely spacious, made of wood, and painted with white lime, and that their interiors were immaculately clean.

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The land in the Kharkiv area, Zuyev wrote, was exceedingly fertile: "Wherever you go you see lands covered with wheat, melon patches and orchards."

He commented that the Ukrainians, although possessing abundant resources, did not seem to be eager to acquire money and other material benefits, but limited themselves to selling the surpluses of their produce. He wrote that the Ukrainian markets, such as those in Kharkiv and Sumy, were known not only in Ukraine, but in other countries; merchants from Russia, Poland, Moldavia, Greece and Germany came to sell their wares: English textiles, silk apparel, velvet, woolen stuffs, and English and Silesian linen, all sorts of dishes and glassware, and liquor. The Ukrainian population, on the other hand, sold its own products to them: wheat, cattle, poultry, whiskey, fruit, honey, wax and rough cloth. The Ukrainians traded wine and salt for their whiskey, while other merchandise was acquired through the barter system, owing to the small value and trust they entertained for Russian money.

Another Russian writer, K. SHALIKOV (*Putyeshestviye v Malorossiyu*, or *Travel in Little Russia*, Moscow, 1803-1804) gives his impression of Ukraine:

"After having seen Little Russia, my eyes could not enjoy enough the view of little white-painted houses, neatly dressed inhabitants, and the lovely appearance of beautiful women."

He was immensely impressed by the customs and the social life of the Ukrainian nobility (the former Kozak officers), and was astounded, as he wrote, to find the families of Ukrainian Orthodox priests as well-educated and well-mannered as those of the nobility.

Thus at a formal dance in Poltava he met the daughter of a Ukrainian Orthodox priest who was skilled in all the modern dances, something which was not common in Muscovy. And of the Ukrainian Orthodox priests, the Russian writer stated:

"Through their behavior the Ukrainian priests establish an example of the good life to others, and therefore enjoy especial esteem. . ."

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Shalikov wrote of the Ukrainian women:

"In general women here are very pleasant, almost all of them have pensive and ardent eyes which vividly reflect their sensitiveness of soul and heart. Nature itself has bestowed upon their faces the sign of love and gentleness."

He also writes that the behavior of Ukrainian women is quite different from that of the Russian women, particularly as far as hospitality is concerned. Ukrainian women, he pointed out, are exceedingly friendly and hospitable, in sharp contrast to Russian women.

P. SUMAROKOV, another Russian traveler in Ukraine, in his book *Leisure Moments of a Crimean Judge. (Dosugi krymskago sudyi)*, Petersburg, 1803, when he first stepped on the Ukrainian land, stated as follows:

"Here are different faces, different customs, different dress, and a different system; and I hear a different language. Is the frontier of the empire here? Are we entering another state?"

The customs and the character of the Ukrainians were graphically described by V. IZMAYLOV, *Travel into Southern Russia in Letters (Putyeshestviye v poludennouyu Rossiyu v pismakh)*, Moscow, 1800). He wrote that Ukrainian family life was marked by great love and mutual respect and confidence between husband and wife:

"The mutual love creates in their domestic life a higher harmony and order than authority and obedience in our life (Russian) . . . Girls here are not kept under rigid control: every one of them is beautiful, artful and attractive . . . They (the village girls) are slim and extremely graceful (for peasant girls) . . . All the villages and farm-houses are located in beautiful spots. Every house is clean and white-painted, surrounded by flowering orchards. . ."

In contrast to this, the author points out, the family life of the Russians is marked by despotism, moral looseness and the unkemptness of Russian women, who care nothing about their own appearance nor that of their houses.

Izmaylov writes:

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"The Ukrainians love their country and its glory, because. . . its glory was also closely connected with their duty of patriotism."

This great difference in habits, culture and national characteristics was also strongly emphasized in the writings of another Russian traveler in Ukraine, A. LEVSHIN. In his book *Otryvki iz pisem o Malorossii* (*Excerpts from Letters About Little Russia*) which appeared in 1816, he underscores the following traits of the Ukrainians; piety, and ardent love for their country and an ever-present readiness to defend it, a patriarchal family order, the innocence of youth and the purity of habits. The Ukrainian peasants, he wrote, have a highly developed sense of personal property, and therefore thefts are rare. . . He also says that the Ukrainian women are industrious and the men careless. He concludes his findings:

"I might also mention the hatred of Ukrainians towards the Great Russians. . . You can easily be convinced of that, since they always say: 'A good man, but a *moskal* (Russian). Mothers frequently scold their child by calling him a '*moskal*.' "

The hostility of the Ukrainians towards the Russians is also emphasized by IVAN SBITNYEV, who described his impressions of Kharkiv in the *Vyestnik Evropy* (*The Herald of Europe*) in 1830:

"The local population (Ukrainians) of the city of Okhtyrka in Slobozhanshchyna entertain a hostile attitude towards the Russians, so that even at congresses they refuse to understand the Russian language. . . Upon seeing travellers (Russians), the Ukrainian peasants leave their work and begin singing insulting and satirical songs at them, songs, which are accompanied by loud laughter and derision."

Another Russian traveler, I. DOLGORUKIY (*Diary of Travel in Kiev, 1817* (*Dnevnik putyeshestviya v Kiev*), after having crossed the Russian-Ukrainian ethnographic boundary at the city of Sivsk, commented at once:

"Here is a different language, different habits; the appearance of the land and roads, is different, too. The roads are girded by trees, which could not be found in Muscovy."

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He also wrote that the Orthodox Church in Ukraine is quite different from the Russian Orthodox Church insofar as the rite is concerned; Ukrainian song and architecture differ as well.

On traversing the province of Chernihiv, Prince Dolgorukiy wrote:

"Keep in mind that in this country there are many churches in villages and towns built by Mazepa. From the same lips prayers are being said for the salvation of his soul, and he is being anathematized upon orders from Moscow."

Dolgorukiy mentions various schools in Ukraine, which continued the tradition of the cultural work of Kozak times, and which were now being maintained by cities and by private individuals, and not by the Russian government, as was the case with schools in Muscovy. In Chernihiv he saw a big artisan school and a *gymnasium*; in the city of Nizhyn he visited a "School of higher learning by the name of Bezborodko," a county *gymnasium*, a Greek school and a French school for girls; in Poltava, he visited the local *gymnasium* under the directorship of Ivan Kotlyarevsky, the well-known Ukrainian poet.

Returning north by way of the city of Hlukhiw, he passed through the village of Tovstoduby, which, he noted, marked "the frontier of Little Russia." Dolgorukiy concluded:

"On departing from Ukraine, I would like to conclude my story about it with a final remark: As far as I can see, Ukraine is not a happy country, all its natural endowments notwithstanding. Its political sun does not warm it as a celestial light. It (Ukraine) is tortured, it suffers from various burdens and deeply senses the loss of liberty of the past centuries. Discontent is subdued, but almost general."

MIKHAIL POGODIN, (1800-1875), professor of the Moscow University, a well-known Russian nationalist writer, a theoretician of the "official (Russian) nationality," and a spiritual father of political Russophilism (which later the Russian tsars tried to impress upon the Ukrainians in Austria) could not refuse to recognize the difference between the Ukrainians and the Russians. In 1842 he wrote:

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"I like Little Russian villages. How attractive—the white houses in the shadow of beautiful trees, dispersed in the hills. From the first sight it is apparent that the inhabitant must be a friend of nature, and that he likes his house and does not leave it without reason. In Great Russia (Muscovy) things are different; one sees hardly any vegetation near the *izba* (house) and the inhabitant is seldom at home; he moves from place to place, and his house is only for sleeping."

Of still greater interest are the writings of those Western European travellers who visited Ukraine in the XIXth century. They left an enormous amount of writings in which they described Ukraine in its historical and cultural aspects.

One such Western European writer was MALTEBRUN, an excellent Danish geographer, who in his book *Tableau de la Pologne*, published in Paris in 1807, wrote:

"The Ukrainians (*les Ukrainois*) are the descendants of Kievan Rus. The peasants in Ukraine are much more economical than those in Muscovy: they do not lay waste their forests in a barbarous manner. The houses of the Ukrainian peasants are beautiful and sturdy. No one wears ragged shoes, as in Muscovy. They are well-built, and are more enlightened than the peasants, say, in Lithuania. . . The Ukrainians are very intelligent, and the spirit of freedom manifests itself even in their external manners. . ."

The Ukrainian ethnographic territory, according to Maltebrun, extended from the Carpathians, where the Ukrainians settled before the IXth century, through Galicia and to the east of the Dnieper River. He writes of Galicia:

"Red Rus was an independent state which the Polish King Boleslaw reduced to a vassal status in 1008."

He adds that in 1213 the "Galician Kingdom" (*Royaume de Halicz ou de Galitzie*) became absolutely independent." Further "The Galician Prince Danylo created an independent state, and his name is a glory of Rus. The language in Galicia of two-thirds (!) of the population is similar to the language spoken in Ukraine."

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HUBERT VAUTRAIN, Frenchman, in his book *L'Observateur en Pologne* (Paris, 1807), wrote that the Ukrainians are "a Slavic race, which made the walls of Constantinople, Bilgorod and Trepisond tremble," and that in later times the Muscovite government imposed slavery upon this "glorious race, which had such a genius as Khmelnytsky."

Another Frenchman, CHARLES LOUIS LESUR (d. 1849), a publicist and member of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in his book *Histoire des Kosaques* (1812), characterizes the Ukrainians as follows:

"The Ukrainians are more magnanimous, more sincere, more polite and hospitable, more industrious than the Russians. They offer a living proof of the superiority which civil liberty gives to men over people born in slavery." (p. 571).

Lesur wrote "that Hetman Khmelnytsky was an erudite man who could speak fluently the Turkish, Tatar, Ukrainian, Polish, and Latin languages. The Muscovite Tsar, the Polish King and the Turkish Sultan vied with one another in sending to the Hetman legates bearing gifts . . . Never did the Kozaks have a leader to be compared with Khmelnytsky. Intelligent, educated, far-sighted, prudent in his counsels, and intrepid in battle, he was inured to great fatigue; insensible to privations, he was inexhaustible in his resources and not to be discouraged by his losses, active in victory, proud in defeat, sometimes blinded by fate but always great in firmness of character, pitiless with his enemies, but just and magnanimous toward his friends." (p. 358).

Of Hetman Mazepa Lesur wrote that "to great old age he carried eyes full of fire, a healthy spirit and a brilliant talent for conversation."

With reference to the alliance with the Swedes, Lesur commented:

"In thoroughly analyzing the situation of Charles XII, one cannot by-pass the advantage which an alliance with Mazepa could afford him." (p. 429).

Lesur was impressed with the Kozak period of Ukrainian history not only because the Kozak State had a great influence

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upon the history of the neighboring states, but because it produced the two great personalities of Khmelnytsky and Mazepa. In his opinion the Kozak period of Ukrainian history had two important moments of great interest to universal history: the attempt of King Wladyslaw IV to become a real King of Poland with the assistance of the Kozaks, and the debacle of Charles XII. For the politically minded, he says, the history of the Kozaks provides an example of an unusual and original system, comparable with those of Sparta and Rome. Finally for statisticians the history of the Kozaks is important in that it provides material on how the Russian state was augmented through the annexation of the Kozaks and Ukraine.

On a broader scale, Lesur writes that the Ukrainians are "an old race whose origin stretches back to the darkness of centuries." After the Poltava tragedy, he writes, Peter I, Sheremetyev, Menshikov and other Muscovite dignitaries maltreated, abused and tortured the Ukrainian population, including women and children, and found a special satisfaction in this. Menshikov, in order to increase the suffering of those tortured, ordered gallows built at Perevolochna so that those being tortured could look out upon their country, Ukraine. The merciless tsar was thirsty for the blood of their entire nation (*tsar avait soif du sang de toute leur nation*). Lesur adds that the entire Muscovite nation was imbued with a thirst for blood.

A French doctor by the name of DE' LA FRISE, who spent some time in Russian captivity after being captured during the invasion of Russia by Napoleon, left his *Memoirs of 1812*, in which he described Ukrainian customs and the life of Ukrainian officer families in the province of Chernihiv, in which he had lived. Describing Ukrainian dances, De la Frise commented that "women executed a dance with such precision and grace that even on the Parisian stage they would earn applause." He also mentions that he was greeted at a reception by the well-known Ukrainian Kozak officer family of Zavadovsky in Lyalychy. The Zavadovsky palace, he wrote, possessed rare beauty (it was built by the architect G. Quarenghi in 1795), and contained some 100

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rooms. He noted the quantity of pineapple, at the reception of the Zavadovsky, a rarity not seen in France. They were grown in the special orangery of Mr. Zavadovsky. One of the salons had Gobelin tapestry, while the walls were covered with the paintings of famous masters. The palace church had been decorated by an Italian painter. In Zavadovsky's hothouses and orangeries De la Frise saw orange and pineapple trees, which were a rarity in (Eastern) Europe in general.

A very good view of the so-called "military settlements" made by the Russian government in Ukraine is found in the *Memoirs* of A. PISHCHEVICH, a Serb by origin who served in the Russian administration and who was a witness and participant in these "military settlements" arranged by Count Arakcheyev. They were characterized by unusual brutality and inhumanity as far as the Ukrainian population was concerned. Unfortunately, some of the pages of his report were suppressed by the editors of the *Kievskaya Starina* in 1886 because of the official censorship, as they were "too critical" of the Russian government.

These remarks concern the "rule over the Ukrainian Kozaks" by Count Witte, an appointee of the tsarist government.

Pishchevich writes that the same Count Witte "carried his beautiful wife behind the staff of Prince Potemkin and sold her to this dignitary; later on he sold her to Count Potocki."

In 1817 the Russian government planned to bring Muscovite Uhlan regiments to the garrisons of the Ukrainian Kozaks on the River Boh, and to turn the Ukrainian Kozaks into Russian Uhlans. Pishchevich writes:

"Four Uhlan regiments were brought to Voznesensk. The Boh Kozaks at the beginning were determined not even to let them into their houses, but finally they were compelled to yield to superior force, for Count Witte brought in reserves of two infantry battalions and two batteries of artillery. In other Kozak garrisons battles raged and many Kozaks were killed, drowned in the Boh River, or beaten and sent to Siberia . . . In some localities the women, seeing the Muscovite Uhlans attacking their husbands, threw themselves with their infants at the feet of the

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cavalry, believing that they could thus save their husbands from certain death, but to no avail. . . Witte himself retired to the Mykhaylivsky Post, where he called out all people and told them to swear fealty to the tsar. But they all refused. Then he singled out the oldest Kozak and demanded that he set an example for the others. But when this gray-haired old man stood firm and declared that he would not betray them and would not consent to that which would bring misery to his fellow-citizens, Witte declared:

“‘So you will be an example to the others!’

“He then ordered the whole battalion of infantry to form a corridor of two lines and ordered the 70-year-old man to march through the corridor, so that every soldier would have the opportunity to use a knout on him. And in order that the old man should walk slowly, Witte ordered two soldiers to march backwards in front of him with fixed bayonets. . . The old man, seeing them before him, told the Count who was present at this execution, in a strong, even voice:

“‘I do not need them before me. I will take such a stride as you order and God Almighty will accept my soul. . .’

“The drums sounded and the trumpets blared, and the old man went to his death. He did not have to march far: very soon he was dead. . .

“One has to realize the base brutality; the old man was beaten to death before the eyes of all the inhabitants, among whom were his sons, grandsons and great-grandchildren. . .”

Referring to other instances of persecution of the Ukrainians by the Russians, Pishchevich writes the following incident:

“Among the insurgents there was found a Kozak official, a young and good looking man who took part in the campaign against the French and was decorated with medals and even a Cross of St. George. He too was beaten by the soldiers under the eyes of Count Witte. When the execution was over, the young man, barely alive, was covered with his uniform adorned by medals of the tsar. He was conscious enough to tear off his medals and to throw them at Count Witte’s feet:

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“I do not need them, as they could not defend me before a disgraceful punishment!”

“This was considered ‘another crime’ and he was beaten again by the soldiers to death. . .”

This policy of the Russian government toward conquered Ukraine was officially termed the “pacification of rebels,” and finally the defenseless people were subdued. Later the Russian government began drafting the Ukrainians for slave labor and treated them as cattle. They were used for the construction of military forts, canals and the like. They were not free to dispose of their land or to sell their products, and Russian officers and men raped Ukrainian women and went unpunished.

The Ukrainian Kozaks argued with the Russian emissary that the land was theirs forever, a fact which even Catherine II could not abrogate, but to no avail. The Kozaks had some hope that when the tsar came to Ukraine they would be able to tell him of the injustices done to them. But Count Witte hit upon an ingenious plan to deceive the tsar as to the “happiness” of the conquered Ukrainian people:

Along the road on which the tsar traveled, Witte ordered the erection of the so-called “Potemkin villages,” in which Ukrainian peasants were compelled to “smile” and sing to show the tsar that they were “happy,” while at the very same time their families were being either held as hostages or were being sent to Siberia.

Further unrest on the River Boh and large-scale insurrections in the Kharkiv province compelled the tsar to suspend these “military settlements.” In many places in Ukraine the tsar received deputations asking him to spare them this “happiness” of being ruled by Russian troops. But in 1819 these “military settlements” were resumed.

An Englishman, ADAM NEALE, a doctor of medicine, in his book *Travels through some parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia and Turkey*, published in London in 1818, tells of his experiences in Poland and in Lviv (Lemberg), where he witnessed the arrival of the Russian troops. In Chapter XI he says of the city of Lviv:

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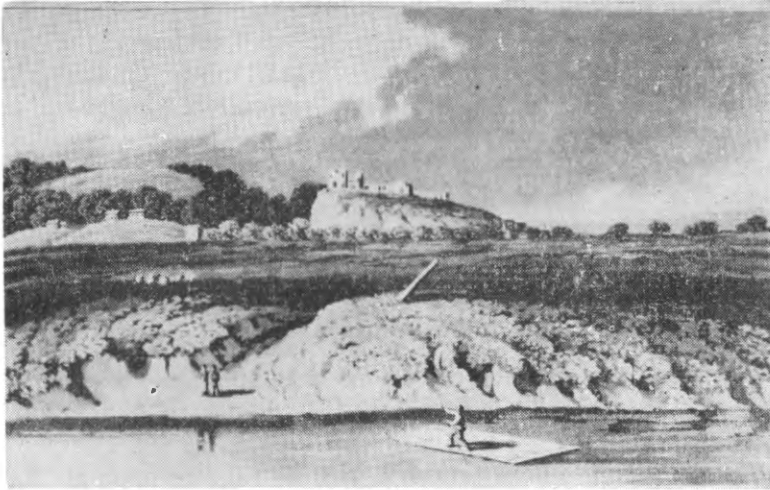
"Here, as in most other cities in Poland, there is such a multitude of Jews, that their filthy habits mingled with those of the Russians, Poles, Armenians, and others, their fellow-citizens, give a character to a population altogether as motley and villainous as is, perhaps, to be met with in any large city in Europe; the streets are dirty and badly paved, and the interior of the town is both ruinous and neglected.

"The Russian troops did, in fact, arrive on the appointed day and our curiosity was amply gratified by beholding the various semi-barbarous tribes of which their cavalry regiments were composed. Calmucks, Cossacks from the Don and Volga, Tartars from the banks of the Caspian, and Siberians from the frozen bounds of the Northern Ocean, mounted on animals so small and rough in appearance, that it was difficult to discriminate at first sight whether they were actually horses, or some unknown quadrupeds. The contemplation of these swarthy groupes, congregated like the hordes of barbarians pouring down upon the empire of the West, excited in our minds some extraordinary reflections as to the ultimate consequences which might one day result from this irruption.

"One circumstance connected with the passage of this division is worth relating, as it illustrates what has been before stated, respecting the general corruption of morals in Poland. A lady of noble birth, whose château was situated a few leagues from Lemberg (Lviv), was living in the same hotel with ourselves, which was also the headquarters of the Russian troops. This woman's fortune, if we might form an opinion from her numerous retinue, horses, and carriage, must have been fully adequate to her rank. She had come to Lemberg to await the passage of the Russian troops, expressly for the same purpose that one of her Amazonian ancestors, Queen Thalestris, had thrown herself in the way of Alexander and the Macedonian army. The troops continued marching in for four days, during which time this licentious female dined daily at the *table d'hôte*, and adopted expeditions to accomplish the object of her journey, in which, I presume, she was not disappointed.

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“The people at the inn spoke of this as belonging to the common course of passing events in Poland; thus confirming the truth of Wraxall’s assertion, ‘that it is not in fact gallantry but licentiousness which here reigns without controul.’ Wraxall



28. A view from the banks of the Dniester River. A colored lithograph from the book *Travels*, by Adam Neale, London, 1818.

speaks especially of Warsaw, but the state of society is the same all over Poland.”

Of a further journey, Dr. Neale writes:

“On leaving Lemberg, our first day’s journey carried us through Davidow, Bobrka, and Strelitz (Strelysko), all miserable villages, and terminated in the evening at Kneichenitz, where we slept. The next day we proceeded through Burstein (Burstyn) towards Halietz (Halych) which is a very ancient town situated on the banks of the Dniester, the Tyras or Danaster of the ancient classic writers. The ruins of the Castle of Halich are extensive, crowning the summit of a promontory which stretches boldly over the river and commands an extensive view of a very fertile valley. . . Halich. . . although formerly a regal abode of the Kings of

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Halitzia, and the residence of the Greek archbishop. . . The native historians represent Halych as having been formerly a city of great extent, containing 30 or 40,000 inhabitants; and it has also the reputation of having imposed a name on the adjoining territory; Halitzia was the original name of Galitzia; the *H* having been exchanged for the *G* for the sake of euphony. Halle in the Slavonic tongue signifies salt: Halych therefore is the town or place of salt, Halitzia the territory of salt mines; an etymology which seems in this instance at least, very correct."

In Chapter XII Dr. Neale continued:

"This evening we slept at Olmacks (Tovmach?); next day we breakfasted at Obertyn and the same evening reached Snyatyn. . . It is now a poor village inhabited by Jews, and is situated near the bank of the Pruth. . .

"The road followed the left bank of the river till we approached the town of Tschernowitz (Chernivtsi), where our carriages were ferried over on a double boat lashed together by transverse planks forming a platform, and we soon afterwards entered the last frontier town of the Austrian states. Chernivtsi, the capital of the Buckowine, is agreeably situated upon a hill on the southern bank of the Pruth. . . Contrary to custom, its streets are wide, clean, and well paved, and the houses are built of free-stone."

Another English author who travelled through Ukraine and made some interesting comments about the country and its people was Lieutenant THOMAS LUMSDEN, who, in 1822 in London, wrote *A Journey from Merut in India to London, During the Years 1819 and 1820*. On his way from India to London, Lumsden travelled through Persia, the Caucasus, and Ukraine. On August 7, 1820 he left Georgia and entered the Kuban area where he met for the first time the Ukrainian Kozaks who had been recently settled in the region. He writes about them as follows:

"The count's carriage, with six horses leading, (four wheelers abreast, and two leaders before), then four provision carts, our *kebitka*, and about twenty horsemen, including myself and a party of Cossacks, galloping in all directions; in short we went off in

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style. The afternoon proved rainy; but I got pretty well on, having an admirable Cossack charger under me, and a fine Georgian cloak to protect my person. We reached good quarters at Elizabeth's Redoubt by six.

"Tuesday, 8th.—We marched about seven A.M. with a strong escort under the command of an officer, a party of Cossacks forming the advanced guard; then followed a party of soldiers, and a piece of artillery, with lighted match, and an ammunition waggon; the count's and other carriages in the same order as yesterday. All this concern was in consequence of the daring attacks of the Lesgays, a party of whom killed twelve Cossacks, and carried off their horses, &c. only four months ago, at a place within a few *wersts* of Constantine's Redoubt. When about half way, we came up with a large convoy of return waggons on their way to Mosdok. Here we halted and had a cold collation with the count and a little gentleman who was travelling with him. Count Vorontsov is the nephew of the Russian nobleman of the same name, who was ambassador in England a few years ago. This gentleman has travelled all over Britain, and speaks English exceedingly well. I rode and walked with him all this day's march, and found him a pleasant well-informed man. We reached Constantine's Redoubt about ten o'clock A.M.

"Wednesday, 9th.—We marched early in the morning, in the same order as yesterday. There was nothing like a village or cultivation to be seen in this desolate country, nor had we seen any since we crossed the Terek at Vladicaucass. The Lesgays and other aborigines of the country never fail to murder a Russian traveller on the road, when an opportunity offers; and, having accomplished their object, they erect a small stone pillar on the spot, to commemorate the sacrifice of an *oppressor of their country*.

"Monday, 14th.—A little cultivation appeared in the surrounding country; and at sunrise we had a fine view of a range of snowy mountains in Circassia. We went this day ninety-four *wersts*, in common Russian post calls; fine roads, without tolls, and smart horses, three abreast in each cart. I think they moved

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at the rate of twelve miles an hour, on an average; but I had now no watch to time them. . .”

About Odessa which was a new city and had at that time about 30,000 people, Lumsden wrote:

“The city having been almost entirely built within the last fifteen years, the clean and neat appearance of the houses, has a pleasing effect, while a forest of masts, at the Mole, conveys some idea of the wealth and consequence of the place. . . After our peregrinations among barbarous nations, we thus found ourselves at last in a flourishing Christian city, on the borders of Europe. By the route which we had taken from the east, the changes observable in the manners and customs of the various nations, as well as their colours, had often been sudden; but the approach to these comparatively civilized regions was extremely gradual. . .”

The author finally arrived in Lviv (Lemberg) on September 18, and wrote:

“I observed the female sex employed in various occupations in Galicia, which I had never seen them attempt before. Men and women were working together in repairing the roads. A man or boy holds the plough, and a woman drives the cattle, which are usually a pair of horses in front of a pair of bullocks. I further observed two women thrashing grain with flails. I cannot say I admire the system of outdoor work for the ladies.

“We have been pestered by innumerable beggars since we entered this province. As we approached the city of Lemberg, we met many travellers of distinction; and the country became very romantic. The first view we had of the city was from the summit of a hill, when all at once we had a bird’s eye view, embracing the whole of the spires, churches, and finest part of it in the foreground, with the less interesting objects behind. . . We drove to the Russian hotel, which is quite a palace, both in its external appearance and interior accommodations; and after giving orders for dinner, we sallied forth to pay a visit to one of the chief Jesuit priests, to whom we had brought a letter of introduction from his brother at Mosdok.” (p. 222).

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One of the most interesting descriptions of travel in Ukraine in the XIXth century is found in *Travels in Russia, Tartary and Turkey*, by EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, which was published in two volumes in 1816 in London. Clarke, an Englishman, travelled



29. Landscape of the Black Sea. A colored lithograph from the book *Travels*, by Adam Neale, London, 1818.

through Eastern Ukraine, the Kuban, the Slobozhanshchyna, and the Crimea, visited such towns as Kherson, Nykolaiv and Odessa, and was able to make an extremely apt characterization of the Ukrainian people. Following the official Russian terminology, Clarke refers to the Ukrainians as “Malo-Russians” although he occasionally refers to the country as Ukraine.

Travelling through the Kuban and Slobozhanshchyna, Clarke first met Ukrainians and recorded them in his book on page 47:

“We met frequent caravans of the Malo-Russians, who differ altogether from the inhabitants of the rest of Russia. Their features are those of the Polonese and Cossacks. They are a much more noble race, and stouter and better looking people than the Russians, and superior to them in everything that can exalt

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one set of men above another. They are cleaner, more industrious, more honest, more generous, more polite, more courageous, more hospitable, more truly pious, and of course, less superstitious. (Vol. I., p. 278).

“The first regular establishment of Malo-Russians which we saw, occurred after leaving Iestakovo. It was called Locova Slo-boda. The houses were all whitewashed, like many of the cottages in Wales; this operation is performed annually, with great care. Such distinguished cleanliness appeared within their dwellings that a traveller might fancy himself transported, in the course of a few miles, from Russia to Holland. Their apartments, even the ceilings and the beams in the roofs, are regularly washed. Their tables and benches shine with washing and rubbing, and reminded us of the interior of cottages in Norway. Their courtyards, stables, and out-houses, with everything belonging to them, bespoke industry and neatness. In the furniture of their little kitchens, instead of the darkness and smoky hue of the Russian houses, we observed everywhere brightness and cleanliness. Their utensils and domestic vessels were all scoured and well polished. They had poultry, and plenty of cattle. And their gardens were filled with fruit-trees, which gave an English character to their houses—the third nation with whose dwellings I have compared the cottages of Malo-Russia; that is to say, having a Welsh exterior, a Norwegian interior, and the gardens and out-houses, of the English peasantry. They had neat floors, and although the roof was thatched, its interior was wainscoted. There was nowhere any appearance of dirt or vermin.

“The inhabitants, in their features, resemble *Cossacks*, and both these people bear a similitude to the *Poles*; being, doubtless, all derived from one common stock. The dress of unmarried women is much the same among the Malo-Russians and the Don Cossacks. They both wear a kelt, or petticoat, of one piece of cloth fastened round the waist. Sometimes, particularly among more aged females, this petticoat consists of two pieces, like two aprons, the one fastened in front—the other behind. The necks of the girls are laden with large red beads, falling in several

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rows over the breast. The fingers both of men and women are set off with rings, containing glass gems. A simple bandeau, or gilded cap is sometimes seen on female heads and from behind hang rows of antique coins, or false pieces sold to them for that purpose, which imitate the ancient coin of their own and of other countries. But the resemblance of this people, in certain circumstances of dress and manners, to the Scotch Highlanders, is very remarkable. The cloth petticoat, before mentioned, is chequered like the Scotch plaid, and answers to the kelt which is still worn in Scotland.

"They have also, among their musical instruments, the bag-pipe and the Jew's harp; the former, like that used in North Britain and in Finland, is common to the Cossacks as well as the Malo-Russians. Another point of resemblance may be found in the love of spirituous liquors." (p. 284).

Describing the port of Pavlovsk on the Don and other settlements on the Sea of Azov, the author writes:

"The Governor provided us with a powerful escort; and early in the morning we continued our journey. The roads have been all changed, since Gmelin and other travellers visited this part of Russia. We proceeded from Pavlovsk to Kozinsky Khutor, a village inhabited by Malo-Russians (Ukrainians) and Russians mingled together. The distinction between the two people might be made without the smallest inquiry, from the striking contrast they exhibited of filth and cleanliness. In the stable of the post-house we found about twenty horses, kept with a degree of order and neatness which would have done credit to any nobleman's stud in Britain. The house of the poor superintendant villager was equally admirable; every thing appeared clean and decent; there was no litter; nor was any thing out of its place. It was quite a new thing to us, to hesitate whether we should clean our boots before walking into an apartment, on the floor of which I would rather have dined than on the table of any Russian prince. (p. 292).

"The next place we came to was Dobrinka; and here for the first time we found an establishment of Cossacks; although but

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few appeared, and even these were mixed with Malo-Russians. The church was new; a large and handsome white building. . . Others of the same nature appeared in most of the neighbouring villages. . . (p. 294).

“At sunset all the cows belonging to the inhabitants came, in one large troop, lowing, into the village. No driver was necessary; for, as the herd entered, they separated into parties, and retired of their own accord to their respective owners in order to be milked. The Malo-Russians (Ukrainians), with their numerous families, were seated on the ground, in circles before their neat little habitations, eating their supper; and, all being merry together, offered a picture of contentment and peace not often found within Russian territories. . .” (p. 294).

In Chapter XIII dealing with the Don Cossacks, Clarke refers to the Circassians, that is, the Ukrainians, as follows:

“The Cossacks, and all the inhabitants of the *Asiatic* coasts of the *Black Sea*, call the Circassians Tscherkess, and Tscherkessi, a further confirmation of remarks made concerning the etymology of the word Tscherkask (Cherkasy), which might, perhaps, be more accurately written Tcherckaskoy, but I have adopted the orthography recommended by its best informed inhabitants. If it were necessary to make any addition to what has already been written, with regard to the relation they bear to the Cossacks and other inhabitants of the Ukraine, many curious circumstances might be alleged; such, for example, as the mode of accounting money, which is the same among the Malo-Russians and Circassians. There are now Malo-Russians living in the Caucasian Mountains. The Circassians, moreover, left their name in the appellation of a town built upon the Dnieper.” (p. 380).

Clarke deals with the Kuban region, where many of the Zaporozhian Kozaks were resettled. His information, supplied by Russian official sources, is less accurate and less reliable:

“During the first thirty-six *versts* (twenty-four miles) of this day’s journey, we found Grecian or Malo-Russian inhabitants. Their number in this district does not exceed 700 (seven hundred) persons; yet a proof of their industry and of their superior im-

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portance, as tenants of the land, is offered in the fact of their affording to their landlord an average payment of no less a sum annually than 10,000 roubles. The boundary of their little territory is formed by the river Ae (Eya) towards the south, and the Sea of Azov to the north. The river Ae separates them from a very different and very extraordinary race of men, whose history and country we are now prepared to consider; namely, the Tchernomorski, or *Cossacks of the Black Sea*. . . The Tchernomorski are a brave, but rude and warlike people, possessing little of the refinement of civilized society, although much inward goodness of heart; and they are ready to show the greatest hospitality to strangers who solicit their aid. Their original appellation was Zaporozhtsi, according to the most exact orthography given to me by Mr. Kovalevsky of Taganroh, a term alluding to their former situation "*beyond the cataracts*" of the Dnieper. From the banks of this river they were removed, by the late Empress Catherine to those of the *Kuban*, in order to repel the incursions of the Circassians and Tartars from the *Turkish* frontier. Their removal was originally planned by *Potemkin*, but did not take place until about nine years previous to our arrival in the country. Their society upon the *Dnieper* originally consisted of refugees and deserters from all nations, who had formed settlements in the marshes of that river. *Storch* affirms, that there was hardly a language in Europe but might be found in use among this singular people." (Vol. II, p. 3f).

While the above-mentioned information was taken from Russian official sources and as such was highly colored, the impression which Clarke gained of the Kuban and the Black Sea Kozaks who brought their customs from the Zaporozhian *Sich*, was quite different.

"The houses of the inhabitants were neater than our best English cottages. Each owner had before his door a large area to which an avenue of the finest oaks conducted; also an adjoining garden, containing vines, water-melons, and cucumbers. The sunflower flourishes here without cultivation. Many plants found

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only in our greenhouses, are ordinary weeds of the plain. . . (Vol. II, p. 19).

"In their new settlement, the *Tchernomorski* still display the mode of life common to them before their migration from the *Dnieper*. By this means, the *Circassians* and even those of the Russians who live among them or near them, are instructed in many arts of domestic comfort and cleanliness. Celebrated as they justly are for their skill in horsemanship, they acknowledge themselves inferior in this respect to the *Circassians*, whose light bodies, lightly accoutred, upon the fleetest horses in the world, outstrip them in the chase. It is not perhaps possible to behold a more striking figure than a *Tchernomorski* mounted and equipped for war. It is then only he may be said to exist, and in his native element; brandishing his long lance in the air, bending, turning, or halting suddenly when in full speed, with so much graceful attitude, and such natural dignity, that the horse and the rider seem to be as one animal," (Vol. II, p. 20).

Writing about his journey from the Crimea through Perekop to Nikolaiv, the author continues:

"The roads were as usual excellent. Throughout all the South of Russia (Ukraine), excepting after heavy rain, the traveller may proceed with a degree of speed and facility unknown in any other country. A journey from *Moscow* to *Tsaritzin*, to *Astrakhan*, and thence, along the whole *Caucasian* line to the *Straits of Taiman*, might be considered as a mere summer excursion, and for the most part easier and pleasanter than an expedition through any part of *Germany*. The horses of a superior quality are always ready; the turf over which the roads extend is excellent excepting during the rainy season. Much greater expedition may be used in the same country, during winter, by travelling upon sledges, as it is well known. . . (Vol. II, p. 322). The particular district said to be the most dangerous, in all the road from *Moscow* to *Perecop*, occurs between *Kremenchuk* and *Ekaterinoslav*, upon the frontier of Poland. . .

"It was from this tribe that Potemkin selected those brave *Cossacks*, now known under the appellation of *Tchernomorski*, who inhabit *Kuban*." (p. 325).

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Being unacquainted with the topography of *Borislav* and having no map in which it is traced, it is not possible to give an accurate description of the different streams and lakes of water we passed, in order to reach that place. The inhabitants were even more ignorant than ourselves of the country. Before we arrived, we traversed an extensive tract of sand, apparently insulated; this we were told, was often inundated; and boats were then stationed to conduct travellers. Having crossed this sandy district, we passed the *Dnieper* by a ferry, and ascended its steep bank on the western side to the town. The conveyance of caravans, upon the sands, was effected with great difficulty; each waggon requiring no less a number of oxen than eight or twelve, and even these seemed hardly adequate to the immense labour of the draft. All the way from *Perecop* to *Borislav*, the line of caravans continued almost without intermission. The immense concourse of waggons; the bellowing of the oxen; the bawling and grotesque appearance of the drivers; the crowd of persons in the habits of many different nations, waiting a passage across the water, offered one of those singular scenes, to which, in other countries, there is nothing similar.

"*Borislav*, upon the western side of the *Dnieper*, is a miserable looking place, owing its support entirely on the passage of salt caravans from the *Crimea*. Its situation, upon so considerable a river, affording it an intercourse with Kiev and Cherson, might entitle it to higher consideration; but we could obtain no information worth repeating upon the existence of any such commerce. We observed the "Polish" (West Ukraine) costume very prevalent here; the men in every respect, resembling the *Cossacks* of the *Don*." (p. 330).

About the city of Kherson, and the coffin of Potemkin, Clarke writes:

"Many inhabitants of Kherson, as well as English officers in the *Russian* service, who resided in the neighborhood, had seen the coffin; this was extremely ordinary, but the practice of showing it to strangers prevailed for some years after *Potemkin's* decease." (Vol. II, p. 337).

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The author's remarks about Nykolaiv — another city on the Dnieper, read:

"There is no town to compare with it in all the South of *Russia* (Ukraine); nor any in the empire, *excepting* Moscow and Petersburg. . . *English* officers, and *English* engineers, with other foreigners in the *Russian* service, residing here, have introduced habits of urbanity and cleanliness. . ." (Vol. II, p. 350).

About Odessa the English author writes:

"The town of Odessa is situated close to the coast, which is here very lofty, and much exposed to winds. The air is reckoned pure, and remarkably wholesome. Corn is the principal article of exportation. The imports are — dried and conserved fruits from *Constantinople*, Greek wines, tobacco, and other *Turkish* merchandise. The villages in the neighborhood produce butter and cheese. . . Potatoes, seldom seen in other towns, are sold in the market, and they are even carried as presents to Constantinople. . . (p. 375).

A more general idea of Russia Clarke gives in the following:

"But more serious difficulties frequently follow a want of attention to these prejudices, in visiting the interior of *Russia*. When a "*podorozhny*" or order for post-horses, is made out, it will often be recommended to foreigners, and particularly to Englishmen, to annex some title to the simple statement of their names. Without this, they may be considered during their journey, as mere slaves, and will be liable to frequent insult, delay, and imposition. The precaution is of such importance, that experienced travellers have introduced the most ludicrous distinctions upon these occasions; and have represented themselves as *Barons*, *Brigadiers*, *Inspectors*, and *Professors* — in short, as any thing which may enable them to pass as freedmen. For example: *Monsieur le Capitaine A.B.C., avec le Directeur D.E.F., et le President G.H.J., et leurs domestiques K.L.M.* So necessary is a due regard to these particulars, that an officer of very high rank in the service assured us, previous to our leaving Moscow, that we should find ourselves frequently embarrassed in our route, because we would not abandon the pride of calling ourselves *Commoners* of *England*; and we had reason to regret

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the neglect with which we treated his advice, during the whole of our subsequent travels in the country. . ." (Vol. I, p. 214).

"The contrast between a *Russian* and a *Cossack*, or between a *Russian* and a *Tartar*, has perhaps already been sufficiently delineated; but there is a third point of opposition in which a *Russian* may be viewed, even more amusing than either of these, namely, when he is contrasted with a Greek. . ." (Vol. II, p. 382).

Clarke gave interesting statistics on the "annexation" to the Russian empire of various lands and their inhabitants, including the territories populated by the Ukrainians. They read as follows:

In 1770 Russia obtained Bessarabia with a population of 500,000 people.

In 1771 the Crimea was annexed to Russia with 460,000 people.

In 1793 Little Poland and the Ukraine were incorporated into the Russian empire with 6,500,000 people, and in 1794 "Western" Russia, including Lithuania and Podolia, were added to the empire, with 8,500,000 people.

When we add the territory of Eastern Ukraine (east of the Dnieper River) with at least 6,000,000 people, we might arrive at an approximate number of the Ukrainians who lived in Ukraine at the end of the XVIIIth century, namely 18,000,000 people.

Another important work pertaining to the Ukraine of the same period were the memoirs of J. G. KOHL, a noted German scientist, traveller and founder of antropogeography. He traveled in Ukraine in 1837-1838, and in 1838 and 1841 published a six-volume work, entitled *Reisen in Suedrussland*, which includes the book, *Die Ukraine Kleinrussland*.

The author crossed Ukraine from Kharkiv to Odessa, and from Odessa to Peremyshl. His description of Ukraine is purely scientific and objective, and deals with all aspects of Ukrainian *geography*. As far as we know, Kohl's work has not been translated into the English language.

Touching on the history of Ukraine, J. G. Kohl writes:

"Dismemberment was once the greatest misgiving of the Ukrainian people (tribe) also in the political aspect. Only for

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a short while were they united and strong, namely, under Volodymyr who ruled in Kiev. Today one part of the Ukrainians is behind the Carpathians in the Hungarian state, another in the Austrian province of Galicia, and still another on the Don, incorporated into the Russian provinces. But the bulk of them remained on the Dnieper in basic Ukraine. If it would be possible to unite all these parts politically, then the Ukrainian people would be quite strong compared to the Russian people."

Kohl devoted much space to the description of Ukrainian anthropogeography and the customs and habits of the Ukrainians. Approaching the first Ukrainian village after crossing the Ukrainian-Russian border, Kohl remarks:

"All around, all nature was simply beautiful. . . Ukraine was full of welcome and beauty. . . Houses are wrapped in greenery and luxuriant flowers, and are scattered on the slopes of hills and hidden in the valleys. High behind the village where the winds blew stood 50 to 100 wind-mills. Before the traveler who is riding through the high, barren and desert steppe, suddenly appears an unusual and picturesque scene when a Ukrainian village emerges from a ravine.

"The Ukrainians live in well-kept houses which smile at you. They are not satisfied with washing them every week, as is done in Holland, but they whitewash them every two weeks as well. Therefore, the houses look like newly-washed linen."

The same type of Ukrainian village was found by Kohl in other parts of Ukraine, particularly near Odessa, where he found beautiful houses with spacious, neatly kept rooms. He was thrilled by the sight of Ukrainian gardens, full of many kinds of flowers, as well as melons, pumpkins and cucumbers.

"On Sunday," writes Kohl, "girls gather in these gardens, pick flowers and make wreaths to put on their hair, like princesses. These slender Ukrainian girls like flowers so much that even during their working days they adorn their hair with them and look like the vestals of Flora. And as they like to sing, one can see in these villages something not seen elsewhere . . . women with flowers in their hair, singing like nightingales while they work in the fields. . .

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"When we read descriptions of the Ukrainians by some writers (Clarke, Hofmann), we would believe that they are a people of Apollos. But a traveler who sees for the first time these lean and tired people, sun-tanned and covered with black dust, might think that before him is a race of barbarians. But this impression soon disappears. For after a detailed observation and departure from casualness, an external appearance teaches us something else. A Ukrainian, who dresses carefully, takes care of his body, and donning a Cossack or guard uniform, looks far more refined and closer to perfection than a Muscovite; he is also more noble and handsome."

In discussing the relationship between the Ukrainians and the Russians, Kohl heavily underscores a variety of differences between those two peoples. He particularly underlines the cultural superiority of the Ukrainians to the Russians.

"The aversion of the Ukrainians to the Muscovites, their oppressors, is so great that it could be called hatred. This hatred is increasing rather than decreasing. On the other hand, the Ukrainians were never friendlier with the Poles than after they were rid of their domination. The worst label that a Ukrainian pins on a Pole is 'senseless Pole,' while a Muscovite in the imagination of the Ukrainian is always 'cursed.' The Ukrainians have such widely-used proverbs as:

"'He is a good man, but a Muscovite!'

"'Be friendly with the Muscovite, but keep a stone under your coat!'

"Ukrainians are extremely bad Russian patriots. Love and adoration of the tsar, so proper to the Muscovites, are to the Ukrainians completely alien and incomprehensible. The Ukrainians obey the tsar because they are forced to, but they consider his authority alien and imposed. . . If you do not want to offend a Ukrainian, do not tell him about the conquest of Ukraine by Muscovy, for the Ukrainian is aware of the fact that his country concluded a treaty with Muscovy, only to be deceived by the latter."

One of the larger cities in Ukraine to be mentioned by Kohl is Kharkiv:

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"Its trade," he writes, "was larger than the trade of Kiev, and its university rivals those in Vilno and Kazan; its fair (*yarmarok*) reaches the level of that in Nizhny-Novgorod thanks to commercial routes. In fourteen days there comes to Kharkiv more merchandise than to Riga in a year. Horses and textile products—wool, flax, hemp and silk—are the most widely sold products, followed by those of metal, as well as sugar, confiture, sweets, furs, tropical fruits and fish."

Passing through Poltava, Kohl makes references to the battle of Poltava and the tragic enslavement of the Ukrainian people. He also mentions the beginning of the Ukrainian literary and national rebirth, which had then taken its initial steps:

"One of the most outstanding and most original products of the current Ukrainian literature is the *Eneida* (*Aeneid*) of Kotlyarevsky. Unfortunately, its author died a few years ago in Poltava."

The author also gives very interesting items about Odessa, which, according to his information, had at least 16 different language groups. Songs heard in the streets were in both Russian and Italian, while the city theatre performed an Italian repertoire. He writes that in 1837 some 650 ships cast anchor in Odessa, of which number more than half were Italian, followed by English and Greek. Odessa's chief exports were wheat (to England and Italy), tallow (to England) and wool, while at the same time it imported manufactured goods and colonial products. The overall commercial turn-over of the port of Odessa equalled that of Riga, and of all Russian ports only Petersburg had a bigger turn-over. The trade of Odessa, was extremely great and active, and at its markets there was not only a great quantity of the above-mentioned wares, but a great mass of food products which were of good quality and inexpensive. Meat stores were much neater than those in Vienna. Kohl writes that the meat trade was mostly in Ukrainian and Russian hands. He also says that the Ukrainians bitterly opposed the influx of Russians, and scornfully referred to them as "*katsaps*" from Muscovian.

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From Odessa Kohl went through Bessarabia and Bukovyna to Galicia. He noticed that in "Galicia and Bukovyna live the same Ukrainians as the Kozaks and Ukrainians in Russia." Their language, naturally, differs very much from the Great Russian. "On the other hand, the Ukrainians of Podolia and Kiev understand those Ukrainians from Galicia as their own brothers." He also says that the Ukrainians of Galicia look somber and taciturn, and that "theft and murder are seldom committed among them." Kohl even quotes the criminal statistics of the Austrian courts to the effect that the eastern provinces of the empire are in no way as much infected by crime as those in the West.

As all Ukrainians, he commented that the Ukrainians of Galicia were cleaner than the Poles; on the other hand, the Poles were more industrious and careful.

Kohl also calls the attention of the reader to the importance of the trade route Kolomiya-Stanislawiv-Lviv between the two great empires Russia and Austria.

He writes with enchantment about the ethnographic characteristics of Galicia, in which he found much colorful material for ethnography, particularly among the Ukrainian mountaineers in the Carpathian Mountains.

When Kohl arrived in Lviv in October, he was very much impressed and delighted with the view of the city which then had a population of 80,000. All the streets and tall buildings, he reports, were splendidly illuminated, something which indicated the prosperity and well-being of the city. This impression was reinforced when he passed through the gates of the city and saw spacious public squares, boulevards and parks, as well as a quantity of cafés, confectioneries, and wine-gardens. In his opinion, Lviv had more elegant cafés than Dresden or any other German city of the same size.

He also commented on the musical inclinations and aptitudes of the Ukrainians which he remarked, immediately after crossing the Russian-Ukrainian border.

"The Ukrainians," he wrote, "are perhaps the most song-loving people in the world; although they have not as yet given

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Europe a composer, they sing day and night, during games and at work. . .”

In conclusion, Kohl stated:

“There is not the slightest doubt that some day the gigantic body of the Russian empire will be broken, and Ukraine will again become a free and independent state. This time is approaching slowly but inevitably. The Ukrainians are a nation with their own language, culture and historical tradition. For the time being Ukraine is divided among its neighbors. But the material for the erection of the Ukrainian state is ready; if not today, then tomorrow a builder will appear who will erect from this material a great and independent Ukrainian state.” (Vol. III, p. 313ff).

Another German writer BARON F. HAXTHAUSEN in his *Studien* (Hanover, 1847, translated into English by Robert Fairie, London, 1856) draws striking contrasts between the Ukrainians and Russians in almost every field. Of the Ukrainians, he writes:

“The Little Russian is meditative; he loves to ponder over the antecedents of his nation, and revels in the recollection of the deeds of his ancestors. If you ask him what he is, he replies proudly and joyously, ‘A Cosack’—the title of honor among his people.” (Vol. I, p. 353).

“The Little Russians are an imaginative and poetical people, and a number of popular songs, tales and legends have been preserved among them. The abundance of these is wonderful, and treasures of poetry and history may still be hidden and unknown here. . . The Little Russians have much talent for the fine arts; they have generally a clear, full voice and so correct an ear and memory, that without teaching, they learn to sing and play upon different instruments with great precision and ability. They have also a decided talent for drawing and painting and without any instruction they often perform what seems incredible in these arts. They are extremely pious and devotedly attached to their church.” (Vol. I, pp. 413ff).

GENERAL A. MARMONT (1774-1852), who became a marshal in the army of Napoleon and who was forced into exile after the

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Paris revolution of 1830, spent some time in Ukraine in 1834. His work, *Voyage du Maréchal duc de Raguse en Hongrie. . . la Russie Meridionale*, which was published in 1837 in Paris, was translated into German and English (Marmont: *Travels in Russia*, London, 1840). He writes that the goal of his travel was above all "Southern Russia," that is, Ukraine, and he says:

"All know the wealth of Ukraine; it is the most fertile country in the world. The land is black and deep and is extremely productive. It constitutes a sort of plateau, covered with innumerable ravines and valleys, with many streams and ponds. . . The country is adorned by a multitude of trees; beautiful and attractive forests cut the uniformity of valleys. It is a wave-like surface which provides picturesque scenery for the eye. . ."

In Odessa, Nykolaiv and other cities the Russian administration generously feted the French Marshal and willingly showed him the "Potemkin villages," that is, those "military settlements," on the Boh River, from which the Ukrainian Kozaks had been forcibly deported, to be replaced by Russian Uhlans. As a military man, Marmont was especially interested in the military training of the Ukrainian Kozaks, who at that time were already integrated into the Russian army. He writes of them:

"The Kozaks provide troops which have no equal elsewhere in Europe. . . Their value lies in special spheres as a result of their mode of life before entering the service."

Evidently he meant that these Ukrainian troops, due to their para-military organizational life, were adapted for special missions beyond the capacity of the regular Russian regiments.

Marmont recorded that on the island of Taman "there lived the Black Sea (*Chornomorski*) Kozaks, who are part of the population of Kozaks taken from the Dnieper. . ." He "dined at the home of a colonel's widow, who was an excellent hostess. . . Her son, a Kozak officer, and some of his friends, showed their skill at riding, which was remarkable for its speed and dexterity... Continuous exercises of a mental and physical nature make them uniquely suitable for service in the light army (troops). The

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first war will certainly prove their superiority over the Don Cossacks.”

Not far from Preobrazhenske on the Sea of Azov, he writes, there is a settlement of “Kozaks of the Sea of Azov who came 30,000 strong from the islands and the shore of the Danube.” These were also Ukrainian Kozaks who, after the destruction of the Zaporozhian *Sich* by Catherine II, went to Turkey and settled in the delta of the Danube. After a few years, a part of them returned to Ukraine.

Still another German writer, JOHANN HEINRICH BLASIUS, a professor at the *Collegium Carolinum* in Brunswick, in his book, *Reise durch Ukraine* (1844) makes extensive comparisons between the way of life and the psychology of Muscovy and Ukraine. After crossing the Muscovite-Ukrainian frontier, the author immediately noticed the difference:

“We entered the town of Horodnytsya, in the province of Chernihiv. . . The city makes a pleasant impression. . . The buildings were very carefully built and had a neat appearance, while the rooms inside were nicely whitened. . .”

Of the Ukrainians, Blasius said:

“Their proud walk, different attire, characteristically sharp facial features, long mustaches and completely-shaven faces—indicate at once that they are a distinct people. . . The evident difference in the character of the inhabitants, their customs and mode of life, and their houses—all made a very definite impression upon us. . .”

In the Chernihiv province the author noticed that the population, “like all Ukrainians, considers the Muscovites their oppressors, persecutors and the enemies of their freedom. . .”

Furthermore, Blasius dwelt extensively upon the Ukrainian landscape and land, and is overwhelmed with the “beauty of the Ukrainian steppes.” He wrote that Ukrainian villages are large and broad, and that the individual houses are built in such a way that they “look free” and that each has its own fruit orchard which serves as additional proof that they belong to a free people. He contrasted a Ukrainian village with its individual houses built

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differently, and a Muscovite village near Tula where all the houses were alike and built on one side of the road, and what was more, under one roof.

Referring to Ukrainian houses, Blasius commented:

“Ever since we left Northern Russia, we have not seen such neatly-kept houses as those of the Kozaks. The walls, which are of wooden planks in all Ukrainian houses, are covered with clay inside and outside and nicely whitened. . .”

Blasius added that in dress there also was a marked difference between the Ukrainians and the Russians.

“In the cut and make of dress the Ukrainians are much nearer the Western Slavs than the Great Russians. . . The Great Russian puts much emphasis on what he thinks is an expensive cloth, while he is not perturbed by his short-comings with respect to cleanliness; the Ukrainian, on the other hand, tries to keep clean, while his dress is modest and unassuming.”

The basic difference between the Russian and Ukrainian types, he wrote, is that “the face of the Ukrainian is smooth shaven, with the exception of a black mustache;” therefore, the facial features are “more sharply marked and delineated.” In addition, he added, “the Ukrainians have elongated faces with sharp features, sharply-drawn lips, sharp chin, and slim neck.”

As for music, Blasius stated that in Russia he did not see any instruments, either in private homes or public institutions. “In Ukraine,” he writes, “every Sunday or during rest hours one can hear almost from every house the sound of violins or wind instruments, and there is no public festivity without music.”

Blasius further said that the Ukrainians have a highly developed sense of beauty and an inclination to sentimental romanticism, while in contrast to them, the Great Russians have no such inclinations. He compared them in their poetic aptitudes, such as their love of song to the Serbs, and their fantasy to the romanticism of the Poles.

Similar impressions about the Ukrainians were recorded by another Western European writer, AL. PETZHOLDT. In his work,

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Travel (1855) he registered his impressions immediately upon arriving at Chernihiv in Ukraine:

"We have entered a different world, we have reached Ukraine. Everything here seems so different; the land, the people, their customs and houses, their tools, and the like. In Ukraine, beginning with the province of Chernihiv, we see an entirely different people—the Ukrainians or Little Russians, a section of the Slav family which differs altogether from other branches of that family; this difference is as great in their spiritual characteristics and inclinations, as in their language, mode of life, customs and habitations."

Petzholdt wrote with great enthusiasm of the beauty of the Ukrainian landscape, the beautiful Ukrainian orchards and villages and the love of the Ukrainians for cleanliness. He also has some comments on the attitude of the Ukrainians towards science:

"The Ukrainian in the field of science conducts himself decidedly with a greater devotion, skill and independence than the Great Russian. Where the Ukrainian considers science as the purpose of his life and frequently applies to it all his talents without any reservation, the Great Russian not infrequently sees in it a means through which he can attain some distinction. . . We found among the Ukrainians many people who were rich in the results of their own research and their own thinking, and yet they never tried to make much ado about it."

In the first half of the XIXth century there were a few outstanding Czech writers and social leaders who on one occasion or another touched the Ukrainian problem. Although most of them were under the influence of Russian "Slavophilism" and were against Ukrainian "separatism," nevertheless after studying the Ukrainian problem, they could not help sympathizing with the Ukrainians in their struggle for the attainment of their rights.

The well-known Czech historian, F. PALACKY, wrote of the Ukrainians in 1830:

"The Ruthenian people have been different in their language from the Russians and the Poles for many centuries. . . In the

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south the Ruthenian people extend to Hungary; the whole of Eastern Galicia is Ruthenian, where the Ruthenians extend to Podolia, Volhynia, Ukraine, far behind the Dnieper to Poltava, and also to south Rus, to the Kuban River. . . The Kozaks all are Ruthenians, and not Russians. . . I am obliged to state that the Ruthenians are in no way 'an invented' people, but are indeed a truly separate (independent) people."

Another Czech, JAN KOUBEK, professor at a *gymnasium* in Lviv, in 1833 had this to say:

"The language of the Ruthenians, both the vernacular and the Church language, is an object of my principal endeavor, and is extremely pleasant for a Czech. . ."

Commenting on the problem of the Ukrainian language and the relationship of Ukraine to Russia, KAREL HAVLICEK-BOROVSKY, a well-known Czech writer, wrote in 1843 in the *Narodni Noviny*:

"The Ruthenian language is very similar to the Czech, and therefore, is very easily mastered." Some time later after a trip to Russia, he wrote an article entitled "The Slav and the Czech," and touched upon the Ukrainian problem in Russia:

"Malorus—Ukraine is a permanent curse invoked by its oppressors upon themselves. The oppressed freedom of Ukraine avenges itself upon them. . . As long as the wrong done to the Ukrainians is not undone, a true international peace is impossible."

Another Czech writer, KAREL VLADISLAV ZAPP, left a very interesting description of his journey through Galicia (Prague, 1844). He came to the conclusion that between "the Czech and Little Russian peoples there is a great affinity: in the situation of the country, language, the physical characteristics, some customs and proverbs." In the villages Zapp found that "the local Ruthenian speech sounds very well as spoken by the Ruthenian girls, and it is the Poles who through their gossip are trying to debase it. "Our man, i.e. a Czech, in Ukraine can learn to speak Ukrainian much faster than Polish because of the fact

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that the Ukrainian language requires much less tongue-twisting than the Polish; besides, it sounds more pleasant."

After studying Ukrainian literature, Zapp was very much impressed with the literary heritage of the Ukrainians:

"*The Dumy* (historical epos) of the Ukrainians speak to one's soul. . . Some of the Christmas carols moved me very deeply. . ." He writes that he never "could forget the impression" made upon him by a group of Ukrainian carolers on Christmas night.

He also had time to study Ukrainian architecture and art:

"The architectural style of the village churches," he wrote, "is original and extremely picturesque. It seldom happens that a church does not have at least one dome; more often there are three domes, the middle one of which is tallest and handsomest. Wooden bell towers stand near the church. . . These wooden churches are built by ordinary carpenters who also contribute to the wood-carved ornaments of the *ikonostas*. . . The peasant houses are clean and look more like Czech than Polish. . ."

In his description of a liturgy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the village of Monastyrsky, Zapp writes:

"Who after witnessing this rite can remain unmoved? Oh, how I would like to retain forever that ecstatic feeling which filled my soul! . . . How close to me at that moment was this people, who have received scornful contempt from the world and never a good word, the people on whom fate has imposed such drastic, long-lasting sufferings. But yet I have met those meek people into whose hearts the hand of the Creator put the gift of pure humanity as the best guarantee of a happy life."

At the end of his experiences among the Ukrainians, Zapp recalls the following incident:

Having arrived in the city of Peremyshl, he gave his driver, a Ukrainian, a small tip, two cents to be exact, so that he might buy breakfast for himself. The driver bought for one cent a glass of whiskey, which together with a piece of bread which he had on his person, served as his breakfast. The other cent he gave to a beggar standing near the saloon.

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"At that moment, I was ashamed! And the young driver added:
"If I forget about this old man, God might forget about me!" "

Another Czech historian, FRANTISEK RIEGER (1818-1903), a close collaborator of Palacky, also visited Galicia and spent some time among the Ukrainians. He was very outspoken as to the right of the Ukrainians to a fully independent political life and wrote:

"I recognize the Ukrainians as an independent people; I know Galicia personally, and I know their literary language... We ought to respect the aspirations of this people who, although persecuted, are entitled to independence!"

Sometimes there were among the Russians themselves individuals who were not afraid to tell their countrymen the truth about Ukraine. Among these was the journalist IVAN AKSAKOV, who upon returning from a journey through Ukraine in 1848, wrote:

"In Ukraine we are being greeted incomparably better than in Russia; almost everywhere the clergy and the people come out to meet us, carrying crosses and flags. In their houses the owners, and particularly their wives, prepare warm quarters and food for us in advance. We seem to be a curious sight for them, especially when we go to war. But this sentiment of theirs cools off very rapidly and they wait impatiently for the time when these bearded *moskals* (Muscovites) leave for good. Malorussia has seen the bearded Muscovite troops for some time, and it is certain that it feels a sense of insult and offense, as it has in the past. Our soldiers are completely indifferent to this feeling, and by their crude and cynical behavior insult Ukrainian women, ask constantly for more food, make fun of the *khokhol* (a contemptuous appellation used by the Muscovites for the Ukrainians) and the like. . ."

The Ukrainian song has always attracted travellers in Ukraine and made a deep impression even upon those who were specialists in the field.

For instance, the German poet FRIEDRICH BODENSTEDT, who in 1840 -1845 journeyed through Russia, Ukraine and Asia Minor,

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translated a collection of Ukrainian folk songs into German and published it under the title *Die poetische Ukraine* (Stuttgart, 1845). In his preface Bodenstedt wrote:

"The Ukrainian people, who endeavor to defend their land against the Poles and Russians, have survived a long and difficult struggle, and finally have become tired. . . But there are few peoples with such an attractive and poetic past as the Ukrainians; let us mention the heroic Zaporozhians and the organization of Ukrainian Kozaks; their leaders, from Ostap Dashkevych down to Khmelnytsky; then Vyhovsky, Doroshenko, Teterya, the turbulent Brukhovetsky with his rebels; Mazepa, famed the world over, whose life was as mysterious as his love for the daughter of Kochubey; the erudition of the Kiev clergy, which had such a beneficial influence upon Muscovy; the knightly characteristics of the Ukrainian aristocracy—all these are elements of the poetry and charm of Ukrainian history. . ."

Commenting on Ukrainian song, Bodenstedt said:

"Let sweet-smelling Ukrainian songs, like crying winds, blow upon German meadows and tell how the children of Ukraine once loved and fought. . . In no country has the tree of popular poetry produced such fruits, nowhere has the soul of the people expressed itself in folk song so vividly and truly as among the Ukrainians. . . What a deep draught of nostalgia, what deep and human feelings in those songs sung by a Kozak far from his native land. . . Truly, the people who can sing such songs and appreciate them can not stand on a low rung of civilization. . . Curiously enough, the Ukrainian folk poetry is sometimes very similar in its form to the poetry of the most enlightened peoples of Western Europe. . ."

A similar appreciation of Ukrainian songs is expressed by another translator of Ukrainian folk songs, namely, TALVJ, a German lady Theresa Albertine Leontine von Takob (later married to an American) 1866:

"The liberation struggle against the enemies of Ukraine had created a vast multitude of beautiful and powerful Ukrainian folk songs, which in their form and character and in the boldness of

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their poetic feeling are totally different from the Great Russian. The courageous swing of Ukrainian folk songs reminds one of the Scottish ballads. The Kozak never gives in to his fate, but always fights on and, therefore, the Ukrainian song was born to the accompaniment of whistling bullets and the clash of swords in the time of long battles that went on for centuries from the Carpathians to far beyond the Dnieper."

The world-celebrated French writer and romanticist, HONORE de BALZAC, was in Ukraine during the years 1847-1850. He lived in the village of Verkhivnia near Kiev, in the home of his beloved, Eva Hanska, whom he married in Berdychiv in 1850, a few months before his death.

In his letters to his family in France, Balzac wrote a great deal about the characteristics of Ukrainian life, particularly its economic aspects, and also about the climate, land and vegetation of Ukraine.

"In the kingdom of flowers and greenery," as Balzac refers to Ukraine, "there are many contrasts and marvels. One cannot imagine these spaces and the harvests on the land which is never fertilized, and yet which produces so much wheat every year."

He was very much impressed by the sight of Kiev:

"I saw the northern Rome, a city of Orthodoxy with some 300 churches, the wealth of the Lavra, St. Sophia. . . It is worthwhile to see them at least once. . . During the 15 to 20-day fair people come to Kiev from all corners of Russia, and there is so much activity, both commercial and social, that it is impossible for me to describe it. . . I saw at the fair in Kiev some wonderful tapestries. . . and 12 chairs of exquisite design."

He also noted the culinary skill of the Ukrainians. In a letter to a friend he wrote:

"Perhaps one day I will be able to repay you this friendly service when you come to Ukraine, this terrestrial paradise, where I marked 77 ways of preparing bread, which fact itself suggests the idea that the people are able to manipulate even the simplest things. Is it the same in Lithuania? Do you prepare *kasha* in 77 different ways?"

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The French writer was also a keen observer of feminine dress; he remarked:

"The young women attend balls in dresses of royal beauty, far more outstanding than one could see in Paris. . ."

He also gave interesting comments on the Russian administration, police and frontier guards, and mentioned his difficulties in connection with his desire to stay in Ukraine. As is now the case, the Russian authorities were reluctant to let any foreigner travel through the country for they always suspected some ulterior political motive.

When he received as a gift a box of candy from his sister in France, Balzac replied on April 9, 1849:

"Your box of candy was received yesterday, but everything in it was mixed up and spoiled because of rewrapping. There is no doubt that you had filled the empty spaces with newspapers, and everything printed was taken away by the custom officials. I see that you will never understand Russia nor her politics. To send printed matter to me here is to cause me much difficulty; one can even be expelled from here because of it!"

Another outstanding Frenchman, PROSPER MERIMEE, a writer and historian, published a series of articles on *The Kozaks of Ukraine and Their Late Hetmans* (*Moniteur Universel*, Paris, 1854). In it he wrote:

"The passing of the Ukrainian Kozaks over (to Muscovy) was a terrific blow to Poland and vice-versa, the diminution of Poland precipitated their loss of independence." (June 22, 1854).

In another passage dealing with Khmelnytsky, Merimée wrote:

"The elected representative of a small people, encircled by powerful neighbors, he devoted his life to the struggle for independence. He was capable of splitting his enemies, as well as uniting all other friendly groups, he was unrestrained, brave, endowed in rich political tactics, prudent in his success, and resolute in time of defeat. . . Khmelnytsky was courageous, cunning and intrepid; he had an instinct for war. . . All his power was based on his convincing the Kozaks that he was closely connected with their own interests. But his ambition, to be sure, was

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the result of his patriotism, or his absolute devotion to this wonderful union, which we call the Zaporozhian army... He endeavored to create an aristocracy such as the Polish, but less cruel, and open to every brave and honest man. He had no idea of raising the peasantry to the rank of Kozaks, but yet he so cleverly juggled with it that even Germany, an alien to Slav customs, was greatly frightened." (June 22, 1854).

This review of comments and reports on Ukraine in the XIXth century may well be concluded by recalling an incident in the French Senate in 1869. The well-known French Senator, an influential politician and the editor of *La Patrie*, K. DELAMARRE, created a sensation when he introduced a petition on the Ukrainian question, which was subsequently published in pamphlet form under the title, "*A 15-Million European People, Forgotten in History.*" Some of his statements are as forceful today as they were then:

"There exists in Europe a people forgotten by historians—the Ruthenian people (*le peuple Ruthène*); twelve and a half million of them under the Russian tsar, and two and half million under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This people is as numerous as the people of Spain, and three times as numerous as the Czechs, and equals in number all the subjects of the Crown of St. Stephen. This people has its own history, different from that of Poland, and far different from the history of Muscovy. It has its own traditions and language which is separate from the Muscovite and the Polish, and which has a distinct individuality and for which these people continue to fight. History should not forget that up to the time of Peter I this people, whom we call Ruthenians, was known as Rus or Ruthenians and their land was known as Rus or Ruthenia, and the people whom we today call Russian was known as Muscovites, and their land was Muscovy. At the end of the past century all in France and in Europe knew well enough how to distinguish Rus from Muscovy."

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It was almost the last noble voice of Western Europe in the second half of the XIXth century on the Ukrainian problem, a last warning to Europe that there is a Ukraine which fights for its rightful place among the free peoples of the world. Subsequently, the world all but forgot the name Ukraine for some time.

But then came the XXth century, the first and second revolutions in Ukraine and the subsequent revival of Ukraine as an independent Ukrainian Republic in the years 1917-1920.

The existence of the short-lived independent Ukraine and its fight for freedom today, have accomplished a genuine revolution in the matter of recognition of the Ukrainians as a distinct people, and could serve as a basis for another and more substantial study.

30. Present day map of countries of the Black Sea basin.



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