

RUS, UKRAINE
AND
MUSCOVY, RUSSIA

by

MARIE S. GAMBAL

1937

UKRAINIAN WORKINGMEN'S ASS'N
SCRANTON, PA.

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"The Ukraine has always aspired to be free, but being wedged in between Muscovy, the states of the Grand Seigneur and Poland, it has always had to seek a protector, and consequently, a master, among these three states. First they put themselves under the protection of Poland, which treated them too much as a subject state, then they handed themselves over to the Muscovite, who governed them as slaves, as much as he could."

Voltaire, "Histoire de Charles XII."

SIDELIGHTS ON THE EVOLUTION OF A NAME

When at the time of the World War the Ukrainians organized their Republics on the territories that were under Russia and Austria-Hungary, and when the two Republics united on January 22, 1919, many an otherwise well-informed reader of European news spoke of a new nation appearing out of the turmoil of war. This "newness" was partly due to the fact that the Ukrainians have been known in history under several names. They had been called Rusy, Rusiny, Rusniaks, Ruthenians, South Russians, Little Russians, and so on.

Other peoples have had in the course of centuries more than one name. In the case of the Ukrainians the many-name confusion continues to persist to a certain extent to this day.

This is awkward, to say the least, for barring a few insignificant groups that have not rid themselves of Russophilism and the few who still cling to the old names of Rusin and Ruthenian, the Ukrainians, numbering more than forty million people, prefer to be known by the name Ukrainians. No better proof of this than the fact that when they did have an opportunity to organize their State they

did not call it Ruthenian or Rusin or Rusinsky or Little Russian or South Russian, or by any other derivative of the old name Rus.

They called their State Ukrainian, and the territory of southeastern Europe on which they constitute a majority, Ukraine.

NAMES DERIVED FROM RUS

The many names that sound so much alike and appear so alike are derived from a common root—Rus. This was the name first applied to Kiev and the neighboring territory at the time the Rus State was organized. Some scholars claim that the name was Scandinavian in origin. Others maintain that it was local in origin, derived from a river in the Dnieper region. Still others are of the opinion that the name made its way into Kiev territory from southern France.

However it may be, the historical fact is, and on this writers are pretty well agreed, that in the 10th century the name Rus applied only to the territory centering around Kiev. It was adopted by the Slav tribes living there, spreading later to northern and western territories, all of which came to be known as the Rus State.

Who were the Slav tribes that formed the bulwark of the nucleus Rus State? And where did they come from originally?

ANCESTORS OF ALL SLAVS

The so-called cradle of the Slavs was in the region of the upper Dnieper and the middle course of the Vistula. There the ancestors of the Slavs, that is of the Ukrainians, Russians, White Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Lusatians, Bulgarians, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs lived since immemorial times. Whether

these ancestral groups differed one from the other is not known. In their original crib they probably appeared more or less alike.

During the migration of the Slavs which began in the 4th-5th centuries the tribes left their ancestral homes and ventured into other territories. In time they settled on the lands they inhabit today.

The migration took a three-fold direction. The ancestors of the Southern Slavs, the Croats, Serbs, Slovenes and Bulgarians found their home in southern Europe. The tribes that were to give rise to the group known as the Western Slavs, the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Lusatians, settled to the West. And the ancestors of the Eastern Slavs, to which the Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians belong, traveled in an eastward direction.

A group of these East Slav tribes wandered into the fertile region of the South. The city of Kiev became the center around which their activities grew.

Another group made its way northward. The center of their life was around the towns of Volodimir and Suzdal, and later Moscow.

THE TWO CENTERS

To what extent did the two groups of Eastern Slavs, that of the North and that of the South, differ one from the other in the early days of the Rus period of history? Where the two groups unlike each other even in those distant days? Or were they one and the same people as many Russian historians have claimed?

Was the later idea of the unity of "all Russian peoples," as some writers call the Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians, actual? Or was it built up by expediency and in accordance with the empire building interests and ambitions of the Muscovite and later Russian tsars?

RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN VIEWPOINTS

Russian historians have usually maintained that the two groups, the northern and the southern, were one and the same, and that the Rus State which during the peak of its development extended northward including the towns of Volodimir and Suzdal was inhabited by one and the same people.

Ukrainian historians steadily maintained that the two groups of Eastern Slavs differed one from the other, and that the Rus period which centered around Kiev is the early Ukrainian period of history.

During recent years a change has been noted in the opinions of writers on this controversial subject. Recent studies, for instance, seem to show that it is doubtful whether the Rus State was the strongly knit political unit it was said to have been. And that it is more probable that Rus was a collection of states carrying on continuous warfare with one another, and only very loosely bound by the authority of the Prince of Kiev. There has also been some change of views on the part of Russian writers with regard to the oneness of the two groups of Eastern Slavs even in those early days. Russian writers have ventured to say that perhaps the Ukrainian historians have not been far wrong when they maintained that the Kiev Age was the early Ukrainian period of history. And that the early Russian period of history lay in the North, in the development of power in the towns of Suzdal, Volodimir, and later in Moscow.

The differences between the two languages, that of the North and that of the South, even in those earliest days; the fact that for several centuries before the founding of the Rus State the two peoples, separated by forests and marshes, had lived separate

lives; a different folklore, songs and customs; the fact that the northern East Slav tribes came in direct contact with the Finnish tribes living in the North and intermingled with them, are good proof that the ancestors of the Russians and the ancestors of the Ukrainians were two different peoples in the earliest days of history.

Of course, the conception of nationality as we understand it today was not the same in those far-off times. But there are sufficient data to make the Ukrainian historians' viewpoint appear the true one.

Prof. Leo Wiener touched upon this subject when he wrote in his "Anthology of Russian Literature," published as far back as 1902:

"Some assert that all the Russians of Kiev belonged to the Great-Russian division, and that the Tartar invasion destroyed most of them, and caused the rest to migrate to the north, whither they carried their poetry. The Little Russians that now occupy the south of Russia are supposed by these scholars to have come from Galicia to re-people the abandoned places. The Little-Russians themselves claim with pardonable pride, to be the direct descendants of the race that gave Russia its Nestor and the bard of the Word of Igor's Armament. There are weighty arguments on both sides and both the Great-Russians with whom we are concerned, and the Little-Russians or Ruthenians, who have developed a literature in their own dialect, claim that old literature as their own."

In "Russia, a Social History," Prof. D. S. Mirsky refers to the two viewpoints in the following words:

"The thesis of the Great Russian historians has always been that the Eastern Slavs formed a pre-established unity from the beginning of time. The thesis of the Ukrainian historians is that the eastern

Slavs had two centres of gravity—one in the north and one in the south, and that the southern group was originally not much more closely related to the northern than it was to other groups in the Balkans or in Central Europe. The sum of evidence seems to be increasingly favourable to a view that is closer to the Ukrainian than to the Great Russian thesis."

DECLINE OF KIEV

The decline of Kiev's prestige began with the 12th century. Continuous warfare among the princes and the foreign invasions finally put an end to the Rus State. One of the first steps in the brilliant city's downfall occurred in the year 1169 when Andrey of Suzdal of the North sacked the city, robbed it of its treasures, taking away with him precious books, icons, church bells, vestments and so on.

In 1240 the Tartars invaded the city and put an end to the Rus State around Kiev. It continued to exist for another hundred years or so in the western provinces of Galicia and Volyn, until these also lost their prestige and independence coming first under the rule of Lithuania and later under Poland.

The two provinces were sometimes referred to as Little Rus or Western Rus to differentiate them from the Great Rus of Kiev. Toward the middle of the 13th century the two peoples of the North and South become definitely separated with not even the Prince of Kiev binding them more or less closely by means of the large Rus State.

"ROBBED OF A NAME"

Kiev fell. The power of the North grew. The town of Moskva which had been a small insignificant town while Kiev was at its peak became the center

of the rapid growing northern state. By the end of the 15th century the northern tribes were united under the sceptre of the Muscovite ruler. The people began calling themselves Muscovites.

With the old Rus State practically non-existent, the Moscow rulers identified themselves with the dynastic traditions of the old Kiev. Turning to the old name of Rus they began calling their new State "Rossia." The son of Ivan the Terrible, Feodor I, who ruled from 1584-1598 began combining the two names, calling himself the Tsar of Moskva-Rossia.

The Ukrainians, to quote a writer on the subject, "were robbed of their old name of Rus and Rusy." These became identified with the growing Empire of the North, made encroachments on the national identity of the people of Kiev, Galicia and Volyn, and contributed for many years to come to the general confusion with regard to the histories of the East Slav peoples.

Whatever scholarly word one may apply to the change of names on the part of the Muscovites, the fact remains that Russia, as we understand the term today, is of recent origin, and that originally it was called Muscovy and its people, the Muscovites.

UKRAINE AND UKRAINIAN

The people of the Dnieper-Dniester regions, whose descendants now find themselves under the rule of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics centered at Moscow, under Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, found themselves "without a name." When later the names Russia and Russian came into wide use they turned to another which is almost as old as the name of Rus. This is the name Ukraine.

Ukraina or the Anglicized Ukraine was first mentioned in the Ipatiev Chronicle under the year 1187. The chronicler reports that when Prince Volodimir Hlibovich of Pereyaslav died "all Ukraina wept after him."

The name continues to be mentioned under the years 1213, 1268 and so on. The Chronicle of Galicia-Volyn under the year 1213 refers to an expedition of Danilo Romanovich who took away from king Leshko Bily the towns of "Berest, Uhrovesk, Vereshchin, Stolp, and all Ukraina."

The name, which means land or as some claim borderland, is applied at first to certain districts. There is mention of Ukraina "Ruska, Kyivska, Volinska, Podilska," and so on. The people who live in those "Ukrainas" are called Ukrainiany.

Toward the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, at the time of the rise of the Cossack power, the name assumes a definite geographical meaning for the central part of the Dnieper region. During Khmelnitsky's wars against Poland the name extended westward toward the territories of old Rus which had come under the rule of Poland.

An interesting point with regard to the early maps and the name Ukraine has been brought out by the Ukrainian scholar Dr. V. Sichinsky. On a map dating from the 17th century (coming from Holland) he has found two names — "Ukranie" and "Okraina." The name "Ukranie" designates the territory extending approximately from Tarnopil (East Galicia) to the river Donetz. The name "Okraina" applies to the territory between Muscovy and Ukraine proper. He has found the name "Okraina," applied to that part of land, on another map, the one by I. Massa, dating from the year 1633.

UKRAINE IN FOLK SONGS

The name Ukraine is frequently mentioned in the songs of the people. One of the early songs of the 16th century tells how Ukraina is grieving, for

The Horde has trampled her children,
Horses' hoofs have trampled the little ones,
The big ones they've taken away
And led them to the Khan,
With their hands tied back.

Another song relates how the Tartars are making their way across the green meadows,

Leading little Volinochka,
Youthful Ukrainochka.

It is interesting to note that here an inhabitant of Volyn is also called Ukrainochka, a little maid of Ukraine.

In another song of those early days,
Ukraina was grieving,
O'er the death of her Hetman
She was weeping.

Another song tells how,
Three years and three weeks
Have passed in Ukraine,
Since the Turks killed a Cossack,
Placed him under tree.

The folk songs originating during the years when the Cossacks warred with the Poles frequently mention Ukraina. One of them, evidently composed after the Cossacks' victory over the Poles, recalls that

There is no better finer place
Than our Ukraine,
And not a Liakh nor pan*) is left,
We want no change.

*) Liakh—old name for Poles; "pan"—a feudal landowner.

One of the most popular songs, the words of which have been ascribed by some to Hetman Mazepa of the Poltava fame, and which incidentally has been put to music and is often sung at concerts, is the one about the red kalina tree*) which is growing in the meadow. It is bent.

For some reason Ukraina
Is grieving and sad.
We shall raise the red kalina
We shall gladden Ukraina
Once again.

UKRAINE IN LETTERS, DOCUMENTS AND MAPS

The name Ukraine is mentioned in documents and letters during the times of the Cossacks and the Sitch. The name becomes synonymous with the old name Rus. Often one finds them mentioned together. In 1657 Hetman Vihovsky demanded full rights for "all Ukraina or Rus." In 1670 Hetman Doroshenko writes to the Polish Seym about all the clerical and lay classes of the "Rusky Orthodox Ukrainsky people." In 1711 the Cossacks write a letter to the Sultan of Turkey in which they say that "as a man without a soul so Ukraina without Kiev."

Nor was the name unknown in Western Europe. Beauplan who visited Ukraine popularized it in his book "Description d'Ukraine," written in 1649. It is found on old maps dating from the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. A map dating from the year 1572, made in France, calls the territory of the Dnieper-Dniester region Ukraine. A map used by the French merchant Motiel, dating from 1580, has Ukraine on it.

*) Kalina—high cranberry (*Viburnum Opulus*).

On maps drawn by two Italian geographers, of the years 1641 and 1657, one finds Ukraine or the Land of the Cossacks.

Prof. S. Shelukhin who has made a study of the origin of the name Ukraina, writes:

“On the Italian and French maps of the 16th century Ukraine is called either Sarmatia, Rus (Russia, Russia) or Ukraine. On the Dutch, English, French maps of the 17th century Ukraine is called Ukraine. Eastern Galicia is called a part of Ukraine or Rus. On the French, English, German and other maps of the 18th century Ukraine is called Ukraine, the Land of the Cossacks, and sometimes Rus.”

The northern territory on those maps is not called Russia. It is called Muscovia, Muscovy. Nor is Ukraine called Little Russia on the early maps of Europe. The names Russia for Muscovy and Little Russia for Ukraine came into general use toward the end of the 18th and through the 19th centuries when Russia's tsars were carrying out their Russification policies in good earnest.

“UKRAINE HAS ALWAYS ASPIRED TO BE FREE”

The name Ukraine continued to be used by non-Ukrainian writers in contradistinction to Muscovy and Moscovshchina. Voltaire used it. Later Herzen, Pushkin, Gibbon, Byron, Hugo, and others used it even when the name Little Russia was coming into use. In his “History of Charles XII,” written after the battle of Poltava, 1709, Voltaire wrote:

“The Ukraine has always aspired to be free, but being surrounded by Muscovy, the states of the Grand Seignor, and by Poland, it has been obliged

to choose a protector, and consequently a master among these three states. The inhabitants first put themselves under the protection of the Poles, who treated them too much like vassals. They afterwards appealed to the Muscovites who governed them with as despotic a sway."

It is interesting to note that the original French edition of the "History" refers to "Moscovie" and the "Moscovite." Neither the Paris edition of 1802 nor the Leipzig edition of 1845 speaks of Russia or the Russians. An English translation of the year 1831 had already made changes. The original "Moscovie" remains "Muscovy," but "Muscovite" (in reference to the people) became "Russian." The 1908 edition of an English translation dispenses with the names derived from the name Moscow altogether. In place of Voltaire's original "Moscovie" and "Moscovite," "Russia" and "Russian" are substituted.

"LITTLE RUSSIA"

By the end of the 18th century Ukraine under Russia lost the last of her autonomy. Sitch, that stronghold of the Cossacks, was destroyed, the office of Hetman was abolished, and a Little Russian Collegium was appointed to take charge of the administrative affairs in Ukraine. The Muscovite Empire's expansion southward which began with the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654, and which was definitely strengthened by the battle of Poltava when Mazeppa attempted to wrest a measure of freedom for Ukraine out of the hands of Tsar Peter, reached its peak during the reign of Catherine. The name "Little Russia" was definitely imposed upon Ukraine, fostering the idea of "one Russia, undivided."

Every effort was made to strengthen the policy of unification of the lands which had come under

the rule of the Muscovite tsar. Muscovy or Russia as it was now called was bent on eradicating all traces of Ukraine and Ukrainians as a separate and distinct country and people. The Government's slogan was that there was no Ukrainian people and no Ukrainian language, and that the Little Russians were but a branch of one large family, the Russians. The language of the Ukrainians, according to the Russian Government, was a dialect of the Russian language. The historical traditions of the two peoples were the same.

Decrees were issued to strengthen the position of the Government. Science, education, the Church became subservient to the idea of all-Russia. As late as 1864, a few years before the decree of 1876, when with a few exceptions all books in Ukrainian were prohibited, Valuyev, the Russian Minister of the Interior, made the statement that there never was, there does not exist, and never will be a Ukrainian language. The names Ukraine and Ukrainian were under suspicion. All ideas of separatism were ruthlessly suppressed.

THE NAME UKRAINE A SYMBOL

During the 19th century the battle between the powerful forces of a Government and the vital forces of a people fighting for self-preservation went on. Interest in the ethnography of Ukraine, a literature in the language of the people, studies made in the past of the country and the people, awakened in the Ukrainians a keen realization of the differences which exist between them and the Muscovites.

The very name Ukraine became a symbol of the past traditions and a guide for the future. Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's greatest poet, made the name synonymous with a people's aspirations and desire

for freedom. In his writings he called his people's attention to Ukraine's past, he wept over her present, scored the country's selfish leaders and its foes, prophetically saw into the future. For Ukraina he'd lose his soul in sin. In Ukraina he asks his countrymen to bury him. He bids them to look at Ukraine.

To love with heart sincere
The Great Ruin!

Imprisoned by the Russian Government for his liberalism as well as his Ukrainianism, for "writing dangerous verses," Shevchenko was sent away to serve sentence. Far from Ukraine he mused over his unhappy lot:

Death stares from the steppe.
I know not why, o God,
But just the same
'T is her I love,
My own Ukraine!

He wrote,

How horrible to perish
In this desert land,
But worse to gaze
Upon Ukraine,
To live, to weep,
And silent remain!

IN WESTERN UKRAINE

The names Rusiny and the Latinized Ruthenian, by which the Ukrainians living on the territories that had come under the rule of Austria-Hungary were called, continued to be used for some time in Western Ukraine. Whereas in the Ukraine under Russia all names derived from the old name of Rus tended to strengthen the Russian Government's unity propaganda, in East Galicia, in Bukovina, and in what is

now known as Carpathian Ruthenia, the old names were sufficient to distinguish the people from their immediate neighbors, the Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Rumanians and Slovaks.

This did not mean that the Rusiny or Ruthenians of East Galicia, for example, considered themselves Russians, as one writer so inaccurately stated in a recent history of Russia. It would be ridiculous to say that because Markian Shashkevich or Ivan Franko called themselves Rusiny that they felt one with the Russians.

Nor did the organizations Prosvita or the Society of Shevchenko or the many other organizations and institutions claim allegiance to the "family of Russian people" because as late as the nineties of last century they were known as Rusky organizations. It would be just as inaccurate to speak of them as Russian as to say that the organizations, first founded by the early immigrants from Western Ukraine, were Russian because they called their Associations Ruthenian or Little Russian.

On the contrary. The Ukrainians of East Galicia, though calling themselves Rusiny or Ruthenians, names derived from old Rus, were, if anything, imbued with a spirit of separatism from Russia, more so, perhaps, than the Ukrainians of Kiev. For one thing they had a better opportunity and greater freedom to express themselves on the subject. East Galicia became the Piedmont of the Ukrainian movement. When the Russian Government issued its decrees against the Ukrainians, the work of carrying on was transferred to East Galicia, where the more liberal Austrian Government made it possible for the Ukrainian movement to grow and intensify itself.

DECISION OF PETERSBURG ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

The beginning of the 20th century marked a break with the old conceptions of Rus, Rusin, Ruthenian, Roosian, Little Russian, South Russian and so on. Outstanding Russian scholars, guided by a search for truth rather than expediency, admitted that which the Ukrainian scholars had always contended, that the two peoples, the Russians and the Ukrainians were two different and distinct Slav nationalities, each with a different language, different historical background and traditions, a different literature.

These points were well brought out in a treatise prepared by members of the Petersburg Academy of Science in 1905. Questioned as to science's findings with regard to the differences in language between the two peoples, if any, a Committee from the Academy, consisting of Russian scholars of standing, such as T. Korsh, A. F. Famintsy, F. Fortunatov, A. Shakhmatov, A. Lapo-Danilevsky, S. Oldenburg, issued the well-known decision with regard to the question. Perhaps nothing will better illustrate their viewpoint than the following paragraphs, taken out of it:

“As far back as the pre-historic times the ‘all-Rus’ language presented, in its various branches, certain dialectical differences which offer a basis for supposing that the Rus tribe was even at that early age divided into three groups: the North-Rus, Central-Rus, and South-Rus. The South-Rus records of our old literature of the 11th and 12th centuries, as our distinguished co-member academician A. I. Sobolevsky first proved, represent a series of typical distinctions characteristic of the Ukrainian language. One may deduce from these that even in the pre-Tartar

days there existed considerable differences between the South-Rus (Little Russian) dialects and those of North-Rus and Central-Rus. This separation could not be abridged even by the political union of the Rus tribes, which took place in the 10th and 11th centuries.

"On the contrary, the falling apart of the Rus land into several separate divisions, the growth of a new political center around the Oka and the upper Volga, the fall of Kiev in the second half of the 13th century—all this contributed considerably toward the separation of Southwest Rus from the rest of the territory, while the invasions of the Tartars culminated this separation.

"Later, within the boundaries of the Lithuanian-Rus State the South-Rus people found suitable opportunities for a rapprochement with other Rus tribes, especially with that western branch of Central-Rus tribes that went into the making of the White Russians. The eastern branch of Central-Rus, united through Moscow with the North-Rus tribes, entered with them into the making of the Great Russian nation. Only the later colonization of the 17th and 18th centuries made it possible for the Great Russians and Little Russians to come together in the regions of Seym, Donetsk and Don.

"All these factors have brought about the historical differences between the two languages, the Great Russian and the Little Russian."

It may not be amiss to quote Michael Hrushevsky, Ukraine's foremost historian, with regard to the decision of the Petersburg Academy of Science. He wrote:

"It is to be regretted that the Petersburg Academy of Science did not assume this position with

regard to our national problem sooner, in the days when our voices in defense of our national rights and our national development met with ridicule, continuous bickering and insinuations and, with a few exceptions, with a determined silence on the part of Russia's authoritative men of science. Such a statement by the Academy at that time would have been of no small importance. Now, when national relations are decided not by means of scholarly disputes but by other factors, this decision does not produce the same effect, though, of course, it will not be without its due importance."

THE NAME UKRAINE TODAY

If the 19th century was marked by a struggle between the two forces, the one denying that the Ukrainians were a separate and distinct Slav people, and the other maintaining that the Ukrainians were a separate Slav people no less than the Russians, Poles, Serbs, Czechs and others, the 20th century has confirmed the contentions of the Ukrainian historians and the findings of the Petersburg Academy of Science.

The Republics organized by the Ukrainian people on the territories of Russia and Austria-Hungary during the War period were called Ukrainian. Histories written since the World War speak of the Ukrainians except when they wish to explain that the Ukrainians, Little Russians and Ruthenians are the same people. Maps, globes and geographies give space to Ukraine.

Russian writers, with any claims to being recognized as authoritative, discuss the Ukrainian question. Polish scholars refer to the Ukrainians under Poland. Czech scholars admit that the 600,000 or so Ukrain-

ians living within their borders are of the same stock as the Ukrainians living in Soviet Ukraine and in East Galicia. No history worth the paper it is printed on would repeat after Valuyev that "there never was, there does not exist, and there never can exist a Little Russian language."

Foreign census bureaus, such as that of Canada and the United States, have Ukrainians listed among the immigrants. The latest editions of the encyclopaedia give space to Ukraine and Ukrainians. The 1910-1911 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, for example, gave a few lines to Ukraine. The 1929 edition increased the 5-6 lines to four pages. The Encyclopaedia Americana of 1932 writes that the Ukrainians diverged from the original family of Slavs "at a very early period and developed during the centuries into an entirely independent Slav nation, just as the Poles, Czechs, Serbs and Bulgars have done."

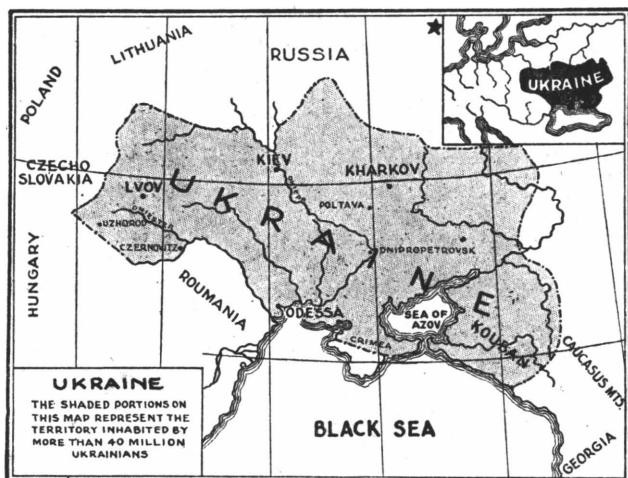
TRACES OF MISINFORMATION

It is almost ludicrous for a Ukrainian of today to assume a bellicose defensive stand with regard to the fact that his people are a distinct and separate Slav people, with a language of their own, a literature of their own, with common historical traditions, occupying a certain more or less well defined, compact territory. There are evidences on all sides to prove the truth of the Ukrainians' contentions. And yet a certain amount of befuddlement continues to exist even at this late date. The findings of the Petersburg Academy of Science, contrary to Prof. Hrushevsky's statement, have not lost their value.

In some instances information on Ukraine and Ukrainians is very incomplete. In others, there is considerable misinformation. And in still others, few

though they may be, traces of Russophilism, the old all-Russia-unity notion persists.

Although there is a Ukraine on the map and Kiev is its bright light, newspapers have a habit of referring to the "Kiev in Russia and the Ukrainian Government there." A more truthful and accurate reference would be to speak of Kiev in Ukraine and the Russian Government there.



Although Polish scholarly writers discuss the Ukrainian problem in Poland, the Polish Government persists in listing the Ukrainians officially as Rusiny. Although a large number of Ukrainian organizations in the so-called Carpathian Ruthenia appealed to the Czech Government that they be officially listed as Ukrainian, the Czech Government refused them that right. They continue to be referred to as Rusiny, Ruthenians. In Rumania the situation is, if anything, worse.

Although there are about 700,000 Ukrainians in the United States the census lists only a small per-

centage of them. Here, too, the old story repeats itself. Many of the immigrants gave the name of the country where they were born. They may be listed as Russians or Hungarians. If they gave the name of the country in which their village or town finds itself now they may have come out in the census as Czechs, Poles or even Rumanians. If they called themselves by one of the old names of Rusin or Rusnak they may have been put down simply as Russians.

To paraphrase Shakespeare's lines, a Ukrainian will be a Ukrainian by any other name, but the names have contributed a great deal to the Ukrainian people's present plight of being little known to the outside world.

Traces of Russophilism, that bugbear of the Ukrainian movement during the last century, are still evident here and there. A few groups in East Galicia cling to it; in Carpathian Ruthenia they wage a fight against the rapidly growing Ukrainian movement. In America the old immigrants from Carpathian Ruthenia try to endow the idea of "all-Russian unity" with a semblance of reality. But the last of Russophilism together with what remains of the old name-confusion is bound to go the way of last century's Russophil propaganda which has perished so pathetically in the light of history and scientific truth.

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