

UKRAINE'S STRUGGLE for SELF-GOVERNMENT

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Leader in Nationalistic
Movement Tells How Race
Kept Its Individuality Under
Alien Masters—He Was
Not in Favor of Complete
Independence

THE history of the Ukrainian question dates from the middle of the seventeenth century, that is, the time of the great Ukrainian revolution of 1648, which had given a glaring publicity to the problem and caused at the same time the partition of the Ukraine between the Muscovite empire and the kingdom of Poland. From that day began the decadence of national Ukrainian life. About the middle of the sixteenth century Ukrainian life had lost much of its strength. The aristocracy, deprived of any participation in politics, was forced to submit to the paramount race (Poles and Lithuanians), while the middle classes were subjected to every kind of vexation.

The peasant had lost the right to possess either house or land. He had become a serf. Numerous taxes weighed him down till he was a mere accessory of the earth. The Orthodox church, which in those times was the representative of the nation, had become dependent upon a government as ill-disposed toward it as to the peasants. It underwent a crisis which nearly brought about its dissolution. Up to this period Lithuanian Ukraine had progressed slowly, but from the middle of the sixteenth century it progressed more rapidly under the influence of the Polish institutions. Moreover, about 1500, nearly all the districts of Lithuanian Ukraine were taken from its rule and simply annexed to the Polish republic. They were Volhynia, Eastern Podolia, Podlachje (the western Bug district), and Kyjev. The Polish aristocracy came in numbers to reside in its new territory, the Ukrainian aristocracy became influenced by the Poles, and the individual life of the Ukraine ceased to exist.

This did not take place without a reaction and a desire for a national renaissance. Having regard to the special circumstances in western Ukraine, where the aristocracy in particular had been nearly demolished, one will see that the intellectual and national regeneration could not hope to succeed in the long run. It found support, however, in a new social and political factor which at this critical moment appeared in eastern Ukraine, that is to say, the Cossacks.

The Cossacks did not hesitate to proclaim the immunity from all jurisdiction, all foreign suzerainty, all taxes, and all personal service of those who submitted to the power and jurisdiction of the Zaporogues (Cossack) army. Thus they drew toward them an enormous number of peasants, who at the end of the sixteenth century were leaving western and northern Ukraine for the east in order to escape the heavy burdens of serfdom. About 1590 the Cossacks came into conflict with the Polish government, and their disagreements grew more serious as time went on. Each struggle inspired fresh energy in the Ukrainians, till at last prolonged reprisals (1633-47) led to a revolution. In 1648 the people rose, led by Bohdan Chmielnitzky.

The Polish army was beaten, and the rising spread over the Ukraine, even to the distant regions of the west. In spite of the number of insurgents, who totaled about 300,000 men at the beginning of the war in 1648, their leaders did not consider the liberation of the people possible by the means at their disposal. Chmielnitzky hesitated between two methods. The one was to create a federation of the orthodox states, Muscovy, Ukraine, Moldavia, and the Slavs of the Balkans. This alliance would have been directed against Poland and Turkey. Several reasons, and above all the weakness of the Turkish government, inclined Chmielnitzky to decide for Muscovy. For some time Muscovy had not dared to accept the protectorate of the Ukraine. It feared war with Poland and remembered the cruel defeats which that nation had inflicted at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Not till 1653 did Muscovy decide to extend its protection to the Cossack army and to the Ukraine by committing itself to war with Poland. In March, 1654, the treaty was signed bearing the name, "Articles of Bohdan Chmielnitzky;" therein was defined the position of the Ukraine to Muscovy.

From the moment the Empress Catherine came to the throne the days of the Ukrainian autonomy were, however, over.

In 1772, when Poland was first divided up, western Ukraine, now eastern Galicia, became part of the Hapsburg kingdom in virtue of certain long-standing claims of the Hungarian crown to this country. Some years later, Bukovina (the present region), which formerly belonged to Moldavia, was added to it. This passing of western Ukraine into the rule of Austria awakened a new national fervor in the country. Insignificant as were in reality the reforms brought about, this attitude nevertheless created a deep impression upon the Ukrainian population, which once again enjoyed a sense of nationality and lost the feeling of despair with which it was stricken during the later years of Polish supremacy. Even after the Austrian government, under the influence of the Polish aristocracy, had characterized its Ukrainian policy by a strongly reactionary feeling, the energy of the national movement was not completely dissipated.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian territory which had fallen to the share of Russian rule on the partition of Poland had no cause to look for any revival of nationalist aspirations. The rigor with which the Polish or Polishized aristocracy ruled the Ukrainian peasantry became now more merciless still, supported as the Poles were by the authority of Russia.

The longing to see the old constitution restored made itself manifest from time to time, especially on such occasions as the Russian government sought to recruit the Cossack militia in the Ukraine.

The study of ethnography, and dialects, the researches into the life of the people, the renaissance of the Ukrainian language and literature, such as we see at the end of the eighteenth century and especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, brought together the intellectual classes.

Under the influences of which we have just spoken, and thanks to the ideals imported from western Europe, Ukrainian political thought abandoned its aspirations toward an independence that was no longer feasible in order to replace them by a realistic political program. The oldest of these programs that was in any



way realized dates from 1846. It was started by the Ukrainian organization of Kiev, known as the Guild of Cyril and Methodius. They desired a democratic and liberal constitution which would abolish privileges and classes and everything in fact of a nature to debase the people. Absolute freedom of speech, of thought, and of religion was to be guaranteed. Actually all this practical activity was killed at birth. For, in the year 1847 one of the students informed on the leaders and denounced them, with the result that they were arrested and condemned. This repression put a stop to any development of political thought in the Ukraine, now that the most talented and active leaders were reduced to silence. When they returned from their exile and assumed their patriotic task, circumstances, such as the suppression of serfdom in Russia and the amelioration of the lot of the peasantry, compelled them to labor chiefly for the comfort of the peasants. They were occupied in teaching the agricultural classes and in educational work of various kinds as well as in creating a popular literature, etc. In spite of such moderation in thought, the Russian government regarded this activity with an unfavorable eye, because at the outset it hated any national Ukrainian movement, however moderate it might be. Moscow held strongly to the doctrine of "the unity of the Russian people." Moreover, it regarded as dangerous any desire to establish a separate Ukrainian literature and any endeavor to awaken national feeling in this unfortunate race. For these several reasons then, the activities of the Ukrainians of Kiev were suppressed, no matter how modest or how politically innocent they might be. Any establishments or organizations where Ukrainian scientific workers congregated were forbidden, and in the spring of 1876 the celebrated ukase appeared determining the fate of the movement for many years. This ukase forbade the publishing in Ukrainian of any work other than those of a historical or literary nature.

The Ukrainian movement, however, was not to be extinguished by such coercive measures. The educated classes of the Ukraine fought incessantly in Russia for the national movement from 1880 to 1900, and endeavored to turn to their own advantages any possibilities which offered themselves. When the movement became no longer possible in Russia, it sought an outlet beyond the frontier in the territory of Austrian Ukraine.

The exodus of the Ukrainians or the divergence of the national activity toward Austrian Ukraine, toward Lemberg, which became a center for the national life, was weighty with results not only for the Ukrainian movement in Russia, but also for the development of Austrian Ukraine itself. Already, about the year 1890, after the first prohibition of the Ukrainian language in Russia, this event had contributed to the sustenance of the Ukrainian national life in Austria at a very critical moment in the development of this section of the subject people. After the movement had gradually grown weaker in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the general reactionary movement in Galicia, the year 1848 poured a refreshing breath over the Ukrainians of Austria. The Austrian government sought in the Ukrainian population something to set off against the Polish revolutionary movement. The final liberation of the serfs, the admission of the moral and political rights of the Ukrainian people (or Ruthenians), the creation of the first institution of any importance in the domain of culture and politics, the nationalization of the schools, the formal promise of a university for Lemberg, the administrative separation of the two Galicias (Ukrainian and Polish), which had been artificially united in 1772: all these influences assisted the birth of a

new era in the life of the Austrian Ukraine. But these years that were so full of hope soon passed, to be followed in their turn by the reaction of 1850, which brought to the Ukrainians of Galicia the most bitter deceptions. The promises made were completely forgotten for the most part, and the Ukrainians of Galicia, after having aided the Austrian government in its combat against the rising of the Polish aristocracy, were left to the unscrupulous rule of those same nobles, into whose hands the whole administration of Galicia passed once again in the year 1850.

Thus arose a painful crisis in the national life of the Ukrainians of Galicia. Disillusions and doubts followed one another, and the way was open for the Russophilic current toward which the Polish aristocracy was eagerly driving the Ukrainian element.

The arrival of fresh Ukrainian immigration, coming in 1863 to employ their activity on Galician soil, after the suppression of the Ukrainian movement in Russia, cannot, under the circumstances, be too highly appreciated. At a critical moment this influence brought the necessary aid to the Ukrainian element, chiefly of the younger generation—which had remained faithful to the program of 1848.

From about 1880 this "popular" Ukrainian movement, as it was called, took a firm hold of the people in Galicia, nor did it fail to keep in touch with the Ukrainian movement in Russia as well.

The end of the century was signalized by a rapprochement between the two Ukraines. This had a most happy result for the national life, thanks to the reciprocal control exerted on political questions.

From this moment the progress of national culture in Russian Ukraine has made rapid progress, in spite of all attempts made to stop its course.

The stormy years of 1904-1906 brought to the fore the whole question of the Russian reactionary powers. The Petrograd academy addressed a memorandum to the Russian government proving that the current conception that the Russian literary language (Great Russian) was employed by the whole of Russia, was false, and did not include the Little Russians (Ukrainians). In the most positive manner this memoir affirms the right of existence to the Ukrainian language and literature. In spite of this, the delay brought about in the progress of the language was not immediately dissipated; this only occurred in 1906, when the law concerning newspapers was repealed. This law did away with all restrictions in respect of special idioms, under which term the Ukrainian language was included.

It looked at this period as if the most joyous future were in store for the Ukrainian movement in Russia. Influenced by the aspirations toward political liberty shown by their brethren, the Austrian Ukrainians also claimed universal suffrage. Galicia was moved by a stronger national impulse than it had ever known before. It was hoped that once "occasional" Ukraine achieved freedom in Russia, its intellectual and political power would be strong enough to release its sister states from foreign hegemony. These hopes, however, were not realized. A new reactionary movement disappointed all hopes, and all the promises made to the Russian people in 1905 and 1906 were completely forgotten. This blow was especially hard for Ukrainians.

Under the blow of the survival of the old aspirations and the disillusiones they had received there arose a party in the Ukraine who wished to attempt once again the fight for the independence of the country. Such hopes which are found in the associations of the nationalist youth at the end of the nineteenth century arose once again with renewed energy in spite of the ill-luck which had always hitherto pursued them.

UKRAINE, Land of Promise



UKRAINE, the part of Russia which has set up an independent government and made a separate peace with the central powers, is a country rich in natural resources that need only systematic development.

Ukraine covers 850,000 square kilometers, an area greater than that of France and only a little less than that of Italy, Spain and Portugal together, George Raffalovich, a Ukrainian by birth and an authoritative historian, writes in the New York Sun.

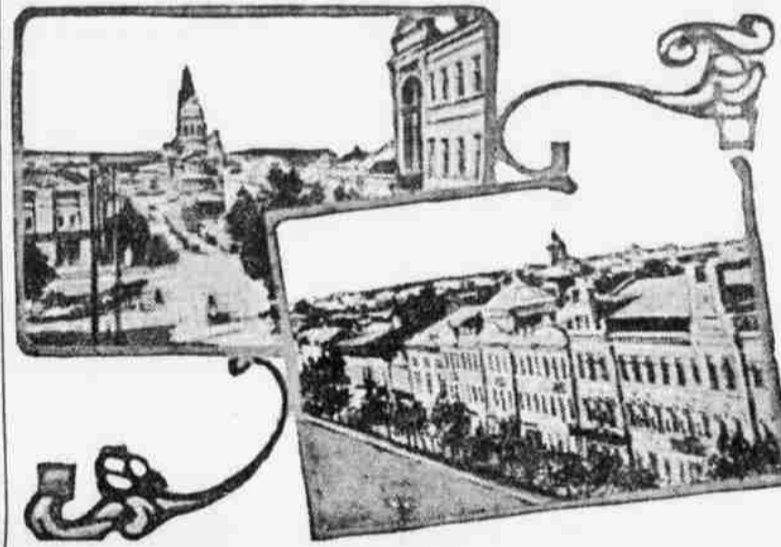
Taking the figures usually given by European writers of repute, there are today 29,000,000 Ukrainians in the southwestern provinces of Russia, between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 in Siberia, where they have, especially in the Amur region, extensive settlements; 3,500,000 in Eastern Galicia, 40,000 in northern Bukovina, and perhaps 500,000 in northern Hungary on the southern slopes of the Carpathian mountains.

The bulk of the Ukrainians consists, therefore, of those in Ukrainian Rus-

sible to the assembly for his actions. If he offended he was incontinently deprived of his office.

The assembly, called rada, was periodical and comprised representatives of all classes of the community, who often criticized freely the policy of the hetman. In the interval between radas the hetman ruled the country by a series of decrees. When any section of the Ukrainian community was dissatisfied with the person or the policy of the hetman it was entitled to call together a rada, which in such cases was called a black rada. If the black rada happened to be representative enough, and the complaint met with the approval of the majority, the hetman might be compelled to resign.

While the Muscovites lived under an absolute monarchy, while the Poles were ruled by a haughty and exclusive aristocracy, in Ukraine all were free under the Lithuanian kings, and republican institutions were gradually taking root. Many people would leave the surrounding country and go to settle in Ukraine. Such names preserved



Views of Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav.

in Galicia and in Bukovina, for they inhabit the compact territory which is only artificially—or shall we say politically?—divided between Russia, Austria and Hungary.

The purely Ukrainian governments of Russia are:

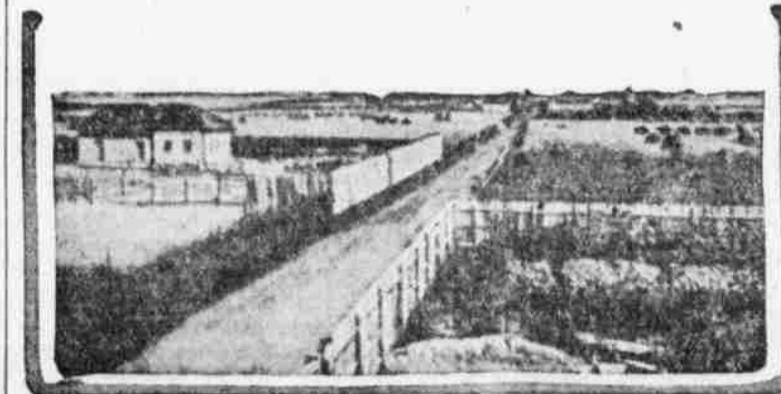
1. Ukraine of the right bank (of the Dnieper), Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev and Kholm.
2. Ukraine of the left bank (of the Dnieper), Tchernihov, Poltava, Kharkov, southwest Khursk, Voronezh and the region of the Don Cossacks to the Sea of Azov.
3. On both sides of the Dnieper lies the Steppes Ukraine, comprising Ekaterinoslav, Kherson and the eastern parts of Bessarabia and Tauris.
4. North Caucasus, adjacent to the region of the Don Cossacks, compris-

ing Kuban and the eastern parts of the Stavropolskoi and Therska governments.

In all these districts the Ukrainians form from 75 to 90 per cent of the total population, the rest being Jews, Poles and, lastly, Russians.

The Rurik dynasty founded Ukraine. When it disappeared, as all monarchies must, the next organization that kept the Ukraine lands together was the republic of the Cossacks, whose domain overlapped Lithuania and Poland, who occupied much of the Ukraine soil. The Cossacks were organized something on the lines of the chivalry of western Europe. Their precepts were obedience, piety, chastity and equality.

The assembly was the only authority they recognized. The hetman (headman) was elected by and was respon-



Farm in Ukraine.

rye are the staple crops of Russian agriculture, and the annual production in Ukraine of these grains amounts to one-third of Russia's output. As to other farm products, Ukraine's position is also conspicuous.

Beet root, for instance, is especially cultivated in the Ukrainian provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev and Kherson; those provinces together yield five-sixths of the sugar beet production of all Russia. Ukraine produces almost all the tobacco of the old empire, and she has the largest and finest orchards and vineyards of Russia.

The immense natural resources of Ukraine furnish splendid opportunity for the development of manufacturing industries. As a matter of fact, 62 per cent of Russia's annual production of pig iron and 53 per cent of Russia's production of steel come from Ukraine,

the United States government is to give official recognition to acts of bravery on the field of battle by individual officers and enlisted men. There has been for many years what is known as the Congressional Medal of Honor, which is bestowed on soldiers who perform deeds of daring in the face of the enemy. It is the heart's desire of every American soldier to win this decoration, for it is this country's equivalent of the Victoria cross of Great Britain and of the Croix de Guerre of France.

Patience—Peggy and Jack are to be married before he goes to the war. Patrice—Oh, he prefers to do his fighting over there, does he!

WIFE AS MANAGER

Something for Which Too Few
Hubbies Give Her Credit.

But Really, When You Look at the
Matter Closely, the Proper Con-
ducting of a Home Requires
Some Thought.

Many a business man goes home in the evening, removes his coat, sinks into an easy chair and breathes a deep sigh of relief. When asked why his brow is furrowed he responds that he has had a terrible day. Perhaps he had letters to dictate. He had to confer with his associates and he had to talk to some customers. He spent an hour or more at lunch and he quit about five o'clock. He had a busy day and when home is reached he feels that he is entitled to some rest and quiet.

Such a man rarely thinks of his wife as a manager, remarks the Indianapolis News. He does not recall that she may have been up before him. He forgets that she planned the breakfast—and, in many instances, cooked it as well. After breakfast is finished there are dishes to be washed and the kitchen must be put to rights. Perhaps that is a general cleaning day for the whole house; and there always is dust to chase as well as dirt to sweep out or take up in the new-fangled cleaner. The beds have to be made and a score of other household duties need attention. If there are children they demand this, that and the other. If there is a little baby in the house it must be bathed and put to sleep for its morning nap. Then there is a noon meal to get, as well as various other little things constantly coming up. The afternoon will be spent in many ways. A great many women spend it in work. They order groceries and they order meat. They buy the household supplies, and the good housekeeper keeps an accurate account of her expenditures. Toward evening she has to plan the dinner and when the children come home she must look after them. Later, she has the job of putting them to bed. Meanwhile she has had time, very likely, to read a magazine, to knit a little for some soldier or to play the piano. She may have found time to go shopping or to make a few calls. She makes no particular complaint about the routine she has gone through because she does it every day.

Thousands of women show more executive ability in running their own homes than their husbands show in running their business. Yet there are many husbands who do not give their wives credit for having any business sense. Some of them who say that women belong in the home never realize what a home is. One of these executive experts would be at a loss in a great many cases if he undertook the job of running his own house for a period of 24 hours.

Saved Shipmate's Life.

Few reports of heroism made to the navy department are more remarkable than that concerning James Marico, ship cook, first class, who will probably receive a gold life-saving medal. In addition to the letter of commendation sent him by the secretary of the navy. In the midst of a terrific gale Chief Quartermaster Eddker H. Robertson, U. S. N., was washed overboard from the U. S. S. Smith, while attempting to clear a jam in the steering gear. Exhausted by the cold and rough sea, Robertson could no longer help himself, when Marico, tying a line to his waist, jumped into the water. Catching the quartermaster, he clung to the half-drowned man until the two were hauled aboard. Not only was the net of Marico's one of great heroism, but the test of his courage was shown in the chance he took with such a rough sea. The gale at the time was one of the worst in years and the ship was rolling at fifty-five degrees. This young hero enlisted in the navy in April, 1914, at Philadelphia.

Funston Has a Coward Test.

Nowadays they pick out the cowards before instead of after the battle, says a member of the medical staff at Funston. A trained staff at the medical camp spends its time in diagnosing the drafted man for symptoms of cowardice. When the symptoms are present the man is disqualified for service in the battle line. In some instances he is retained in the army and serves his country at mental tasks.

The officer of the medical staff who gives this information, says he has become an expert in this particular line of research, and has learned to spot the physical coward with accuracy, but that of the 45,000 men who have been trained at Funston only thirty have borne the bacilli of the hesitant foot.

For Him Who Dares.

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She Knew Peggy.

Patience—Peggy and Jack are to be married before he goes to the war. Patrice—Oh, he prefers to do his fighting over there, does he!