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EASTER GREETINGS FROM THE TRIDENT

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Translated by FLORENCE RANDAL LIVESAY

Easter Greetings

Millions of people are praying during this Lenten Season that the cause of freedom and justice will triumph over the forces of terror and oppression. Among them are 45,000,000 Ukrainians who find themselves under Soviet occupation even more terrible than the Nazi occupation of half a dozen countries. To present their cause as accurately and truthfully as possible The Trident has gone to the best authorities available, inspired by the belief that the free world will sympathize with their plight once it understands. To its readers and supporters, therefore, who have aided this noble cause by their contributions, The Trident sends sincere greetings and best wishes during this most holy of all seasons.

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Yugoslavia and Ukraine

(An Editorial)

This title reminds us of the Pole, who, asked to do a paper on the elephant, wrote: "The Elephant and the Polish Problem."

One of our pet complaints has been that Ukrainian Americans, especially the older stock, have been interpreting every foreign development from the standpoint of whether it would help Ukraine instead of whether it was best for Uncle Sam.

In the present case, however, the Yugoslavs (meaning the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) and the Ukrainians have so much in common that a general title like the above should cover what we have to say.

Hitler's Great Mistake

Nothing has been more inspiring in the current European brawl than the story of Yugoslavia. For the first time since the Poles were blitzed, a Slav people has dared to challenge the Berlin bum and throw his blackmailing treaties into his teeth. The subsequent defense of the little kingdom against the Nazi hordes will add another lustrous page to the heroic thousand-year history of these Slavs, who fought the Turks for 600 years and then took on the combined armies of Austria-Hungary and Germany for another four as a chaser in the World War — and came out on top.

Hitler can't lick people like that. And win, lose or draw, he has already been beaten, for he has been diverted from the main front on the English channel to an African and a Balkan Front. Every man lost, every shell fired, every plane destroyed means that many fewer men, shells and planes that can be thrown into the Battle of Britain. And if Hitler conquers the rest of Europe and even sweeps his not-so-beloved pal Joey in the Kremlin back into the wastes of Asia, he has still lost if England remains. For so long as the Union Jack flies over London, the struggle against hate, oppression and brutality will continue. And America will help.

This the Yugoslavs and Greeks know. And this is one reason why they refused to bow before the conqueror of Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France.

The Serbs and the Ukrainians

The history of the Serbs and Ukrainians follows a fairly parallel course, except that the Serbs won their battles, at least during the past 100 years. Both peoples accepted Christianity from Byzantium. Both reached their highest peak of development during the 12th and 13th centuries before the coming of the Tartars and Turks. And both fell within a century of each other, Kiev in 1240 before the Mongol hordes of Kublai Khan, and the Serbs at Kossovo in 1380 before the Turks. For the next 300 years the Dark Ages descended on both Christian Orthodox countries. Then in the 17th century we hear of Serb adventurers and proud warriors who refused Turkish vassalage fighting under the Ukrainian Hetman Khmelnsky against both the Crimean Tartars and Poles. In the 18th century many Serb students came to Kiev to attend the Academy, the outstanding educational institution in that part of Europe.

Then began a period of strained relations fostered by the Russian Tsars. Peter I used Serbs and Rumanians to administer Ukraine after the Battle of Poltava. Later Serbian colonization of South Ukraine (the Province of New Serbia and Slaviano-Serbski) antagonized the Ukrainian Cossacks, and many clashes occurred.

When Catherine II destroyed the Zaporozhian Sitch in 1775, thousands of Cossacks emigrated to the mouth of the Danube with the Turkish Sultan's permission. Here again a familiar note creeps in. The Turks used the Ukrainian Cossacks against Christian Serbs and Greeks and even against Ukrainians forced into the Russian armies.

During the last of the 18th century the Haidamaky movement in Western Ukraine against Polish domination had its

counterpart in Serbia where Serb "Haiduki" or "Uskoki" led the guerrilla warfare against the Turks.

But the history of the two peoples diverges sharply in the 19th century. For the Serbs it was the beginning of one series of bloody revolts against the Turks after another, until in 1878 Serbia obtained its independence. But in Ukraine it was a century of cruel oppression, which wiped out any hope of liberation except in the minds and hearts of men like Lukashovich, Kostomarov, Kulish, Markovich, Bilozersky and most important Taras Shevchenko.

The Allies Should Help Ukraine

Today, however, in millions of homes, in thousands of villages in Ukraine, on the vast collective farms created out of land stolen from the Ukrainian people, men again are dreaming of independence even though liberation seems as far away as ever. For even Stalin, the butcher of Ukraine, has won kind words from those who should know better through his two-faced kiss of death wafted to Yugoslavia a few hours before the Nazis marched. But the Ukrainians receive no encouragement.

From the strategic viewpoint the Allies seem to be making a major mistake when they avoid aiding the Ukrainian movement and instead play up to Stalin. Obviously at the first opportunity half a dozen nations will revolt against Stalin, just as revolts are brewing in every nation Hitler has conquered. Do the Allies intend to suppress these revolts against Stalin in contrast to their attempts to fan the flames under Hitler? If Hitler marches into Ukraine and establishes a Ukrainian state with Ukrainian Quislings, it is too much to expect that the beaten, crushed, terrorized and hapless Ukrainians who have known nothing but the boot and the OGPU's whip for the past 20 years will not welcome the change. After Stalin they would open their arms to the devil himself. By helping Stalin the Allies may lose Ukraine. How much better it would be for them to have a strong Ukrainian state of 45,000,000 people on their side.

However, it is not too late. The same spirit that inspires the Yugoslavs is also an inherent characteristic of the Ukrainians. They too know how to fight for their independence. What we fear is that Hitler may try to take advantage of their hatred for Stalin.

In any case Hitler must be destroyed first. And if we must convoy ships to get the guns and munitions to Britain, Greece and Yugoslavia with which to accomplish this humane act, then let us convoy.

ROMAN LAPICA

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church

Past, Present and Future

By the Reverend FRANCIS M. DONAHUE

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Lansing, Mich.

"Each one think: right where I'm standing
All around, above, below —
Is now being waged the outcome
Of a battle with a foe.
Should I but give way, not face it,
Like a shadow should but sway
All the work of generations
Will be quickly swept away.
With these thoughts you should be living
And bring up your children, too!

Ivan Franko.

ALL the work of generations" . . . the suffering, the toils, the hopes and the prayers — the tears and the blood which have dripped on Ukrainian soil for centuries must not have been shed in vain. The work of the Ukrainian people must not be "quickly swept away" — like all great and worthy things it must live and bring its blessings to future generations. Art, literature, science and music have been enriched by the generations of Ukrainians in the past, but these have been like the leaves on a tree, and the tree has been the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. For the preservation of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine has been this noble nation's most outstanding contribution to the present.



Rev. Donahue

From the time in 988 A. D. when Vladimir the Great, ruler of Ukraine and apostle of his people, accepted the Orthodox faith for himself, the Ukrainian people have cherished and protected their Orthodoxy, suffering death rather than to deny it. It has been for them a living organization,

the Church established for them by Christ Himself and transmitted to them from the Church in Greece. Through the centuries, pious Ukrainians, both peasants and nobles alike, have humbly worshipped at the altars of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church — they have observed the sacred feasts of the Church in the beautifully simple wooden structures which were found in every tiny village and in every large city or town. The children of Ukrainian families were baptized with great joy

in these churches and from them they were carried after a long life to their last resting place, the earth which they had loved, Ukraine.



Pecherska Lavra, Kiev.

Persecutions and fanaticism have stormed against the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and tyrants have sought endlessly to root it from hearts of the people, but the heritage left to his ~~people by Vladimir has~~ not been so easily taken from them. Today, in America, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is proudly raising its thorn-crowned head from under the abuses heaped upon it in its native land by the communistic atheists who

have found in Orthodoxy the strongest opponent and enemy of their materialistic teachings. Today, in America the Church is once again finding freedom to minister to the spiritual needs of its children and to keen constantly before them the priceless heritage which is theirs.

Turning back the page of history, we learn that in 988 Vladimir the Great, after studying the various religions and churches, decided that the Orthodox religion was the one best suited and most capable of guiding himself and his people toward eternal salvation. He was baptized and within a short time the Dnieper was the scene of the mass baptism of many of the Ukrainians. Monasteries and churches were founded throughout his realm and paganism did not long survive the advent of the Orthodox Church. In a short span of years, all Ukrainians were members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and throughout the land rose a joyous hymn of glad praise and thanksgiving to God from tiny wooden churches and from

the vast Cathedrals at Kiev.

From Greece came the treasures of the Divine Liturgy, and Vladimir and other philanthropically minded nobles brought great stores of rare books, treasures in precious metals and jewels, beautiful paintings and embroideries. Liturgical books were translated into Church Slavonic and at the Kiev-Pechersky monastery, founded in the 11th century, men noted for their learning and piety gathered to study and to pray. From the monastery have gone forth many famous leaders and preachers to work for the Ukrainian people.

The historical orders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church were received through the Greek Orthodox Church and the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, who exercised a paternal jurisdiction over the Church and for a time appointed the Metropolitan at Kiev. Up to the Turkish invasion in 1240, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had twenty-four Metropolitans, though it was not until 1165 that the first Ukrainian Archbishop at Novgorod was made Archbishop by the Greek Metropolitan, thus giving to the Ukrainian Church a hierarchy of its own.

After the Turkish invasion, the religious, cultural and political life started to change. The religious and educational centers were moved from Kiev further north and east to Halich, Volyn and Moscow. Later on, when Lithuania and Poland annexed Ukrainian territory, there were three religious centers, each having its own Metropolitan.

Under the rule of the Kievan princes, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was permitted full liberty in the exercise of its divinely appointed work. The Metropolitan of Kiev, who was also known by the title of spiritual ruler of "All Rus'," was dependent upon the Oecumenical Patriarch at Constantinople. In these early princes the Orthodox Church found staunch supporters who enriched the churches and founded numerous monasteries so that religion and learning might be carried to every part of their domain. To the Church was assigned the duty of instructing the people, and much of what we know today as Ukrainian culture is the result of the efforts of the Orthodox priests and monks who worked tirelessly to cultivate the natural talents of the people.

During the Tartar invasions, it became unsafe to live at Kiev which was constantly being besieged and sacked. In 1299 the Metropolitan Archbishop Maxim, by birth a Greek, but at that time head of the Ukrainian Church at Kiev, took up his residence in Suzdal, in order to have fuller liberty to carry on his episcopal duties, unhampered by the almost continual strife which threatened to lay waste to Kiev. As a consequence of this move, the Galician prince, George I, contrived to obtain the consent of the Byzantine Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople that a separate Metropolitan

See be established at Lviv, which was done in 1303. It was not until 1458 that the Metropolitan See of Kiev was revived by the installation of Archbishop Gregory at Kiev. The Lithuanian princes who had been baptized in the Orthodox Church protected the Ukrainian Metropolitan See and its occupants and the Archbishop resided as often in Vilno as at Kiev.

During the sad years when the Ukraine was brought to its knees under the heavy yoke of Lithuanian and Polish rule, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as the visible representative of the people became the target for persecution and greed. As certain princes went over to the Roman Church, they ceased to regard the Orthodox Church with reverence and did not hesitate to use the higher ecclesiastical offices as spoils with which to reward certain of their followers. The secular power assumed the authority of nominating candidates to fill those offices and episcopal sees became the ambition of men who had neither moral qualities to fit them for the office of Bishop nor the education or training to perform their duties. In addition to the ecclesiastical post, considerable material wealth was given by the princes to secular followers as a reward for some noteworthy military or other service benefiting the leaders.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, such interference and meddling by Lithuanian and Polish nobles in the affairs of the Orthodox Church, resulted in a noticeable laxity. Through all history, whenever a secular power endeavors to control or to direct the affairs of the Church, it has been the Church which suffers and it is the Church which is unjustly criticized for the resulting conditions, even though she is hampered and restrained from correcting them.

The patronage system further weakened the Ukrainian Orthodox Church toward the end of the sixteenth century. Patronage, a survival of the old Byzantine custom giving the founders and builders of monasteries and churches the privilege of looking after their material well-being, began to be practiced in a strangely modified form under Lithuanian and Polish rule. The local nobles began to consider any Orthodox churches or religious houses within the confines of their property as belonging to them and they demanded that they be permitted to exercise a strict supervision over them. They nominated Archimandrites and priests without the consent of the bishop who was powerless to oppose them. They controlled the property of the convents and Churches and misappropriated the income to themselves. The right of patronage became hereditary and was frequently passed from one noble to another by will or testament. The position of those Ukrainian Orthodox churches or monasteries whose patrons were Latins or Protestants was especially difficult, since in such cases they were subjected to persecution and unreasonable taxation by a landowner professing a faith different from their own.

It was the poor country Orthodox priests who suffered the most, and their lot became unbelievably onerous.

In its weakened condition, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had a difficult problem in trying to keep alive the Ukrainian spirit, a duty which the Church had assumed early in its history. The oppression of the Church resulted in a decline in Ukrainian culture and national unity. Yet, disorganized and persecuted as it was, the Church became the rallying point, the strength and the inspiration of the common people, who saw in it a living symbol of their nation — saw in it a glorious example of patience under persecution, courage in the face of unbelievable odds and a true Christian spirit in the midst of un-Christian intolerance and bigotry.

The Protestant so-called "reformation" which was gaining popularity and strength in western Europe failed to find many adherents among the loyally Orthodox Ukrainians. The vast majority clung to the Orthodox Church since it expressed for them their Ukrainian national tradition. About 1560 the Roman Church began to revive in Poland from the attacks directed against it by the Protestants. Its missionary orders began to work not only in Poland but spread throughout Ukraine. Though the Dominicans were very active, it was the Jesuits who founded schools and academies in Ukraine and within a short time had trained a generation of Ukrainians in submission to Rome. This preparation led subsequently to the attempts at union of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church with the Papacy and culminated in the Council of Brest.

Polish influence became very strong especially among the Ukrainian nobles who felt that the brilliant society of the Polish aristocracy was far superior to their own provincial simplicity. Many of them denied their Ukrainian national traditions and became polonized in dress, speech and culture. However, there were still large numbers of staunch Ukrainian nobles who realized the true worth of their own culture and tradition and who remained loyal to the Orthodox Church and to their fatherland, supporting both and defending them to the best of their ability.

It was during the middle of the sixteenth century that religious brotherhoods, associations of seculars, came into being. They had as their purpose the defense and revival of the religious spirit within the Orthodox Church. The members were chiefly the burgesses or town folk, and the brotherhoods assumed an important position in Ukrainian life, staunchly defending the Ukrainian Orthodox Church against the inroads of the Latins and preserving the culture which was as dear to them as the rich black soil they called their fatherland. To these Ukrainians, the Orthodox Church, their national culture and the independence and political freedom of their native land were as dear as life itself and they frequently

showed that they were more willing to give their lives than to endanger or to forsake either their Church or their country.

The political domination of Ukrainian territory by Poland and Lithuania had laid the foundation for the attempts at union of the Churches. In considering this question, it must be remembered that in addition to the ecclesiastical and theological points involved, there were strong political and national considerations which were bringing pressure to bear in deciding the matter. To the sixteenth century Ukrainians, union of their Church with the Latin Church signified polonization and latinization and they were unwilling to forsake the Greek Rite which admirably expressed their national feeling, and they refused to have their Church brought under the domination of their enemies. The people were not consulted, however, Ukraine no longer enjoyed governmental freedom, and those who dominated the country sought to impose not only their political and economic theories upon the long-suffering Ukrainians but to substitute various creeds and religious beliefs for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

In 1595 a very damaging stroke was dealt to the Orthodox Church by Cyril Terletsky and Ipaty Potey, bishops of the Ukrainian Church. Since the repeated attempts to bring the Ukrainian Orthodox Church into union with the Latin Church had failed, Terletsky and Potey worked secretly and quietly, gained the support of two other bishops and in 1590 addressed a petition to the King asking that the Ukrainian Church be united with the Roman.

At first the Ukrainian populace knew nothing of these negotiations, but gradually rumors of what was taking place reached them and caused great consternation. Old Prince Constantine of Ostrog was the first to voice his apprehension, and he fiercely denounced the action of the Bishops, calling them traitors and inviting the resistance of the Orthodox people to the Union. The nobles and peasants alike responded with a fervor which astounded the promoters of the Union. Despite the universal disapproval of the Ukrainian people, Potey and Terletsky went to Rome, officially declared their intentions to Pope Clement VIII, and the declaration was accepted and officially proclaimed.

Upon the return of the two bishops to the Ukraine, they were met on every side with opposition. So violent was this feeling against the union that two of the original advocates repudiated their connection with it. Seims or congresses were held and representatives from all the provinces appeared publically to voice their opinion of the Union. To solve the difficulties, a Council was ordered convened at Brest by the King. Representatives were sent by the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria; large numbers of Orthodox priests from Greece, Bulgaria, Muscovy and Rumania were also pre-

sent. The Orthodox Ukrainians with their Metropolitan, Michael Rohoza, made a vigorous protest against the union from the very beginning. Finally, however, political considerations more than any spiritual zeal prompted the Polish King, Zygmund III, to ratify the union and to proclaim it as a consummated fact.

Suffering seems to be the lot of the Ukrainian people, and the Orthodox Church, because it is so close to her people, shares in this lot. The close of the sixteenth century gave little promise of peace for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church — yet to come were the Turkish War of 1734-1740 and its serious consequences for Ukraine; the suppression of the Orthodox Church in Galicia; the partition of Poland and Western Ukraine; periods of rise and periods of fall. And further into the future was to come the complete domination of Ukraine by Russia and finally the establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America.

(To be continued.)

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Editor's note: The Reverend Donahue was born of Irish Roman Catholic parents in Pittsburgh, Pa., on Dec. 18, 1914. He completed his seminary training in Chicago, receiving his Bachelor of Theology and Doctor of Theology Degree from the Seminary there, and taught Greek, Latin, French and English Rhetoric at People's University in Lansing, Mich. At present he is assisting at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Detroit, Mich., (under Bishop Bohdan) and studying Ukrainian and Church Slavonic. He became interested in Orthodox theology and liturgies through several Greek Orthodox and Ukrainian Orthodox priests. "I was surprised to find the wealth of beauty, authenticity and antiquity in the Orthodox Church," he writes. "Its theology I found to be little changed from the earliest ages of Christendom. Its liturgy surpasses all others for sublimity of expression and in the historical accuracy of rubrics. I found myself in complete accord with its doctrinal and jurisdictional precepts and felt that it represents the most authentic Christian Church today... My sympathy with the ideals of the Ukrainian people, my love for their culture and their religious expression drew me irresistibly toward the Ukrainian Orthodox Church."

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Foreign Languages Barred in Brazil. President Getulio Vargas of Brazil issued a decree on Feb. 7 forbidding the use of foreign languages in newspapers and magazines. The publications will have six months to start using the official Portuguese language. Those failing to comply will lose their licenses to publish. There are about 90,000 Ukrainians in Brazil, most of them in the southern Parana State. Several weekly Ukrainian publications will be affected by the decree.

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The Polish - Ukrainian Problem

(A POLISH VIEW)

By P. P. YOLLES

Editor's note: As a step toward improving Polish-Ukrainian relations. The TRIDENT asked Mr. Yolles, editor of the New York Polish daily, *Nowy Swiat*, to discuss the subject from the Polish point of view. Mr. Yolles was born on Feb. 25, 1892, in Zablotow, Poland, studied law at the University of Czerniowce, translated Ivan Franko's poetry into German (which drew a letter of praise from Franko himself) and came to America in 1921. He has been with *Nowy Swiat* ever since. He is also the author of the novel "Three Mothers."

"The collaboration between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia is a step in the right direction but it doesn't go far enough. We believe that the combination should also include at least *Ukrainia*. A federation of these three nations with a population of over ninety million people, would be a power to reckon with. A federation which would not have to be a cat's-paw for any foreign power in order to maintain itself."

The above is a quotation from an editorial of the magazine "The Slav." It is so pertinent and timely that many a Pole, Ukrainian or Czechoslovak has repeated it in serious wonder.

Yes — why is there no attempt to work out an understanding between the Poles and the Ukrainians, an agreement similar to the Polish-Czechoslovak pact concluded in London?

Is it not time that the two nations which have lived together for so many years bury the hatchet and search for a formula to solve the problem of the future?

Do not the leaders of both nations realize that, no matter how the future may be shaped, Poles and Ukrainians will have to continue to live together again?

Does the fact that there is no representative of the Ukrainians in the Polish National Council in London mean that either side is refused recognition?

Does the conception of a Slavonic group and a Slavonic era offer no mutual basis for the thought of the future?

These are but a few of the questions which come to one's mind. These questions are constantly vitalized by the fact that neither the press nor the leaders or the masses of Poles and Ukrainians have made any move in that direction.

One can hardly answer them with authority or solve the problems they present.

One reason is at hand: The Poles and the Czechoslovaks were able to sign an agreement because there are two recognized presidents and two governments which represent the two nations. Any agreement signed by them is official and in a way binding.

Both governments, being fully recognized by the respective nations greatly influence the masses and national groups in America and stimulate a movement of getting together. This is not difficult because the differences between the Czechoslovaks and Poles are slight and of recent origin. The Pole and the Czech have long and rich histories behind them and can easily find terms of mutual understanding from the past. The question of territorial boundaries and of a policy toward Russia were the only sources of misunderstanding which grew into hostility when fanned by political currents.

Such obstacles can be easily removed and remedied by way of a posterior review and correction of the mistakes and by returning to the starting point at any moment in history when there were both a Poland and a Bohemia.

Such ready procedure is not possible between the Poles and the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians have none who could represent the whole or even a sizable part (geographically speaking) of the Ukrainians. There is nobody who could possibly have the authority to speak in the name of the Ukrainians as a political group. The Ukrainians have for many centuries existed without being a separate nation and have no heritage of national thought to guide them now.

That lack of pattern makes the problem so much more difficult. A new nation is to be born and at once also a new form of existence, one that was hard to find during past centuries under more normal conditions and will not be easy to find now. While millions of Ukrainians have assigned their future to Hitler and hitlerism and have permitted the German poison to penetrate their national hopes; while other millions have gone the bolshevik way and the rest has remained passive or broken up into small groups, the task of real representation has, for the time being, become very complicated.

But the facts remain:

- 1) That Ukraine, in whatever form it may come to be, will always be a coveted prey of the Germans and Russians.
- 2) That the Ukrainians will always recognize Russia as the real enemy.
- 3) That the Ukrainians, to survive, will always have to depend on cooperation with Poland.
- 4) That the Ukrainian masses will have to live through a long period of time under very favorable conditions before they become mature enough to develop a national state which

should correspond to their ability to remain a separate Slavonic nation in the Slavonic family of nations.

Millions of Ukrainians consider their linguistic and religious distinctiveness as sufficient basis for their existence as an independent nation. It is hard to deny that they should form a definite and separate unity. I think that the Polish thought would consider such a solution as just and would, in the future, welcome the birth of such a Slavonic unit, provided that such a state would be strong enough to withstand outside influence and inside pressure and live through the period of formation without shock or betrayal of its own ideals.

The Ukrainians will undoubtedly rise in the history of tomorrow and will have a great deal to say about the future of the world. The more their enlightened leaders will educate the masses to look far into the future and to avoid the serious mistakes of the past the nearer the realization of their national dream.

It is not a question to whom Lwów should "belong"; it is not a question of boundaries and national prestige. It is a question of the birth of a nation, a birth that takes centuries of labor and longing. I am sure that the Poles have learned a good deal. We have gone through this inferno and have salvaged from the unspeakable suffering a new truth and a new social religion, which leads towards hope that relations between Poles and Ukrainians will be cordial, based on mutual understanding and assistance.

Doubts befall me only when I read the Ukrainian press where one tone is alarmingly dominant — the tone of hatred, of empty talk, of chaotic controversy. The Ukrainian leaders lack the courage to introduce a different language. They are afraid of the "opposition" of other groups, they have not brought forth the inspiration which is needed to carry along the masses nor the wisdom needed to guide unhappy and disturbed men and women.

But I hope that this will come.

I have spent my childhood and youth amongst Ukrainians and have been happy to associate with them and to gain their friendship until the most distressing period came when fanatic leaders led them into burning camps.

I was not the only one.

Millions of Poles and Ukrainians abroad and here have lived together in harmony and peace.

It can happen again. It should —

IT MUST.

The Oppressors of Ukraine

By ELIAS SHKLANKA

The greatest misfortune any nation can suffer is domination by another people of a lower status. What happened to the Arabic, Byzantine and Bulgarian civilizations after the people of these countries were conquered by the Turks? They suffered stagnation, degradation and decay until the Turkish yoke was thrown off. What became of the Roman Empire after the coming of the barbarians? It took Europe one thousand years to recover from that terrific blow!

What could Ukraine expect from the domination of the Tartars? Kiev was reduced to ashes. Its leaders were killed. Its culture was destroyed, and the people were demoralized. Progress was set back for four centuries. Not until the first quarter of the seventeenth century did Kiev recover from the Tartar invasion.

During the second half of the thirteenth century Eastern Ukraine fell under the sway of the Lithuanian princes. They respected Ukrainian culture and tried to absorb it. They accepted the Ukrainian religion, law, language and literature. They kept the Tartars at bay, and Ukrainian settlers again colonized the steppes. The old Kiev tradition had been kept alive. Ukrainian culture and freedom were thus preserved for another two hundred years.

The Result of Polish Domination

In the middle of the fourteenth century Western Ukraine (Halich) fell into the hands of the Poles. Sadly the Polish overlords contributed nothing positive to the welfare of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian freeholders were forced to become serfs with the introduction of the feudal system. Ukrainian towns were colonized by Poles, Jews and other foreigners. The Ukrainian nobility was polonized. Those who refused Catholicism and polonization had their property confiscated and their rights and privileges taken away. The Polish Government proved impotent against the Crimean Tartars, who reduced Eastern Ukraine to complete ruin. The Poles also introduced into the Ukrainian Church their evil system of patronage which resulted in bitter religious dissension among the Ukrainian people. The bigoted Polish Jesuits were the chief instrument in spreading this religious intolerance and denationalization among the Ukrainians. Political, social, economic and cultural ruin were the blessings bestowed by Poland upon the Ukrainian people!

In the middle of the seventeenth century the great Hetman Khmelnitsky established the independence of Eastern Ukraine

by defeating Poland. Although Poland and Russia later divided Ukraine, Poland was moving toward its own downfall when it too would be divided, while Russia rose to power, increasing her domination of Eastern Ukraine. Subsequent to the fateful battle of Poltava in 1709, Eastern Ukraine was gradually incorporated into the Russian Empire. And so it remained until 1917.



KIEV, CAPITAL OF UKRAINE.

It has known many masters but has never been wholly conquered during its thousand-year history.

What were the results of two centuries of Russian domination over Eastern Ukraine?

Until the nineteenth century Ukrainian culture had always been superior to Russian culture. Before the Tartar invasion the Ukrainians had already developed their own literature, law, architecture, art and church organization. They had worked out their own system of government and had shown ability in political expansion and colonization. After the destruction of Kiev by the Tartars in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Ukrainian intelligentsia emigrated northward, carrying with them their knowledge, manuscripts, art and literary ability, thus setting up the foundation of Russian culture. At that time Ukraine was three centuries ahead of Muscovy culturally.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ukraine again made definite advances in lyric poetry, drama, philology, theology, education and social and military organization. The Pechersky Monastery became the spiritual fortress for all Ukraine. It contained the famous printing press which supplied not only Ukraine but Russia with books. Printing houses were established in other centers: Lviv, Ostrog, Chernigov, Derman, Novgorod Sieversk, Pochaiv, Kremenetz, Striatyn, Zabludov, Kryloss, Mohylov, Rachmanov, Chetvertyn, the Kuntensk Monastery and other places. The Kiev Academy was the beacon of enlightenment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not only for Ukraine but for the whole of Eastern Slavdom.

The educational standard in Eastern Ukraine was unusually high in the seventeenth century. Almost every village had its own school. In seven counties in the Cossack Republic there were 866 schools in 1,094 villages. In one county, Chernigov, there were 143 schools in 142 villages. In 1768 in three counties of the same territory the number of schools was only 134, and in 1875 the number was reduced to 52.

The Ukrainian Church was autonomous and always noted for its democratic principles in administration. The Patriarch of Constantinople was but its nominal head. It had its own rites, ceremonies and even some dogmas different from those of the Russian Church. The priests were famous for their sermons and missionary zeal; they carried Christianity into Siberia among the Kalmuks.

"There is no doubt," says Professor Ohienko, "that Ukrainian culture was much superior to the culture in Russia down to the nineteenth century. Distinguished historians came to that conclusion long ago as a result of their research into our past. Academician Pipin, Professor Archanhelski. Professor Morozov, Academician Peretz, Professor Petrov and many others were of that opinion."

Ukrainian Contributions to Russian Culture

The Russians, seeing the superior culture and education of the Ukrainians, opened their doors wide to them and offered them high positions. Thus the Ukrainians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries organized an educational system in Russia. Ukrainian books filled the libraries of Russian Tsars, Patriarchs and the intelligentsia. Ukrainian painters and singers liberally bestowed their art upon Russia. Ukrainian writers and dramatists contributed much to modern Russian literature and founded the Russian theater. Religious sermons were not in fashion in Russia. Ukrainian priests introduced sermons into the Russian Church. The better speakers in Moscow and Petrograd churches in the eighteenth century were always Ukrainians. The first Ukrainian grammar by Melety Smotrisky be-

came the basis for Russian spelling and of all subsequent Russian grammars. Peter I valued Ukrainian culture and harnessed the Ukrainian intelligence for the development of Russia. During the eighteenth century Ukrainian influence upon all walks of Russian life was great. Ukrainians founded the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow, whose instructors were recruited almost exclusively from Ukraine. The higher posts in the State, Church and schools were in the hands of Ukrainians. The Ukrainian pronunciation left a deep impression upon the Russian language until the middle of the nineteenth century. Such was the cultural influence of Ukraine upon Russia. Russian historians recognize the fact. In "Lectures on Russian Literature" Archanhelski says: "Peter saw that the Muscovite clergy was far below that of Kiev in educational equipment. In Russia there were no qualified instructors who could prepare the candidates for priesthood, or supervise the schools; therefore, wishing to raise the educational level of the Russian clergy, he had to resort to the intelligentsia in Kiev. Thus the Kiev intelligentsia, despite its antagonism toward Moscow, occupied the leading positions in Russia during the second half of the seventeenth century." In his "History of Russian Literature" Academician Pepin writes: "The new elements that entered into Russian literature at the end of the sixteenth and especially during the seventeenth century and played a leading part in it were the education and literature that flourished in Ukraine... When the connections between Moscow and Ukraine were established, the educators and scientists of Kiev were called to Moscow, for we were deficient in intellectual equipment at home."

Thus in religion, literature, education and science Ukrainians played the leading role in Russia. They gave their knowledge, ability and energy to the upbuilding of the Russian Empire and the improvement of Russian culture. In return Russia gave the Ukrainian people oppression, russification and prison or exile.

After the decisive battle of Poltava, the free Ukrainian Cossacks were sent to do forced labor in the Caucasus, the Volga and the Ladoga canals under such terrible conditions that more than 20,000 perished. Those who returned were invalids. St. Petersburg was founded on the bones of Ukrainian Cossacks. More than 60,000 Ukrainian Cossacks and peasants perished in building the Azov fortresses in 1731-32. The Russo-Turkish wars in the eighteenth century brought misery and ruin to Ukraine. Gradually the remaining autonomy of the Ukrainian people was liquidated. Serfdom was introduced in 1763. The Zaporozhian Sitch, the last refuge of freedom, was destroyed in 1775 on orders of Catherine II. The local municipal government of the Ukrainian towns was abolished.

In 1686 the autonomy of the Ukrainian Church had been

bought from the Patriarch of Constantinople for forty-three sable skin and 200 gold pieces. The democratic method of choosing the higher clergy by peoples' church councils was superseded by the autocratic method of the Russian Synod. Finally, the property of the Ukrainian monasteries (which were engaged in cultural and benevolent as well as religious activity) was confiscated by Catherine II and given to her favorites. Thus the freedom of the Ukrainian people was finally crushed.

At the same time the policy of russification proceeded apace. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Pechersky Monastery was forbidden to print books in the Ukrainian language, and the Kiev Academy was forced to use only Russian. Ukrainian Churches too were restricted to the Russian language. Ukrainian schools were gradually closed, and new ones were not permitted. In the nineteenth century a series of ukazes were promulgated forbidding the use of the Ukrainian language in any form. The most severe were those of 1863, 1876 and 1881. Only the notes of Ukrainian songs were allowed to appear in print but not the words under them! In 1899 at an archeological convention in Kiev papers were read in all Slavic languages except the Ukrainian. In 1903 when a monument to Kotliarevsky, the founder of modern Ukrainian literature, was unveiled in Poltava, no one was permitted to speak in the native tongue. Such was the thorny path Ukrainian culture was forced to travel under Russian domination.

Few who dared to help their people remained free. Hetmans Mnohohrishny and Samoylovich died in Siberia, and Doroshenko in Muscovy. Hetman Polubotok, who devoted his life to his people, was sent to the Petropavlovsk Fortress in St. Petersburg where he died a martyr for a free Ukraine. The last leader of the Ukrainian Cossacks, Peter Kalnishevsky, was taken to the Solovetsky Monastery on the White Sea where he was imprisoned in a dark and narrow room in the cellar for 25 years. The Ukrainian Metropolitan Arseni Matsievich, who defended the rights of the Ukrainian Monasteries, was thrown into Relsky prison where he died of cold and hunger. Shevchenko, the greatest of the Ukrainian poets, spent 10 years in prison and exile during which he was forbidden to paint or write. The historian Kostomarov, the poet Kulish, Professor Chubinsky, Professor Drahomanov, the poet Hrabovski and hundreds of other suffered in Russian prisons or died in exile.

Such were the blessings the Ukrainians received from the Muscovites in return for their work in Christianizing and civilizing Russia!

(To be continued.)

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A Survey of Ukrainian Culture

By Dr. MYKOLA CHUBATY

Editor's note: The following is a summary of the fourth of a series of lectures on Ukrainian topics at Columbia University delivered by Professor Chubaty on February 28. Dr. Chubaty is



Dr. Chubaty

a professor of Ukrainian history at the Ukrainian Catholic College in Stamford, Conn., and director of the college's Library and Museum. Born December 2, 1889, in Tarnopil, Western Ukraine, he was educated in the State Gymnasium there and studied theology and philosophy (1909-1917) at the University of Lwow (Lviv) and Vienna, receiving his doctorate in philosophy in 1917

In November, 1918, he took an active part in the Ukrainian uprising in Lviv, and from 1918 to 1919 he was first secretary to the Minister of Education of the Western Ukrainian Republic. In 1919 he was a member of the Western Ukrainian delegation to Kiev when Western and Eastern Ukraine were united on January 22 to form the Ukrainian National Republic. He was also a member of the Labor Congress in Kiev, which was the first all-Ukrainian Parliament.

In 1919 he became assistant professor of history of Ukrainian law at the Ukrainian State University in Kamianetz, Podolia Province. From 1920 to 1923 he was a member of the secret Board of Directors of Ukrainian Higher Education in Lviv, and from 1920 to 1924 he lectured on Ukrainian law at the secret Ukrainian University in Lviv. From 1928 to 1939 he taught Ukrainian Church history at the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv. On August 21, 1939, he came to the United States as head of the Ukrainian delegation from Europe to the seventeenth Congress of the international Catholic organization "Pax Romana" in Washington and New York. He is the director of the under-secretariat of the organization's "Pro Oriente" and a member of its central executive committee. Together with his wife he has applied for American citizenship. He has written more than fifteen works on Ukrainian history, law and the Church.

The German poet and historian Johannes Gotfried Herder said in his diary in 1769 that the Ukrainian and Greek character have much in common. Above all he was attracted by the artistic abilities of the Ukrainian people. This conclusion based on superficial observation has been confirmed during the past twenty years by the archeological, anthropological and ethnological research of Ukrainian scientists such as Vovk, Rakovsky, Scherbakivsky, Pasternak and Borkovsky, as well as of non-Ukrainian scientists like Koppers, Spitzen, Khvoyka and Schmidt.

The Ukrainians of today are descended racially and cul-

turally from an ancient people, the so-called Dinares race, who came to Ukraine from Asia about 2500 B. C. They also created the high Mesopotamian civilization. An agricultural people, they were artistic and practiced the matriarchical system. Tombs from this Trypilja culture were found several hundred years later throughout Ukraine from the Carpathian Mountains to the Caucasus. The matriarchical system and elements of this old civilization may be found in ancient Ukrainian common law, in the high social position of the Ukrainian woman, in folksongs and even in the language. The Russians, however, have no elements of this culture in their own, as do the Yugoslavs, Czechs and Poles.

About 2,000 B. C. the Indo-Germanic people came from Iran and conquered the inhabitants of Ukraine. By intermixture they gave the inhabitants their language and warlike character. The Greek civilization which spread from the Greek Black Sea colonies had some influence on the Southern Ukrainian tribes, as, for instance, on Ukrainian costumes. However, the people of Ural-Altaic origin, who crisscrossed Ukraine for a thousand years before Christ and during the first millennium A. D., did not intermix with the inhabitants.

The Goths, who moved through Ukraine across the Black Sea steppes into Europe, gave the Ukrainians the patriarchal system of rule and the pre-historic Ukrainian wedding which included the custom of buying women.

The establishment of the Ukrainian Kiev State and thriving commercial and political relations with neighboring lands, especially with the most civilized country of this era, Byzantium, confronted Ukraine with its first cultural crisis — the advent of Christianity of the Eastern Rite and of the elements of Byzantine culture.

The Ukrainian people did not accept the Byzantine culture mechanically but tried to assimilate it by absorbing simultaneously the elements of Western civilization, which was brought into Ukraine by the then ruling class of Normans (Varangians). From the tenth to the thirteenth century Ukraine maintained close connections with Catholic Western Europe and therefore was not under pure Byzantine influence; rather it was a synthesis of pre-historic Ukrainian, Byzantine and Western cultures.

Kiev as the cultural center disseminated its influence throughout Southeastern Europe for centuries, as far as religion, literature, art and law were concerned; and after the Ukrainian people lost their statehood, Kiev helped them to preserve their cultural individuality and to regard their conquerors as barbarians.

The collapse of the old Ukrainian State and the transfer of the center of European culture from Byzantium after 1453 to Western Europe confronted Ukrainian culture with its

second crisis: on one side Poland conquered Western Ukraine and began to try to Polonize the Ukrainians, using the Catholicism of the Latin Rite; and on the other side, Muscovy through its Orthodoxy propagandized unity with Ukrainians, which meant national death to the numerically weaker Ukrainian people. They had to find a direct contact with Western European civilization, leaving aside Catholic Poland and Orthodox Muscovy. As the result the Church Union was signed in Brest in 1596.

This union marks the beginning of Ukrainian humanism, literature and art. During the conflict between proponents and opponents of the union, political independence was restored in the Cossack State of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The highly developed school system of Orthodox and Catholic Ukrainians (of the Eastern Rite) became the source of propagation of Western civilization in Ukraine.

The fall of the Cossack State and the occupation of the greater part of Ukraine by Muscovy created new waves of Russification with Polonization in the western part. But even these adverse factors were overcome by the Ukrainians, and in the nineteenth century we find the beginning of the new era of modern Ukrainian literature. Its chief characteristics were: 1) contact with the old Ukrainian Kiev traditions and the development of a Ukrainian culture in which the Eastern form distinguished the Ukrainians from the Poles and its Western substance separated them from the Russians, and 2) the elimination of mechanically imposed elements of Russian and Polish cultures from Ukrainian culture.

Finally there is the more recent conflict of Ukrainian culture with that of Poland and Russia. Prior to the outbreak of the present war Western Ukraine was the field of incessant struggle between the Polish culture which was forced upon the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian culture. There was also a clash between Catholicism of the Latin Rite (completely Polonized) and Catholicism of the Eastern Rite (completely Ukrainianized). In Eastern Ukraine the conflict was even more intense (and it continues today) between the individualistic and spiritualistic Ukrainian against the communistic and materialistic Russian. There too the Ukrainian culture with its definite Western European characteristics has met the energetic opposition of the Russian culture with its Euro-Asiatic substance.

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The Tragedy of Carpatho-Ukraine

By DR. GEORGE BACHIUR

PART II.

The Rise of Czechoslovakia

When the Czechs and Slovaks separated from the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy on October 28, 1918, and the birth of an independent Czechoslovakia was enthusiastically welcomed in Praha (Prague), there were few people who imagined that Carpathian Ruthenia, situated so far from the Czech capital and but little known there, would become a constituent part of the new Slav state. The fate of these people was not to be left in Hungarian hands. Thus Carpatho-Ukraine, which had been under the Hungarian yoke for more than ten centuries, was liberated and attached to Czechoslovakia.

"The Peace Conference entrusted to the new state the destiny of the people of Carpatho-Ukraine, whose national existence it was to protect, whose cultural and social welfare it was to promote, and for whom it was to prepare the way for better conditions of life. The Peace Conference entrusted this territory to Czechoslovakia, rightly realizing that by this course it would once and for all remove from Central Europe the difficulties, disputes and struggles which would inevitably have fallen to the lot of Carpathian Ruthenia if any other solution had been found."¹

When Czechoslovakia was established, it was a state rather than a nation, for of 14,000,000 inhabitants the truly Czechoslovak element represented only two-thirds of its population. But the Czechoslovak Republic was founded, at least in theory, on democratic principles. President Masaryk used to say: "Forcible oppression in a State with mixed population involves an enormous waste of energy and a lowering of the moral standard. The people guilty of oppression injures its own interests itself by the exercise of force. The oppression of any minority is to me an offense against mankind and humanity."² Article 134 of the Czechoslovak Constitution reads as follows: "Every manner whatsoever of forcible denationalization is prohibited. Non-observance of this principle may be proclaimed by law to be a punishable act."

In opposition to these noble intentions Donald wrote: "It

¹ Krofta, Kamil. Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks. The Slavonic Review. January, 1935. Vol. VIII. *passim*.

² Masaryk, Thomas M. The New Europe. 1919.

is strange to find that under a model democracy men are afraid to meet openly — even among themselves — that they must ever be on the lookout for spies; that the police "black list" and threaten citizens who show independence and oppose the Government."³



Fallen Sich Guards Honored. Scene in Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Brooklyn as the Very Rev. Anthony Lotowycz celebrates Requiem Mass (March 16) in honor of the fallen heroes of the Carpathian Sich who died two years ago in defense of Carpatho-Ukraine against Hungary. Club Ukraine (Branch 20, Youth of ODWU) and other groups attended.

Granted that this new state was only partly a democracy, during the twenty years Carpatho-Ukrainians formed a part of the Czechoslovak Republic it was possible for them to develop their native potentialities to a certain degree. Considerable progress was made in material welfare, organization, education and technical equipment. Hospitals, schools and roads were constructed. A systematic campaign was carried on against such evils as famine, crime, illiteracy,

³ Donald, Sir Robert. *The Tragedy of Trianon*. 1928. p. 31.

alcoholism and diseases. In the political realm the Carpatho-Ukrainians were beginning to take an active part as citizens of a free state. The Government created a large number of elementary and secondary schools. Of course, it should be understood that the Ukrainian language was not used exclusively in these institutions, but numerous students were able to follow the courses of instruction at the universities and high schools of Praha, Bratislava and Brno. During the twenty years the intellectual level of Carpatho-Ukraine rose considerably, and a young and vigorous intellectual group was formed, capable of establishing the basis for the various divisions of the administrative, as well as the economic and cultural, life of the country.

When the Czechoslovak Republic had begun to make real progress and to deliver these people from the truly medieval condition in which Budapest had held them for ten centuries, the Munich decision and the consequent partition of Czechoslovakia interrupted this evolution.

The Hungarian Occupation

"Already in the Autumn of 1938, by the 'arbitration' of Vienna, Carpathian Ruthenia lost its most fertile regions with the three large cities. After this amputation the death agony began of the tiny Carpatho-Ukraine, which had been left in the Czecho-Slovak Federation. When later Herr Hitler abandoned the idea of making Carpathian Ruthenia into a Ukrainian Piedmont,"⁴ he did not object to Hungary's invasion of this unfortunate country. The Hungarian Army showed its Asiatic brutality by systematic slaughter of the Ukrainian population and by the destruction of all the achievements wrought during the previous twenty years.

Hungarian authorities since then have applied themselves deliberately to the suppression of all free national and cultural attainments of these Ukrainian people. They have absolutely forbidden the teaching of the Ukrainian language in all the schools and have replaced it with an unintelligible "Hungaro-Ruthene"⁵ dialect completely fabricated by Budapest. Even the singing of Ukrainian songs is strictly prohibited. The historic monuments of the Carpatho-Ukrainian patriots, leaders and liberators have been desecrated and demolished. This is a terrible picture, but it is a true one. If there are some ill-informed critics who condemn Slovakia for her supine attitude toward Nazi Germany, their eyes should be opened to the gory nature of the brutality the Magyars practiced on them for more than a thousand years, which weakened their will to resist.

⁴ Karpatoross. *The Fate of Carpathian Ruthenia*. The Central European Observer. August, 1940.

⁵ Ibid.

The Geography of Carpatho-Ukraine

As a constituent part of Czechoslovakia, Carpatho-Ukraine was a region of 4,886 square miles, a little less than one-tenth of the area of the whole Slavic state. According to the last census, its population was composed "of 727,000 people, of whom there were 549,169 of Ukrainian nationality."⁶ The Ukrainians inhabit in a compact mass a part of Western Ukraine (Galicia), Lemkivschina, in and bordering



President Voloshyn

capital. During the last six months of the Czecho-Slovak federated state, the capital of Carpatho-Ukraine was Chust, a town which had great hopes but met a tragic end. Monsignor Voloshyn was the Premier and later the first President of Carpatho-Ukraine and has won the lasting gratitude of all the Ukrainian people by his leadership during that critical time.

Carpatho-Ukraine arrests the eye of the traveler at once by the grandeur of its mountain peaks, their slopes covered with thick forests of beech, spruce, fir and oak, green on their summits with the fairest of mountain meadows. Near the mountain peaks one finds springs with cool sparkling water good to drink. They are often found in a "poliana," a

on Slovakia (now under Germany), comprising mountainous counties to the Dunaetz and Poprad Rivers on the west. In Carpatho-Ukraine proper they inhabit the following counties: Saros, Berch, Uzhorod, Mukachevo, Ung, Zemplin and Marmorosh-Sighet. The inhabitants of Carpatho-Ukraine form a small part of the large Ukrainian nation, most of which is under the Soviet Union. Those under the Hungarian rule are not even allowed to refer to themselves as Ukrainians, for Budapest is trying hard to depopulate this region with every means that it can devise. When Carpatho-Ukraine was united with Czechoslovakia, Uzhorod was its

⁶ Schacher, Gerhard. The Contemporary Review. January, 1938.

clearing, a "prositch," a small field in the midst of dense forest. "Verkhovina," highland, the strip of land about forty kilometers wide along the Western Ukrainian frontier, has wild and luxuriant mountain forests located in the Eastern Carpathians. One finds there the dense and unexplored woods, the deep winding valleys of the Ung, the pastures of Jassina, the gorges of Volovoye, a cold, silent and majestic mountain range covered with snow for six or seven months each year and perhaps the most fascinating and least spoiled mountains in Europe. Untouched, almost unknown, hardly thoroughly explored, they confront a mountain climber with a defiant challenge to cross.

There is a long tunnel which runs through the Beskid mountain along the railroad line from Lavochne to Mukachevo. The boring of this rocky and defiant mountain was an exceedingly important engineering feat in its day. This tunnel is similar to the Arlberg tunnel in the Alps between Tyrol and Vorarlberg.

The Inhabitants

Carpatho-Ukraine may be divided roughly into two parts, the valley and the mountain, or as they are termed locally, "dolina" and verkhovina." The inhabitants of the valleys, or "doliniany," are mostly soil-tillers and cattle-farmers. They are devout, mild and peaceable folk who take life placidly and fatalistically. "What will happen, will happen," they say. "**Taka Bozha wola** .— it is the will of God." Thus do they excuse any misfortune that befalls them. They are physically less robust than their brethren of the mountains, or "Hutzuly." These are also called "horiany," highlanders, and are almost exclusively cattle-farmers and are of an aggressive and less docile disposition. They are found in the vicinity of Jassina, a place which borders on Bukovina. The brilliant costumes of this native Hutzul peasantry and the simplicity of their wooden churches impress every traveler. But the people in the Volovoye and Veretske region, farther southwest, dwell in small hovels in miserable villages. Anyone wearing boots or shoes is a man of wealth; anyone wearing a sheepskin, "kozuh," is a Croesus.

Aware of the miserable existence of these mountaineers, Soviet propagandists, who find their way to these peace-loving, incredibly tolerant and patient folk, really make some of them wonder whether it is the will of God that they should suffer so; whether it might not be possible to drive out the Hungarian masters, the feudal landlords, who live in the fertile valleys and who have robbed them of all the rich soil, the great forests, the timber and the sawmills. Sooner or later, they hope, their land and its fruits will belong to them.

The Crime of the Hungarian Government

The infiltration of Communist propaganda has alarmed the local clergy more than the consumption of methylated spirits, adulterated whisky, which is liberally supplied by the Hungarian Government. Massalsky has admitted inadvertently that alcoholism and alien propaganda are casting a black shadow over the landscape. He writes: "The first is an evil that is raging through the whole Sub-Carpathia. The quantities of alcohol consumed are astounding... Women drink more than men, and children as much as adults, which is really no wonder in view of the example set by the grown-ups."⁷

Massalsky has offered three suggestions to combat alcoholism and drunkenness, one of which "would be the prohibition of the sale of methylated spirits, being [sic] also used for drinking in spite of its destructive effects on [the human] system; and another would be to add some evil-smelling or evil-testing substance to the methylated spirits."⁸ Why doesn't the Hungarian Government prohibit the sale of these "spirits"? Because it is deliberately bound to carry out the destructive phase of eugenics. "Eugenics is the study of agencies under social controls that may improve or **impair** the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally." The Hungarian Government is systematically destroying these people, both physically and mentally.

The Role of the Clergy

The clergy, according to Massalsky, is doing its best to combat the evil of alcoholism, but it has been more successful in its war against Communist propaganda. This is not so strange because the clergy has been aligned in modern times only in rare cases with the oppressed, the persecuted, the underprivileged, the humiliated, the socially debauched. The clergy evidently is more afraid of radicalism than of the destruction of the people from whom it derives its sustenance. What a sad commentary on the "disciples" of Christ! The disseminators of Christian principles cannot unite against the disintegrating forces fostered by a foreign government among their despondent people. They are quarreling bitterly among themselves as to which dogma should be more widely propagated among these wretched human beings. This is how the spiritual life is pervaded by the dissensions going on be-

⁷ Massalsky, Prince Nicholas. *A Foreigner Sees Sub-Carpathia*. The Hungarian Quarterly. Autumn, 1940. Vol. III. p. 445.

⁸ Ibid. p. 445.

tween the two leading religious factions: the Greek Catholic⁹ or Uniate Church¹⁰ (subordinate to Rome although maintaining the Eastern ritual to a large extent and not prescribing celibacy for the clergy¹¹), and the Greek Eastern or Orthodox Church, which is independent of Rome. The 246 Greek Catholic parishes embrace about 50 per cent of the population, and the 68 Orthodox parishes about 15 per cent. The remaining 35 per cent consist for the most part of Jews, a few Roman Catholics and sectarians.¹²

Thus it is apparent that the state of religious affairs is deplorable, if not altogether harmful. Instead of inspiring hope in their people and teaching them to avoid all the destructive elements imposed on their family, national and moral life, the clergy quarrel among themselves and thus aid the enemies of our unfortunate, despondent people.

The Hungarian Government has sent an army of officials and secret agents to control, oppress, persecute and batten on the impoverished peasantry. From all indications an attempt is being made to ruin their economic life completely. The facts are clear that Carpatho - Ukraine is under the absolute sway of Budapest, that all its rights which it enjoyed under Czechoslovakia have been abolished and that the inhabitants are being subjected to a regime of systematic Magyarization, if possible, and of annihilation, if necessary.

The supreme question before these people is: "What shall we do to be saved?" (Before the World War thousands of them found homes in the United States and Canada. Accord-

⁹ The term "Greek Catholic" is being gradually dropped in the United States by the Ukrainian clergy. The main trouble is the term "Greek." Attwater quotes Andrew Shipman, of New York: "These Ruthenians have continued to practice their ancient Greek-Slavonic rites and usages... strange to the Catholic accustomed only to the Roman Rite, and [they] have made [the Ruthenians] objects of distrust and even active dislike." Attwater remarks: "A curious interpretation of Catholicism, both as a word and as a religion!" (p. 87.)

Attwater estimates that there are 5,162,385 Ukrainian Greek Catholics throughout the world, divided as follows: Galicia, 3,602,270; Czechoslovakia, 556,734; Rumania, 62,000; United States, 553,110; Canada, 300,000; South America, 67,000.

¹⁰ "A Uniate is a member of any Eastern Church who is in communion with the Holy See, or he is a Catholic of any Eastern rite." — Adrian Fortescue. *The Uniate Eastern Churches*. London, 1923, p. 1.

¹¹ "The question of a celibate secular clergy has for long been one of the chief difficulties. The bishops of U. S. A. found the presence of married priests embarrassing, and the apostolic letter *Ea semper* of 1907 decreed that only celibate Ruthenian priests should be admitted or ordained in North America." — Attwater. *The Catholic Eastern Churches*, 1935, p. 87.

¹² Massalsky. op. cit.

ing to Attwater, "Of the 553,000, Greek-Catholic Ruthenian emigrants in the U. S. A., 309,000 are Podcarpathians.") Subjected again by Hungary after twenty years of comparative freedom in union with the Czechs and Slovaks, the Carpatho-Ukrainians are passing today through the darkest days of their political, economical and cultural servitude. But the thousand-year-old history of the country did not end on March 15, 1939. For they, as the sons of the race of the immortal Ivan Franko, must believe in his prophecy that Ukraine will yet be free, that¹³

"...the time will come, once obstacles are hurdled,
When you will shine among the greatest nations:
Will shake the Cauca's while with Beskid girdled.
Black Sea will echo with your liberation
And you'll behold, once being your own master,
A home of joy and fields of consolation."

Ukrainian News

The annual **ODWU Convention** will be held in New York July 4-6... The **American Ukrainian National Center** of New York has been organized as a non-partisan organization with **Stephen Jarema**, New York Assemblyman, as president and **Peter Zadoretzky** first vice president. A building will be obtained as soon as the membership reaches 2,000. Subversive groups are barred... The Ukrainian language was originally a Russian dialect, says **George Knupffer**, presenting the Russian view of The Ukrainian Problem, in "**Free Europe**," London, Polish propaganda organ... **Winchell**, falling for the libels tossed out by the Communist **The Hour**, has attacked Ukrainians twice during the past month... The Ukrainian Civic Center Choir of Rochester presented a concert on April 5 in honor of **Prof. Alexander Koshetz**... **Michael Holynsky**, outstanding Ukrainian operatic tenor in America, applied for citizenship in Pittsburgh recently... In Regina, Sask.. recently a **Churchill Club** was formed by men and women of Ukrainian, Hungarian, Serbian and German origin... The **Rev. Pilypenko**, Ukrainian Catholic priest, arrived from Buenos Aires in New York on March 22 and went to Washington to see the Papal Nuncio... "**The Ukraine**," a new history, by **W. E. D. Allen**, has appeared in London. The **Manchester Guardian** praised it but the Polish "**Free Europe**" didn't like the bulk... Nazis are sponsoring a Ukrainian propaganda news service in Berlin, **Europeaeischer Informationsdienst**, under **Bohdan A. Stepowenko**... The **Ukrainian Youth Organization of Connecticut** is offering two \$100 scholarships to Connecticut residents.

¹³ Franko, Ivan. Moses. Translated by Waldimir Semenyina.

Rus', Russia and Ukraine

PART II.

We find in foreign documents of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries that the name "Russia" is applied often to regions that have no right to it. I give one example only: As we already know, Prince George of Suzdal, when beginning his war against Kiev in 1169, declared that he was going into "Rus'," thus acknowledging that his own principate was not "Rus'"; nevertheless Pope Gregory I, when addressing a bull to George II, successor of George I of Suzdal, used the title "Regi Russiae" (in 1231): As we see, there are two mistakes in that title consisting of two words: Prince George II, as well as George I, never was a "king," and still less was he a "King of Russia," being simply "Prince of Suzdal." In those times the principates used the name of the city where the prince had his residence. It must be admitted that even the pretentious titles caused much trouble and many protests, but the real consequences of this confusion appeared only long afterward. The whole regions of the principates continued to have the name of their capitals; and so when there arose a reign of Moscow, it too had the name of the capital and was called by the name of "Muscovy" everywhere in official documents, in travel descriptions and on contemporary geographical maps.

Meanwhile the territory inhabited by the Ukrainian people and bound historically and culturally to Kiev continued to have the name "Russia" and very often also the name "Ukraina" (we shall come to it later on).

The great Hetman (that is the life-long president of the Ukrainian Cossack Republic) Bohdan Khmelnitsky, who freed the Ukrainian people from Polish oppression, when writing a letter to the Turkish Sultan (on October 14, 1648), signed it: "Hetman of the Army of Zaporozh Cossacks and of all the Russias." In 1649 he replied to the Polish ambassadors: "Keep your Poland, but Ukraina will belong to us, the Cossacks. I shall free the Russian people from the Polish yoke." I am purposely stressing the number of names that were used in those times for the designation of one people: Ukrainians, Cossacks, Russians. But the "Russians" of Khmelnitsky had nothing to do with the actual Russians, that is with the Muscovites. Khmelnitsky, when signing himself "Hetman of all the Russias," of course was far from thinking that Muscovy, too, could be called "Russia."

Speaking of his intention to free the Russian people from the Polish yoke, he meant only the Ukrainian people, for the Muscovites never were under the Polish yoke.

Similarly Janus Radzivil, the commander of the Polish

Army and Hetman of Lithuania, wrote to the Hospodar of Wallachia in 1653, mentioning the Ukrainian-Polish war: "This will be our last battle: either the end of Poland or Russia." Ukraine is called here also by the name of "Russia," for the battle which Radzivill mentioned could decide the destiny but of this country and not that of Muscovy, which remained completely apart from the conflict.

But the Tsar of Muscovy had already began to aspire to the name of "Russia," which was famous in the annals of history. As King Charles X of Sweden observed quite correctly in his letter to Khmelnitsky (1657), the Grand Dukes and Tsars of Muscovy were always claiming titles to which they had no right. Thus in the XVIth century the Tsar of Muscovy wanted to take the title of the heirs of Rome and Constantinople and to found the "Third Rome" at Moscow (the second was to have been Constantinople which fell into the hands of the Turks); they also spread the legend about the transfer of the royal ensigns from Constantinople to Kiev and from Kiev to Moscow.

Since the history of this legend is very important for the understanding of how Moscow became Russia and how the real Russia assumed the name of Ukraine, I think it necessary to relate it, following the narration of the Russian history Professor Smurlo in his "History of Russia" published by the Oriental-European institute in Rome.

The old legend which makes the Russian dynasty descend from Norman princes seemed insufficient, and therefore there was created a new and more dignified one. According to this new version, the Russian princes were of imperial blood, being direct descendants of the family of Octavian Augustus, who had a brother named Prus who settled in the region that is called Prussia today. This legendary "Prus" was supposed to been the great-grandfather of Rurik, the founder of the Russian dynasty.

Seeking to give material proof to this fantastic legend, the Russians created another one: that the emperor of Byzantium, Constantine Monomac, officially acknowledged the high offspring of the princes of Kiev by presenting to Vladimir Monomakh, Grand Duke of Kiev, the imperial crown and a Dalmatic one, which passed afterward from Kiev to Muscovy and were always used there for the coronation of the Muscovite grand dukes. But even such a heritage was not enough for the rekindled eagerness of Muscovite imperialism. There was created the so-called Empire of Babylon Romance, which attributed the origin of the royal ensigns that Vladimir of Kiev was supposed to have received from Byzantium to the fabulous Empire Babylon where they supposedly crowned the head of Nebuchadrezzar himself.

(To be continued.)

The Cossack Rides Home

Translated from the Ukrainian

By FLORENCE RANDAL LIVESAY

The Cossack rides, rides — he has lost his way —
Hai, The Cossack rides home from the wars,
Home from the wars at last!
His horse stumbles, jaded... The Cossack rides
homeward: "Fast! Fast!"

When he entered the forest, and when
To his loved peaceful river he won,
As he watered his horse for a moment,
His horse that was wearied and done,
He heard then a Cuckoo which called him,
Which called as a mother her son:
"Oh, show me the way home, my mother!
In pity cry from above
Show me the way to my kindred,
And show me the way to my love!"

"Oh, ask not the Cuckoo, young Cossack!"

"Soloveyka, my brother, thy song
Will be sweet in my ears, if thou'lt tell me the way
Be it ever so long!"
Oh, show me the way to my kindred,
To my love I would be on my way!"

**"Nay, ask not the Nightingale, Cossack!
Go ask of the Falcon on high
It soars, and in truth would be knowing
All roads wheresoever they lie."**

"Falcon, my Falcon, wilt show me
The road that leads swift to my home?"
O, there in the dark lowland forest
The horned owl¹ flits by with "Tu-whoo!
Tu-whoo - Tu-whoo!"

**"Oh, turn back thy jaded horse, Cossack!
Thy home no one ever may see.
No homestead, no kin, no beloved.
From windows none watcheth for thee."**

¹ Puhatch — Symbol of death.

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