

OUTLINE
of
UKRAINIAN HISTORY

Clarence A. Manning, Ph.D.

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Published by
UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, CANADA—1949.

Printed by
The Publishers of The New Pathway

FOREWORD

This **Outline of Ukrainian History** has been prepared by Professor Clarence A. Manning at our request to furnish reliable information about the Ukrainians, namely: their sacrifices and achievements in the past, their contributions, sympathies and aspirations at present and their ideals and objectives in the future.

We commend this work not only to those whose family tradition goes back to Ukraine, but also to those who wish to supplement their knowledge of historical information about the people who constitute the largest Slavic group in Canada.

We trust, therefore, that this booklet will supply the necessary information and that it will contribute to foster mutual understanding and cooperation among our various national groups in this country.

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

Prof. Clarence A. Manning was born in New York City April 1, 1893. He was educated at Columbia University where he received the A.B. in 1912, the A.M., 1913, and the Ph.D. 1915. Since 1917, he has been connected with Columbia University and since 1924 Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and for many years was Acting Executive Officer of the Department. In 1947 he received an Hon. Ph.D. from the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and in 1948 was elected a member of the Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. He is also a Member of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of the University of London and a Foreign Member of the Slavonic Institute of Prague and has been decorated by the pre-war governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Among his published works are **Ukrainian Literature, Studies of the Leading Authors; Selected Poems of Taras Shevchenko; the Story of the Ukraine; An Anthology of Czechoslovak Poetry; Marko the King's Son, Hero of the Serbs;** and many articles on Ukrainian and other Slavic literatures and on other religious life of the Slavic peoples, especially the Orthodox Church. He has most recently edited the late Dr. Percival Cundy's **Ivan Franko.**



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CHAPTER ONE

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THE boundless steppe, the majestic course of the mighty Dnieper, and the limitless fields of grain are for the Ukrainian writers the chief elements of Ukrainian nature. Regardless of the political changes of the centuries, these are still as they were a millenium ago the outstanding characteristics of the country and they have been the chief factors in determining its sad and troubled history.

Ukraine is not a small country. It is larger than any of the states of the United States with the exception of Texas and it is almost the size of the province of Ontario. Outside of the Russian Soviet Republic, it is one of the largest states in Europe and it covers far more area than do many of the countries which are better known in the modern world.

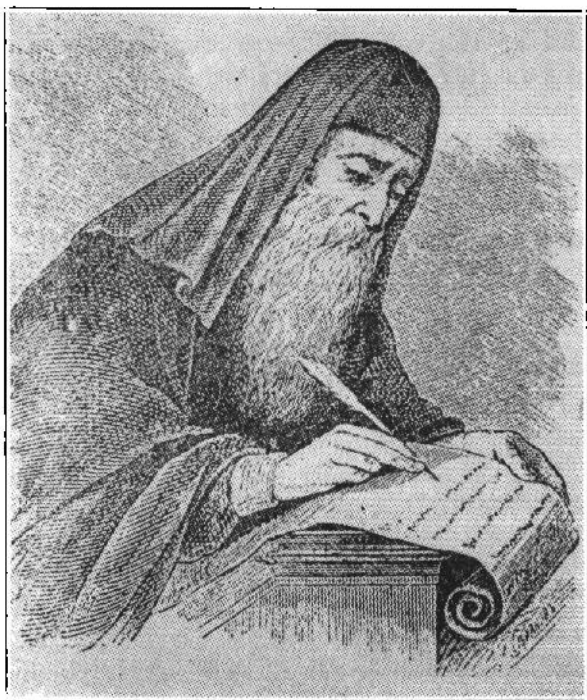
It occupies an important geographical and strategical position, for it runs from the Carpathian Mountains on the west along the north shore of the Black Sea to beyond the River Don and the Ukrainian population has overflowed these boundaries and now includes a large part of the territory of the Kuban area in the north Caucasus. On the north it merges more or less imperceptibly with the Russian Soviet Republic.

It can be seen at once that, especially on the north, the country has no definite natural boun-

dary. On the east the situation is little better for a river valley unites as well as divides. Yet despite this fact the territory that the Ukrainians inhabit has been theirs for centuries and the boundaries have changed remarkably little, when we take into account the constant wars and the movements of populations.

The great rivers emptying into the Black Sea, the Dniester, the Dnieper, and the Don all flow across the Ukrainian territory from north to south. Yet it has been the misfortune of the Ukrainian people that they have never controlled the headwaters of these rivers. It has been an asset commercially, for the portages between those rivers that flow into the Baltic Sea and those that enter the Black Sea are relatively short. In fact the route of the Volkhov and the Dnieper was so well traversed in ancient times that it was called the Varangian road, for over these waterways passed the Scandinavian Vikings for commerce or for war with the Byzantine Empire and the imperial city of Constantinople. It was no accident that both Kiev in the south and Novgorod in the north became the two great centres of the north and south trade.

Yet this does not exhaust the commercial and strategical possibilities of the country. The thousand-year-old trade routes which connect Central Asia and Europe run across Ukrainian territory and over these routes have passed not only countless peaceful caravans but all the armed forces of those nomadic hordes which for millenia threatened the civilization of Europe. The Scythi-



The Monk Nestor of Kiev,
the first Ukrainian historian of the 9th century

ans, the Sarmatians, the Huns, the Avars, the Magyars, the Bulgarians, and the Mongols, and the Tatars, not to speak of the countless hordes which have passed into complete oblivion even for scholars, have moved across the same territory in a never-ending stream.

Where these east-west routes crossed the Dnieper, there arose the city of Kiev, one of the oldest settlements in Europe for the site has been occupied since neolithic times. It has given Kiev its primacy as the mother of the cities of Rus and at a high cost in treasure and in human lives, it has made Kiev the traditional and practical centre of Ukraine, its leading commercial and intellectual metropolis, whatever the governing power might be at that moment.

Yet Kiev is but one of the great cities of the area. In the west there was the important city of Lviv, which dominated the old province of Galicia, named after the Princes of Halych. In the east Kharkiv became a younger but important commercial centre. On the Black Sea the port of Odessa became the chief outlet of Ukrainian grain and in the amount of its tonnage before World War I was only surpassed by St. Petersburg itself.

The greater part of Ukraine is included in the fertile black earth region. The broad plains are ideally suited for the cultivation of grain and they have been used for this from time immemorial and still the soil is not yet exhausted. In the ancient world, the grain from the area of the present Ukraine was as vital to the well-being of the Roman Empire as it was to nineteenth century

Europe. The ports on the Black Sea coast therefore often go back to high antiquity and the Greek and Roman colonies situated at convenient spots on the Black Sea coast have served as the nucleus for many of the modern cities and towns.

All this has made Ukraine a great agricultural area, an area which has been long coveted by her ambitious neighbors on the north and west and east. It was Ukrainian wealth that laid the foundations of the power of the Russian Empire. It was Ukrainian wealth that has persistently allured the Germans in their drive to control the east. It was Ukrainian wealth that attracted the Poles and it was Ukrainian wealth that constantly drew on the nomads of the east in their westward push.

Grain is not the only product of the Ukrainian fields. Along the shore of the Black Sea where a distinctly southern climate and semi-tropical conditions prevail, it is possible to raise all kinds of crops, even many that are grown only in the most southern regions of Europe. In short, Ukraine is a fertile land and yet with its great production, modern agricultural science has shown how its yields could be enormously increased, if better methods of cultivation were employed.

In the west, where the foothills rise into the Carpathian Mountains with their summits covered with snow for several months each year, the large scale agricultural methods cannot be employed so profitably. Yet here there are great forests which are lacking elsewhere in the country, and again the proper use of these could well round out the Ukrainian economy.

Somewhere on Ukrainian soil can be found suitable land for forestry, for grain, for fruit, for almost all the products of a diversified agriculture. So too with the raising of large quantities of the various animals, of cattle, of swine, of horses. Animal breeding has always been one of the great industries of the land and in early days hunting and fishing and production of honey supplied the population in the days when the dark ages and constant warfare reduced the well-being of the people.

At the same time Ukraine is richly endowed with the most important minerals and metals. The coal of the Donets basin, the iron of the area around Krivey Rih, the oil of Western Ukraine all rank among the important European deposits and have given the state the possibility of important industrial development, if only this were exploited for the good of the local inhabitants and were not drawn off to support distant and alien capitals.

To-day the number of Ukrainians is somewhere in the neighborhood of forty-five million hardy and industrious people. The vast majority of them live in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic but there are millions outside its borders. They have overflowed the areas to the east. There are millions more in Siberia along the Amur River. There are nearly a million in the United States. There are over three hundred thousand in Canada. There are thousands more in South America, especially in the Argentine Republic, in Uruguay and Paraguay. The numbers abroad are increasing with the movement of the displaced persons, just as

the numbers in Siberia are being recruited by the inhuman mass deportations which are being constantly carried on by the Soviet Union in an effort to break the spirit of Ukrainian nationalism, while the Moscow authorities are making every effort to fill Ukraine with people from other parts of the Soviet Union for the same reason.

The Ukrainians are Eastern Slavs but they are sharply dissociated in every way from their Russian neighbors. They differ in their history, their characteristics, and their mode of life. They have always maintained a spirit of independence. They have sought to own their own lands, to be masters of their fate, and they have never accepted the principle of the communal ownership of property which has always been a characteristic feature of the Russian village. It is this that has made them far more hostile to the collectivization of agriculture and that has led the Soviet authorities in the effort to cement their control to cause the artificial famine of 1932-3, when millions of Ukrainian villagers were deliberately starved to death by the orders of Moscow.

Yet with it all, Ukraine has been a forgotten land. It is one of the ironies that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic should appear in the councils of the United Nations at the very moment when the Soviet masters at home were doing everything possible to wipe out the ever-increasing fire of Ukrainian nationalism. It was the Ukrainian position on the border of Europe that weakened the state organization in the early Middle Ages and allowed other countries to profit by her mis-



Princess St. Olga, of Kiev,
946—957

fortunes, while the people themselves were hidden under various names which concealed their identity and obscured their significance in world history.

The old name of Ukraine was Rus. We do not need to go into the history of that word for it has long been a centre of dispute. Some scholars have found for it a Scandinavian origin. Others have sought its meaning in various Slavic and Iranian sources. Yet, it was early applied to the inhabitants of the area around Kiev and only later to the emigrants who moved into the region of Moscow. Following the unfortunate union at Pereyaslav in 1654 the Moscovite rulers, to confuse the Ukrainians, assumed the bombastic title "The Czars of all Russias" and to further discriminate between the two peoples the Moscovites were called Great Russians and the Ukrainians Little Russians. At the same time they laid claim to the entire history of the medieval Ukrainian state and succeeded in spreading their point of view abroad.

In the meanwhile in the western provinces which came under the control of the western powers, the name Ruthenian was coined as the Latin equivalent. So all during the nineteenth century, the Russians iterated and reiterated that the Ukrainians were only Little Russians, while the Austro-Hungarians forbade the designation of the people by any other name than Ruthenian.

It was under these conditions that the people adopted the name of Ukrainians. This was an old term, which had been applied for centuries to

those people living on the steppes, in the provinces away from the heart city of Kiev, the people who had been the least affected by the political intrigues of the day and who had borne the burden of the struggle for existence. It was a happy choice, once the people were to be deprived of their traditional name of Rus, and now it is as Ukraine that the area has been introduced by its Soviet masters into the United Nations, where its official, Moscow-appointed representatives speak and act without regard to the wishes or the interests of those whom they claim to represent.

Yet despite all this, the pages of Ukrainian history are not all sad. At one time the state ranked as one of the greatest in Europe. The power of the Kievan princes was widespread and at every moment, when it has been remotely possible, the people have struggled for their due share and membership in the European community of nations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GREAT DAYS OF KIEV

KIEV had had a long past and was the centre of a great state at the time when the Varangian dynasty established itself on the throne in the ninth century. This was Scandinavian in origin but it very soon was absorbed by the native Slav population and it is only from that time that the history of the state can be traced with anything like certainty. Before that we have only vague traditions and the results of the excavations of the great grave mounds by various archaeologists to give us some idea as to the life that went on.

That life soon came into contact with Constantinople. Traders and armed warriors from Rus appeared in the imperial city. The Grand Princess Olha, widow of the Grand Prince Svyatoslav, was baptized there according to tradition in 965, but it was her grandson, St. Volodymyr (979-1015) who formally accepted Christianity and put the state on the highroad to power.

According to the tradition preserved in the old Chronicles (written by the Kievan monk Nestor), he became interested in the various religions of the world. He sent envoys to Constantinople, to the Roman Catholic Germans, to the Mohammedans, and to the Jewish Khasars in an effort to learn which was the true religion. Those who came back from Constantinople and reported on the splendid services in the great Church of St. Sophia were

so impressed that the Grand Prince decided to accept Christianity in its Byzantine form and after prolonged negotiations and conflicts, he was baptized in 988 and married the sister of the Emperor Basil the Bulgar-Slayer, one of the ablest rulers in the history of the Byzantine Empire.

This acceptance of Byzantine Christianity determined the character of Ukrainian civilization. At the end of the tenth century, Constantinople was the cultural centre of the Christian world. Kiev at once became a miniature Constantinople. It shared in the education and the refinement of the Byzantine capital, and it not only came under the influence of the Greek clergy but also it inherited the Church Slavic language which had been created a century earlier by the efforts of Saints Cyril and Methodius.

Volodymyr left to his son Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054) a great state. Yaroslav was a contemporary of William the Conqueror but the ruler of Kiev was an educated and cultured man and one of the great rulers of Europe. He maintained the most far-flung political connections. One of his daughters married King Henry I of France; another, King Harold Hardrada of Norway. He himself had married a daughter of the King of Sweden. His lawcode "Ruska Pravda" was advanced for the day. He built the great Church of St. Sophia in Kiev and his work for education placed him as one of the ablest pupils of the Byzantine system of government.

The last of the great rulers was Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125) and he amply lived up to



St. Volodymyr, Great Prince of Kiev
979—1015

the cultural traditions of his family, for he was literate in seven languages. His Testament, preserved in the Chronicles, shows a tolerance and a human kindness that is not often evident in the rulers of his age.

The unity of the state had meanwhile begun to break. In common with the feudal monarchies of the west, the obligation of obedience to the central authority sat lightly on many of the princes, even though they were members of the same dynasty, and gradually the princes of the most important centres as Chernyhiv began to act as if they were independent rulers. It became a superhuman task for the Grand Princes in Kiev to hold their unruly relatives in check and at the same time to protect the far-flung boundaries of the state.

These last were imperilled constantly by the unceasing attacks of the nomad tribes which were pushing eastward against the borders of Ukraine. The vast plains worked to the advantage of the invaders who were able to pierce the long border almost at will and far too many of the princes were only too willing to invite the aid of these nomads in their campaigns against their lawful head.

During the twelfth century there was almost continuous civil war and Kiev repeatedly changed hands. Yet it did not suffer too much damage for the warring princes were fighting for the control of the city and did not damage it any more than necessary. Yet this was too good to last. In 1169 Prince Andrew Bogolyubsky of Suzdal attacked and sacked the city. Prince Andrew was at the

head of those forces which were later to make their capital in Moscow. He had already succeeded in making himself an absolute monarch and in crushing both the power of his associates, the druzhina, and of the city councils. He wanted the title of Grand Prince but he had no intention of taking up his residence in Kiev where he would be subject to the traditional restraints and so he ravaged the city and removed to his northeastern capital everything that was of value. It was this sacking of Kiev that brought into the open the long-slumbering differences between the Ukrainians and the more isolated Russians and from this moment, the breach between the two East Slavic peoples was never healed.

It became only more intense when less than a century later the realm was overthrown by the forces of Genghis Khan and his successors. Kiev fought against these new invaders and was again ruined. Moscow submitted, and for two centuries the Grand Princes of Moscow were the most faithful servants of the Mongols and later of the Golden Horde which succeeded to the rule of the western part of the Mongol Empire. Even such princes as Alexander Nevsky were content to hold their lands as subjects of the Khan. They married Mongol and Tatar girls and adopted Tatar customs and thus isolated themselves still more from Kiev, Constantinople and Europe.

Alone and abandoned, Kiev fell under the control of the Lithuanian state. For a while the tradition of Kievan independence was maintained by the Princes of Halych in what is now known as



Anna Yaroslawnna,
daughter of Yaroslaw the Wise of Kiev and
wife of Henry I, King of France

Galicia. The rulers struggled on and several were crowned by the Popes Kings of Rus, but the pressure of Poland and Hungary was too great for them and by the middle of the fourteenth century they were compelled to enter Poland which soon united with Lithuania through the marriage of the Grand Prince Jagiello of Lithuania with Queen Jadwiga of Poland.

The creation of this joint state doomed the hopes of Ukraine to recover its liberty and for two centuries more Ukraine lay prostrate while constant pressure was exerted upon the nobles to adopt the Roman Catholic religion and the Polish language. They gradually began to yield and soon the burden for the preservation of the native language and traditions were thrown upon the peasants who had been reduced to serfdom and the population of the cities who saw themselves checked and frustrated in all of their efforts at self-development.

At the end of the sixteenth century, there were renewed efforts to strengthen the Ukrainian culture and to establish schools supported by the various city brotherhoods. They accomplished a great deal but the rise of the Kozaks gave an even greater impulse for the development of the Ukrainian national spirit.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ZAPOROZHIAN KOZAKS

THE constant raiding of the Tatars had left uninhabited a large area in the neighborhood of the lower Dnieper. Into this came Ukrainians for the sake of hunting and fishing, and these adventurous souls soon found it profitable to band together for mutual defence and then for joint attacks upon raiding groups. In this way they were able to secure rich booty and also to rescue Christians who were being sold into slavery to the Turks or Tatars. For greater security, they finally constructed a centre on the islands below the rapids of the Dnieper and this was the centre of the much famed Zaporozhian Sich (the Sich beyond the rapids).

By the end of the sixteenth century these Kozaks as they were called had become a formidable military power. Their organization was purely democratic. They elected their own leaders, obeyed them implicitly on campaigns, and then on their return home had no compunction about deposing them if they had proved themselves unsatisfactory. As time went on, they extended their activities, until they even dared to construct light boats and raid the harbors on the Black Sea and on several occasions they stormed and sacked the suburbs of Constantinople. In a word, the Kozaks had become the chief military force in the whole of Eastern Europe.

They were a constant source of annoyance to their nominal country, Poland, for they waged wars on the Turks, the Tatars, or any other neighbor without regard to Polish policy. The efforts of the King of Poland to restrain them were all in vain and it soon became evident that there were only two courses open to the Poles, to accept the Kozaks as part of their military system or to suppress them. With the general attitude of the Polish government and the defiance of it by the magnates and the various nobles, it was impossible for the government to adopt either course. In time of war, it was only too eager to promise the Kozaks anything. In time of peace, it sought to reduce their number and to return the surplus to the serfdom which they had left for the campaign. It created a group of registered Kozaks for permanent service and then did not pay them the promised sums. Hence the Kozak population was in a perpetual state of unrest and turbulence.

The situation changed drastically when in 1648 the hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky led the Kozaks in a widespread revolt against the Poles. He was by far the ablest of the various leaders and within a few months he had defeated all the armies of the Polish Republic, captured the military leaders and, in December, 1648, entered Kiev with all the honors of a conqueror and an independent sovereign. As his power and his ambitions grew, he saw himself at the head of a great federation of Orthodox Christians and he carried on negotiations as a sovereign with all of the neighboring countries.

This was the first time that the Kozak organization had given any thought to problems of government. The Sich was a men's club and the Kozaks had been far closer to the great religious military orders of the Middle Ages than to a government. Now Khmelnytsky, after expelling the Polish landlords from Ukraine, set up a regimental organizations of Kozaks in their place. The officers of the regiments, who enjoyed their posts through the favor of the hetman, became the new administrators of the country.

These changes coincided with a change of policy on the part of Moscow. After centuries of contempt for Kiev, Tsar Alexis and the Patriarch Nikon began to invite monks and scholars from Kiev to Moscow. The graduates of the Academy of Kiev, founded by the Metropolitan Peter Mohyla, came to fill all the posts in Moscow that required educated men. They changed the entire aspect of Muscovite thought and for the first time the Russian capital became responsive to some details of Western life.

As a result of this and of the shifting political fortunes after the Thirty Years War, Khmelnytsky finally decided to seek Muscovite support by making a treaty of alliance with the Tsar. This alliance was sealed by the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654. It was not satisfactory, for almost at once the Tsar and his officials showed that they did not regard it as an alliance with the Kozaks but as the assumption of rule over them. Russian troops began to occupy the Ukrainian cities and to lord it over the population.



Bohdan Khmelnytzky,
Hetman of Ukraine, 1648—1657

This aroused bitter resentment, especially among the Kozak officers, and Khmelnytsky was seeking a way to end the alliance when he died prematurely in 1657.

His death threw the Kozak Host into a series of factional fights, for no hetman was able to secure the stable backing that Khmelnytsky had had won for himself. The officers and many of the more far-sighted Kozaks wanted an understanding with Poland by which the Host and Ukraine would play the role of a third co-equal member of the Republic on a par with Poland and Lithuania. Many of the more fanatical Kozaks looked toward Moscow as an Orthodox country.

Under these conditions, the Host swung with bewildering rapidity from one orientation to the other. At the same time Poland and Russia made another treaty dividing Ukraine along the line of the Dnieper River with Kiev under Russian control. Poland was growing steadily weaker and the great victory of King Jan Sobieski at Vienna in 1683 over the Turks could not do more than check the process. With the Polish cavalry and a large number of Kozaks, he had cut his way through the Turkish lines and saved the city and removed the Turkish menace to central Europe. It was the last great Polish victory and the last time when the Kozaks fighting with Poland played an important role. From this moment on, Poland and the Kozaks in Poland both went downhill rapidly until there developed that sad situation which prevailed until the division of the country, when Poland had no power and the oppressed Kozaks

could do little more than break out in desperate and unplanned revolts.

In the meanwhile the Tsars had continued their policy of diminishing in every way the power of the hetmans and in bringing the Kozaks under their own control. It required but the slightest breath of suspicion to reach Moscow for the hetman to be arrested and moved on to Siberia. The exactions and claims of the Tsar became steadily greater and hardly a year passed without some breach of the original terms of the alliance made by Khmelnytsky.

This was the situation when Ivan Mazeppa was elected hetman in 1687, and it was he who governed Ukraine during the first part of the reign of Peter I. Mazeppa was far more of a Renaissance prince than an old-style Kozak leader. He used the enormous wealth of the Host for cultural purposes. He was a great patron of the arts, of the Church, and of education. His benefactions were widespread throughout the entire Orthodox world and his power was respected. Yet Mazeppa worked only with the Kozak officers and he never won that popularity with the masses which was so necessary.

Mazeppa succeeded in retaining the confidence of Peter during the first years of the Northern War, when Charles XII of Sweden won victory after victory over both the Russians and the Poles in his efforts to make the Baltic Sea a Swedish lake. When Charles finally entered Ukraine in 1708, Mazeppa declared the independence of Ukraine and was recognized by Charles as a sovereign ruler.

Peter's rage knew no bounds. He captured Mazeppa's capital Baturyn and massacred not only the garrison but the entire population. He inaugurated a reign of terror throughout the whole of Ukraine. He ordered the Orthodox Church to anathematize the hetman whom he burned in effigy. Mazeppa was no longer young and he had waited too long. When Charles XII was defeated at Poltava in 1709, the Swedish empire collapsed. It was only the energy of Mazeppa which enabled the King to flee into Turkey and this last effort was more than the eighty years old hetman could stand. He died in Turkey a few months later, the only hetman since the time of Khmelnytsky to die possessed of the insignia of office.

Philip Orlyk was elected to succeed Mazeppa and as an emigré, he fought long and vigorously for the rights and liberty of his country but to no avail. At home Peter at the moment of the discovery of Mazeppa's action had ordered the election of Ivan Skoropadsky as hetman and he limited his power still more severely. From then for another half century, the post of hetman was filled with the candidates of the Tsar. These last hetmans remained merely as the symbols of the past. They had no real power but were entirely under the control of their Russian advisers who watched their every move.

Finally, in 1764, Catherine II asked for the resignation of Cyril Rozumovsky, the last of the hetmans. Then she began to annihilate once and for all the privileges of the Kozaks. In 1775, the same year as the outbreak of the American Revo-

lution, her troops stormed and destroyed the Sich. Then she abolished the Kozak regiments and destroyed the last vestiges of Ukrainian rights. By 1786 Ukraine had become a series of Russian provinces with the Russian laws supreme and there was nothing left of its own autonomy and independence save the songs, the dumy and the traditions of an heroic past. Ukraine had again been wiped out.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MODERN REVIVAL

BY the beginning of the nineteenth century, all of the old institutions of Ukraine had been abolished. After the dismemberment of Poland, Western Ukraine had passed under the control of Austria-Hungary. Russia held the rest of the country and stubbornly denied that there was or ever had been an independent language or culture in the area. Ukrainian was to the Russian rulers merely the undeveloped Little Russian dialect which was not fit for modernization.

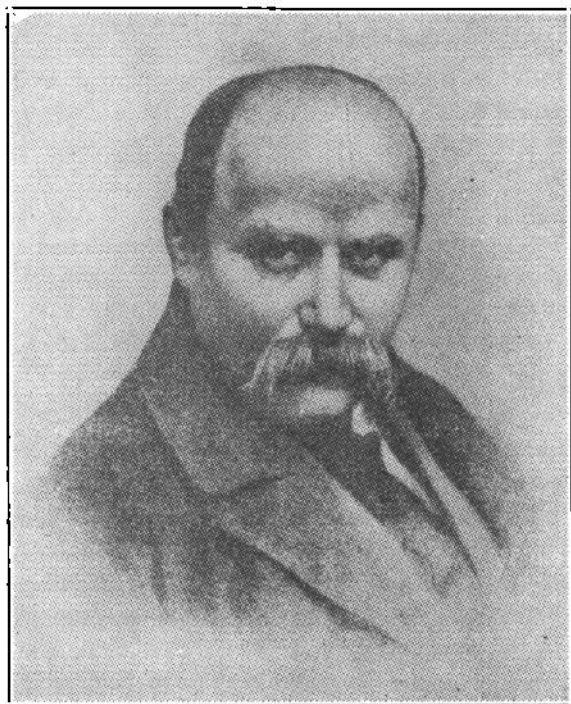
Yet already there had been sown the seed of a new revival. In 1797 Ivan Kotlyarevsky of the region of Poltava had published his burlesque on Virgil's Aeneid, in which he described the exiled Trojans after the fall of Troy as Kozaks wandering the ruined Sich. He had written this in the vernacular and for the first time in a printed book a Ukrainian author had abandoned the artificial Church Slavic language for the living speech of the people. The effect was enormous and within a few years a literature in the ordinary Ukrainian had been developed.

Its most distinguished poet, Taras Shevchenko, was worthy of comparison with the Russian Pushkin and the Pole Mickiewicz. Besides his work as a poet and an artist, he had inspired the formation of the Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius

at Kiev, a gathering of young idealists who sought the independence of Ukraine and its inclusion as an independent state in a great United States of Slavia, a movement on the same scale as the agitations for the union of Germany and of Italy before the outbreaks of 1848. For his insubordination Shevchenko, who had been liberated from serfdom but a few years before, was now tried and condemned and he served ten years in a Russian penal battalion in Central Asia.

Beside him there developed a large ethnographical school which studied all the manifestations of Ukrainian life and proved conclusively the differences between the traditions and manners of the Ukrainians and the Russians. Yet with the impossibility of any political action, it was inevitable that the development within the Russian Empire should assume an intellectual rather than a political slant.

Even this was too much and, in 1862, the Russian Minister of Education confidently asserted that there was not, is not, and never would be an independent Ukrainian language. He forbade the use of the language in text books and the practice of the censorship, now stricter and now laxer, was to forbid the printing of any books in Ukrainian on one excuse or another. It was not until the Revolution of 1905 that these restrictions were abolished and the identity of the Ukrainian language as a separate entity was acknowledged. Ukrainian books were printed at Lviv and smuggled across the border but, even with all these obstacles, the cultural revival continued.



Taras Shevchenko, 1814—1861,
Greatest national poet of Ukraine

In the thirties it had spread to Western Ukraine when Markian Shashkevich had first employed the vernacular. There the new literary language was opposed by the conservative elements in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church which had come into being at the time of the Union of Brest Litovsk in 1596. Yet it had finally won out and in the latter half of the century, especially through the leadership of Ivan Franko, the Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary were making a bid for political power in their own lands. Serfdom was abolished in 1848 and the progress of the people, while hampered by Polish influences, was still remarkable, but they were unable to secure from Hapsburg rulers the creation of a separate Ukrainian province in the Dual Monarchy or the establishment of a Ukrainian University in Lviv or elsewhere.

It was only natural that this entire revival should be on the intellectual and the economic plane. The general system of life in the nineteenth century left no place for political adventures. Armed uprisings were out of the question and the Ukrainian leaders were forced to recognize that the political future of their people and their hopes of independence were closely tied up with the general fortunes of the great Empires in which Ukraine had been included.

World War I sounded the knell of the old Europe. In the very first days of the War, the Russian army invaded Western Ukraine and seized Lviv. The Russian authorities at once began to reorganize the city and to eliminate Ukrainian institutions. In the spring of 1915 they were ex-

pelled and were then forced to retire within their own borders, and the battle lines became rather rigid until the Revolution of 1917 completely eliminated czarism and the old Russian imperialism.

Then came a confused period, for the Provisional Government did not have the strength to maintain the old unity of the Empire and it refused to listen either to demands for separatism or even for the creation of a federated Russia. As the year 1917 went on, disorder spread, until at the end of October, the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky were able to seize the power.

In the meantime there had been formed at Kiev, under the Presidency of the celebrated Ukrainian historian, Prof. Michael Hrushevsky, the Ukrainian National Rada. This wasted precious months in the endeavor to carry on negotiations with the Russian Provisional Government and finally formally proclaimed the independence of Ukraine on January 22, 1918, while the Bolsheviks soon after proclaimed a Ukrainian Soviet Republic at Kharkiv.

The task before the new government was overwhelming. On the one hand it had to establish the machinery of government and be ready to repel the attacks of all of its neighbors, especially the Russians, both White and Red, who were opposed to the new state. At the same time it was confronted with the growing social demands of the workers and peasants who were more interested in acquiring land and in securing better conditions



Pavlo Skoropadsky,
Hetman of Ukraine, 1918

of living than in the establishment of a government.

At the same time the World War was still continuing and owing to the closing of the Dardanelles by Turkey, Ukraine was deprived of all methods of securing the needed military supplies. Early in 1918, the government was compelled to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Central Powers and to turn over to them large quantities of foodstuffs in return for military supplies. This inevitably led to German interference in the new government. German troops dissolved the Rada and then power was taken by a conservative group under the Hetman Paul Skoropadsky, a descendant of the old Hetman who had succeeded Mazepa. After seven months of stable government civil war flared up anew during which Hetman Skoropadsky was succeeded by a Directory under Semen Petlura, who again was forced out of office by the Communists who were fully supported by the Russian Red Army troops.

In the meanwhile the dissolution of Austria-Hungary was proceeding rapidly and on November 1, 1918, the Western Ukrainians declared in Lviv the independence of the Republic of Western Ukraine. This was at once attacked by the forces of a revived Poland and was soon driven from Lviv. Yet on January 22, 1919 the two Ukrainian republics formally were proclaimed one at Kiev in an elaborate ceremony.

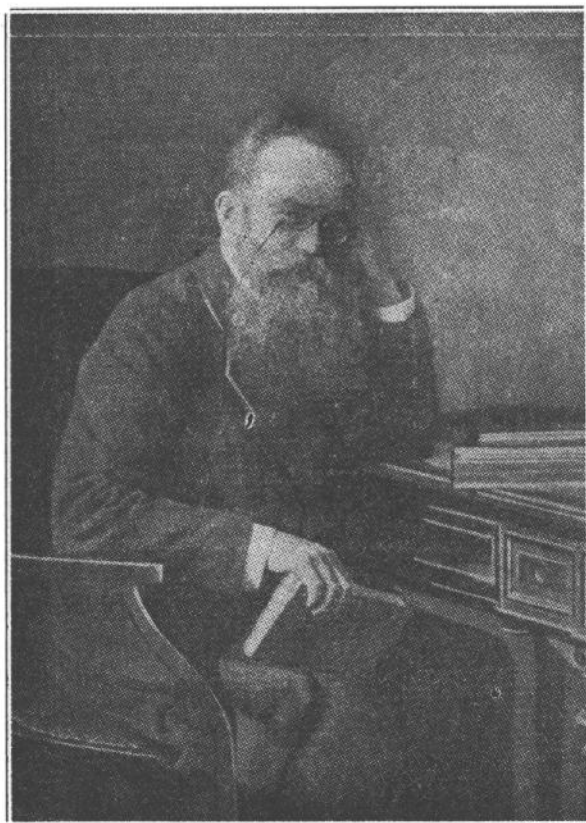
The wars still continued with the forces of the Ukraine opposed at the same time by the Bolsheviks, the White Russians of General Denikin who

had Allied support, and by the Poles. It was an overwhelming combination. Kiev changed hands again and again, but by the fall of 1920 the Communists had emerged dominant and the Ukrainian National Republic was forced into exile.

Western Ukraine was divided between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania with the largest part in Poland. Here the Allies tried in vain to arrange some settlement but the Poles would listen to nothing and finally in 1923, the Allies handed over the province of Eastern Galicia to Poland. Then followed sixteen years of trouble, during much of which time the province was on the verge of revolt or was being "pacified" brutally by Polish troops.

Eastern Ukraine in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic passed through a period of Ukrainization. At this time life was perhaps tolerable and many of the emigrés returned. Ukrainian culture was allowed to develop and many people had hopes that the Soviets would ultimately become democratic. From 1928 on these hopes vanished. Ukraine was subjected to a steadily increasing pressure of collectivization and communization. An artificial famine in 1932-3 wiped out millions of the population while all the leading Ukrainian intellectuals, including Prof. Hrushevsky, were arrested and either deported or executed on the charge of Ukrainian nationalism and for not acting according to the principles of Lenin and Stalin.

With the outbreak of World War II, the Soviets were given the control of Western Ukraine by



Michael Hrushevsky, 1867—1934
outstanding historian of Ukraine, Premier of
the Ukrainian Central Rada and first President
of the Ukrainian National Republic, 1917-18



Simon Petlura,
Minister of War in the Ukrainian National
Republic, 1917 and President of the Directory
in 1918, assassinated by Bolshevic agent
Schwartzbart in Paris May 25, 1926.

their Nazi allies and they at once applied their system to an area that had still not been touched. Then came the Nazi-Soviet war. Ukraine at once declared its independence but the Germans had no intention of allowing this. They suppressed all reviving Ukrainian institutions and deported large numbers of the population for slave labor in Germany. The Soviets continued to ravage the country and deport people to the east. Then after the German defeat at Stalingrad, the tide of war again swept over Ukraine and the Ukrainian Partisan Army which had been formed to fight Nazi aggression now turned its attention to the Soviets which more than ever before resumed its anti-Ukrainian work, abolishing the Greek Catholic Church and persecuting every manifestation of Ukrainian tradition.

Ukrainian Partisan Army (U.P.A.) is still the leading body of men within the iron curtain that is struggling for the winning of democratic rights. It has taken the lead among all the peoples suppressed by the Soviet Union and is still carrying on the struggle of the old Ukrainian and European conceptions of liberty, freedom and democracy.

At the same time the Ukrainian Soviet Republic has been admitted to the United Nations as an independent state, but its representatives are the most subservient and handpicked representatives of the will of Moscow. There is something paradoxical in this situation for at one and the same time it has insured for the first time in centuries that Ukraine appears in its full area on the map

of the world. This is a tribute to the success that the Ukrainian revival has had during the last century and a half, from that time when it seemed as if it was irreparably fated to disappear. On the other hand the Soviets, continuing the tradition of the Russian Empire, have decided that all those qualities that have marked Ukrainian history are to be eradicated and replaced by their own conceptions. For a quarter of a century Ukraine has been the testing ground for the Russian Soviet theories of government. They have destroyed millions of lives and thousands of historical monuments but they have not quenched the Ukrainian determination which was manifest at the time of Yaroslav and the Kiev rulers to play their part in Western civilization and to follow those ideals which marked the development of free institutions in Europe.

GRAND PRINCES OF KIEV OF THE DYNASTY
OF RURIK

1. Rurik c., 860.
2. Oleh, 879-914.
3. Ihor, 914-946.
4. Olha, 946-957.
5. Sviatoslav, 957-972.
6. Yaropolk, 972-979.
7. VOLODYMYR THE GREAT, 979-1015.
8. Sviatopolk, 1015-1019.
9. Yaroslav the Wise, 1019-1054.
10. Iziaslav, 1054-1073, 1076-1077.
11. Sviatoslav, 1073-1076.
12. Vsevolod, 1077-1093.
13. Sviatopolk II, 1093-1113.
14. Volodymyr Monomakh, 1113-1125.
15. Mstyslav, 1125-1132.
16. Yaropolk II, 1132-1139.
17. Vsevolod II, 1139-1146.
18. Iziaslav, 1146-1154.
19. Rostislav, 1154-1155, 1159-1167.
20. Yuri, 1155-1157.
21. Iziaslav, 1157-1158.
22. Mstyslav II, 1167-1169.
23. Roman, 1169-1205.
24. DANYLO, King of Galicia and Volynia, 1211-1264,
(Founder of the city of Lviv, in honour of his son
Lev).

UKRANIAN HISTORY — EIGHT

25. Lev, 1264-1301.
26. Yuri II, 1301-1308.
27. Lev II, 1308-1323.
28. Andriy, 1323.
29. Maria, wife of Yuri Boleslav, 1323-1340.
30. Lithuanian Dynasty, Lubart, 1340-1349.
31. Olgerd, 1341-1377.
32. Yahaylo, 1377-1401.
33. Vytovt, 1401-1430.

34. Sigmund, 1432-1440.
35. Casimir, 1440-1492.
36. Alexander, 1492-1506.
37. Sigmund, senior, 1506-1548.
38. Sigmund, August, 1548-1572.

KOZAK HETMANS

1. Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, 1550-1563.
2. Bohdan Ruzynsky, 1563-1576.
3. Samilo Zborowsky, 1576-1581.
4. Bohdan Mikoshynsky, 1586.
5. Christopher Kosinsky, 1586-1593.
6. Hryhori Loboda, 1593-1596.
7. Hnat Vasylewich, 1596-1957.
8. Samilo Kishka, 1597-1602.
9. Ivan Kosiy, 1602-1608.
10. PETRO SAHAYDACHNY, 1610-1622.
11. Michael Doroshenko, 1623-1628.
12. Hrytzko Savich Chorney, 1629-1630.
13. Tymofi Orendarenko, 1630-1634.
14. Ivan Sulyma, 1635.
15. Vasyl Tymolenko, 1636-1637.
16. Dmytro Hunia, 1637-1638.
17. BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY, 1648-1657. (Treaty with Moscow, 1654.)
18. Ivan Vyhovsky, 1657-1659.
19. Yuri Khmelnytsky, 1660-1662.
20. Pavlo Teteria, Hetman of the Right Bank of the Dnieper, 1662-1665.
21. Ivan Briukhovetsky, Hetman of the Left Bank. 1663-1668.
22. Petro Doroshenko, 1665-1676.
23. Michael Khanenko, Hetman of the Right Bank, 1669-1674.
24. Mnohohrishny, Hetman of the Left Bank, 1669-1672.
25. Ivan Samoilowich, 1672-1687.
26. Ivan Mazepa, 1687-1709.
27. Ivan Skoropadsky, 1709-1722.
28. Pavlo Polubotok, 1722-1724.
29. Danylo Apostol, 1727-1734.

30. Kyrylo Rozumowsky, 1750-1764.

31. Pavlo Skoropadsky, 1918.

Note—In 1764 the Moscow government abolished the office of the Hetman and established its own form of administration known as "The Little Russian College." In 1775 the last vestige of Ukrainian independence the Zaporozhian Sich was destroyed by the army of Catherine II. Intense Russification followed. In 1917 overthrow of the Czarist regime, revolution and the emergence of the Ukrainian National Republic with Professor Michael Hrushevsky as president. In 1918 General Pavlo Skoropadsky renewed the traditional form of government and became its Hetman. In the same year the Hetman government fell and was replaced by the Directory with Semen Petlura at its head. He also was engulfed in the civil war and as a result Ukraine lost its independence again.

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