D. SNOWYD

SPIRIT OF UKRAINE

UKRAINIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD'S CULTURE

New York City
UNITED UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES
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PREFACE

This book has grown out of the demand that has been felt for many years. The American public has again and again witnessed, within the last half generation, monster parades of those within their midst who came from Ukraine, directed against the various occupants of Ukraine. The Americans noted evidences of great sacrifices being made for certain ideals and desperate efforts directed against some appalling evils, and they asked to have these ideals made visible and clear to them. Others came into contact with various manifestations of Ukrainian folk-culture, with Ukrainian folk-songs, Ukrainian folk-crafts, and Ukrainian folk-dances, and, with their curiosity aroused, they wanted to learn more about these exotic creations.

When the questions were directed at the American youth of Ukrainian origin, they usually referred them to their parents. The parents, however, although coming from Ukraine, were not always able to give a full and clear account of themselves and their culture. Then the youth turned to the literature they were familiar with, only to find an appalling dearth of serviceable and correct information on the subject. They then turned to public men of Ukrainian descent to furnish them with

a more complete and specific presentation of the subject.

It was with an eye on this threefold demand that the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States ("Obyednanye") wrote to a well-known Ukrainian publicist, inviting him to undertake the writing of a book that would give an adequate answer to the question—What have the Ukrainian people contributed to the world's culture? The urgent need of such a book was brought home to the man, and he responded immediately with a manuscript, written in Ukrainian, in which he endeavored to answer the question posed, first, by an outline of the historic service of the Ukrainian race in the general scheme of human development and, secondly, by presenting several portraits of representative Ukrainians. The author has been living ever since the end of the war as an emigre from one section of Ukraine on the sufferance of the government of occupation of another section. He has requested that his name be kept secret.

This work was first translated into English by Vladimir Semenyna, and then given for review to our American friends, interested in the subject. It was their opinion that several questions had to be treated more fully in the book, especially those manifestations of Ukrainian culture the American public comes usually in contact with. It was then decided to add chapters on Ukrainian cultural contributions, with special emphasis upon Ukrainian folk-culture, which plays a great role in the life of Ukrainian immigrants in America. Several

letters of the United Ukrainian Organizations to the author of the original, however, failed to reach their destination, due to the strict censorship instituted by the government of occupation of the section of Ukraine wherein this man lived, and it therefore became necessary to entrust with the work someone in America, even though the organization was well aware of the difficulties of such an undertaking in this country, where the lack of necessary material is simply deplorable, and when simple correspondence with Ukrainian intellectual workers in Europe is made almost impossible by the interference of censorship. Emil Revyuk was selected to do the work, and he undertook it with a full consciousness of the difficulties involved.

In writing the additional chapters, Emil Revyuk utilized the works which are available in American public libraries and private collections. Having eliminated out of the original chapters all the material referring to new subjects in order to avoid overlapping and repetition, he wrote new chapters on Ukrainian cultural ability, on Ukrainian literary contributions, on Ukrainian music,—here he utilized an article especially written by Michael Hayvoronsky,—on Ukrainian folk-dance, on Ukrainian folk-crafts, on Ukrainian architecture, painting, sculpture, and on Ukrainian moral, legal and religious heritage. Whenever the writing of the chapters occupied his full time, then his work at the "Svoboda," the Ukrainian daily, devolved upon Dr. Luke Myshuha and Mr. Vladimir Kedrowsky, who also furnished the bulk of the literary and factual advice. It was deemed necessary by them to treat

some representative Ukrainian men, for instance Ivan Franko, more fully, and to add a portrait of Lesya Ukrainka as that of a representative Ukrainian woman,—which, too, was done by Emil Revyuk.

Thus the book represents collective work. The identity of the original contributor, whose manuscript constitutes the basis of the book, is covered by the pen-name of D. Snowyd. The final revision of the book was done by Mr. Vladimir Semenyna, who also furnished the translations of poetry quoted in the book.

The illustrations to this book were selected by Emil Revyuk and Dr. Luke Myshuha.

The publication of this book was made possible only when the Ukrainian National Association, the well-known fraternal order, with the home office at Jersey City, New Jersey, realized that the book of this kind might contribute towards the realization of the Association's ideal of spreading better understanding of Ukrainian culture, and came forward with substantial financial support. Though conscious of many defects in this work, the publication was nevertheless decided upon in order to fill an urgent demand until such a time when a better book will appear.

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INTRODUCTORY

Do you know the name of the people who for 500 years defended western civilization from annihilation by savage hordes of nomads; who were the first to carry the torch of Christianity into the heart of Eastern Europe; who, like the American frontiersman, established the supremacy of the white race over territories larger than France; who now number more than 40,000,000; whose capital the first geographer of the middle ages, Adam of Bremen (German historian of the 11th century), called "the competitor of Constantinople"? Do you know the name of the people called by Charles XII of Sweden "the famous race"; the people described by one French traveler in the 17th century as active, strong and dexterous; great lovers of liberty who cannot suffer any yoke? The people who, according to Voltaire, always aspire to freedom, and who are still dragging the irons of subjugation? These people are the Ukrainians.

Sometime ago the German critic, Herder (1744-1803), wrote about these people: "In time Ukraine will become a new Greece; the beautiful sky of these people, their happy mood, their musical nature, their fertile soil, will some day awaken them from sleep . . . a nation will come

into existence and her boundaries will extend to the Black Sea and from there into the wide world."

The time has not yet come, but in this alarming period of ours, an epoch of the Versailles Treaty revision, when the Bolshevik empire is threatened with disruption, when again, as in 1917, the independence of the peoples subjugated by Russia is in order, everyone is interested in Ukraine.

THE HISTORIC SERVICE ON THE CULTURAL FRONTIER

When the attention of European historians was called to Ukraine for the first time, they found the various Ukrainian tribes highly advanced in cultural respects. This was in the 6th to 8th centuries. Even at that comparatively early date, the Ukrainians had evidently made permanent settlements and considered the country their permanent abode. Agriculture had become their chief means of existence and was at a high level of development even in the more distant and inhospitable sections of the northwest. In the graves of the early Ukrainians we find sickles and various sorts of grain. Tombs dating from the 11th century exhibit a still greater variety of agricultural implements, of grains (including wheat, oats, barley, rye, and millet) and a wide variety of vegetables. Cattle-raising, fishing and hunting, though practiced to a considerable extent, had already become of secondary importance as compared with agriculture. It is worthy to note the high development of poultry raising: poultry had a well defined place in the Ukrainian diet, an earmark, according to new investigations, of comparatively high culture. In wooded sections of the country beekeeping had advanced beyond

the primitive stages. Honey and beeswax and furs were the oldest Ukrainian exports and the oldest mediums of exchange. The food of the prehistoric Ukrainians was varied. They lived on bread and dishes of grain, vegetables, meat, and fish. The method of preparing bread approached the highly complex technic of today. "Mead" (honey-wine), beer, and "kvas" (ferment made of bread), were the common drinks.

They made progress in the arts and industries. They worked in leather, wool, fibre, clay and metal. They knew how to melt and shape iron from native ores. They fashioned objects of worked gold, silver, and copper.

Their dress had already attained a great variety. Imported silks were used together with homespun wools and the furs of the animals they trapped. The costume of the common man was simple, while leaders adopted foreign luxuries.

Their households, built usually of wood and sometimes of stone, show a wide variety of forms, each adapted to a particular purpose.

This culture of early Ukraine, quite advanced when compared with the culture of other European countries of that period, was capable of maintaining a numerous race of permanent agricultural settlers. Though preponderantly agricultural and self-sufficient, they developed commerce, trading with Greece to the south and the settlements along the Baltic to the north. The Dnieper River became the main commercial route, the "great highway from Varangia to Greece," to use the words of the first chronicler of the country.

THE RAPIDS OF THE DNIEPER RIVER

THE FIRST INDEPENDENT UKRAINIAN NATION

On the converging point of the main trade routes, on the Dnieper River, there rose and flourished the city of Kiev, wherein, to defend the peaceful and prosperous agricultural people and to protect their growing commerce, was organized the first Ukrainian government.

The young nation had on its hands a task of no mean order. While the people of the country lived prosperous and contented, caring for nothing more than peace, their very riches and prosperity aroused the envy and greed of neighbors, near and distant.

The Asiatic nomads in their trek towards Europe, found the principality of Rus, centered around the city of Kiev, whose glory and wealth exerted upon these wanderers the same fascination that Rome had exerted several centuries before that time upon the Teutons. They looked with admiration and envy upon the riches of the settled country busy in her agricultural pursuits, at the settlements teeming with people maintained in affluence. With the true nature of a nomad they saw in all this no example to be imitated but merely a chance for easy loot.

The Ukrainians happened to be placed at the very threshold of Europe, adjoining that strip of land situated between the Caspian Sea and the Ural Mountains, through which races poured out of Asia into Europe. The Ukrainians had before them the savage and mysterious hordes of roaming nomads, behind them the settled agricultural

races of Europe. Thus, by the very geographical position of their country, the Ukrainians were made into the vanguard of the western world against the hordes of white and yellow nomads rolling in waves through the "gate of the people."

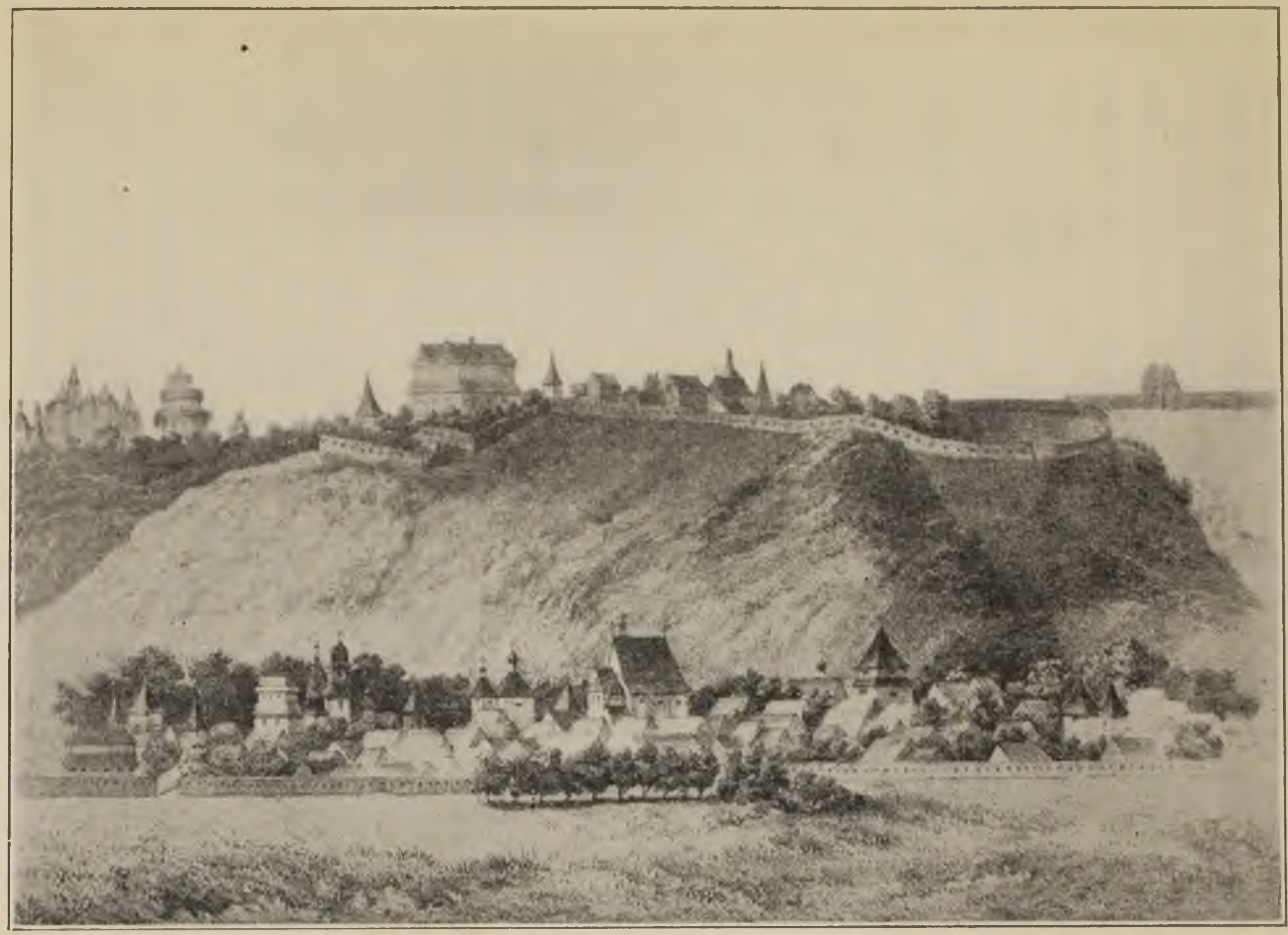
Prince Svyatoslav of Kiev, who also led expeditions into the Balkans and made treaties with the Byzantium king, broke the power of the first of these invaders, the Khazars. But the nomads, in the words of the chronicles, were as innumerable as the locusts. After this first wave came a second, after the second, others——and all of them moved on toward Kiev. Between the 9th and 11th centuries there were the Pechenegs with whom the Princes of Kiev engaged in constant, bloody warfare until the year 1036, when, under the walls of the capital of Kiev, these nomads were finally routed. Just as in western Europe the year 732 (defeat of the Saracens at Poitiers) is recorded in history with golden letters so is this year recorded in the annals of eastern Europe.

The nomads turned to the east, but the Chinese Wall was strong. New hordes repeatedly invaded Ukraine. Now came the Torks; fortunately their history was short. As early as 1060 the Ukrainian Princes had taken the offensive and scattered the new, uninvited guests from the east. Having defeated this enemy they met with another, a third and still more dangerous foe, the Polovtses. The struggle with them was more severe and lasted exactly two centuries, from the 11th to 13th. Two great expeditions, one in 1103 and the other in 1184-1194, were undertaken by the Princes of Kiev

and their subjects against these nomads. They drove this enemy away from the borders of the then existing civilization.

Even this was but a short triumph. From out of the Caspian steppes a new, dark cloud was spreading its shadow, more frightful even than the Polovtses whom Kiev had thrown back into the Volga steppes. These were the Tartars who first appeared in Ukraine in the 13th century. Having scattered the Polovtses they overwhelmed Ukraine which was worn out with centuries of strife, and submitted this eastern Rome and its people to fire and sword. That was the unfortunate day from which dates the downfall of the Ukraine, centered around Kiev, and the end of its independent existence. Only that part of the country around the cities of Halych and Lviv (Lemberg) managed to prolong its independence, nominally submitting to the Khan.

In "Word About Ihor's Legion" the author writes of this period: "seldom did the ploughmen hail each other on the Ukrainian land, but more often crows were cawing as they divided a corpse." Over tne fields songs and words of greeting gave way to the clash of swords; the proud churches of Kiev went up in smoke and the people hid in the forests. This inferno, however, into which Ukraine was transformed, was the barrier which halted the eastern hordes in their attempted invasion of Europe. Behind this living Ukrainian barrier grew the western civilization; grew that medieval culture which laid the cornerstone of the imposing structure of later civilization in Europe and in Amer-



KIEV IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
(From a contemporary etching)

ica. What is more, the Ukrainian wall weakened the pressure of the invaders on the western neighbors of Ukraine, Lithuania and Poland, making it possible for them to receive the cultural benefits of the Occident at a time when Kiev was shedding its blood in an unequal struggle with the Golden Horde of Ghengis Khan on the banks of the Don and the Donets.

Deprived of their government the disorganized people, weak and discouraged, thought that a foreign state might protect them. But neither Poland nor Lithuania, who divided the Ukrainian lands between them, worried very much about the hordes so distant from them. They were satisfied that at least they had peace at home Eventually, when the strength of this eastern invasion had clearly begun to weaken, there appeared a new menace, the Turk. The fall of Byzantium and the occupation of Constantinople by the Ottoman created on the southern borders of Ukraine a new and still more threatening danger, because this new power soon made the Tartar Khan of Crimea into its vassal and took hold of all the mouths of the Ukrainian rivers flowing into the Black Sea. The two of them, the Sultan of Turkey and the Khan of Crimea, were a constant danger to Ukraine, into which they sent raiding expeditions every spring. Cities were destroyed, cattle and grain was stolen, and thousands of the youth, strong and beautiful, the very flower of the race, were carried away as prisoners and sold in the slave-markets of Anatolia and the Archipelago.

In this moment of extreme necessity there flamed up anew the energy of the people. Left to their own resources, without the help of the Polish government, to which, in 1569, they were united against their will, they created on the lower reaches of the Dnieper a new military organization which in a short time the European nations began to notice with awe and admiration; an organization which made not only the Crimean pirates but also their protector at Stambul tremble. These new champions of Ukraine were the Cossacks.

The Cossacks were Knights who quartered themselves below the Dnieper rapids. They were men who had learned to expect nothing from their oppressors, the Poles; they were the vanguard of the ploughmen who lived near Kiev, in Volhynia, and in Kholm. They were men to whom arms represented the only profession, who revived in themselves the smouldering traditions of Prince Svyatoslav who fought the Bulgarians; of Ihor who went against the Polovtses "to bail the distant Don with a helmet"; they were men whose aim was the defence of Christianity against the Mussulman. That was the law of these eastern Knight-Crusaders. Brought up in Spartan fashion, they made their courageous raids over boundless steppes covered with grass that could hide a man on horseback; in their light vessels they would drift down the Dnieper River into the Black Sea and attack the Turkish galleys, free the slaves who were being carried to the markets, and attack Trebizond and other Turkish cities. They would rather go through the discomforts of their wandering warrior life, with

the prospect of ending their life on a Turkish stake than live in slavery. From their fathers they had inherited the proud feelings of independence—— from those fathers who left to their children only a sword with the advice "conquer or die," "gain victory or never return." Although the Ukrainians made up the bulk of this force there were among the Cossacks many adventurers from Scotland, Venice, and other European countries. It is no wonder that among the Ukrainians one may find even now such names as O'Connor, O'Rourke, etc. Harmsworth's "History of the World," writing about this fraternity, says, "the Ukrainian race seemed qualified to put into practice the idea of universal equality and freedom; the science of war was then brought to high perfection. All the Slavonic world will be proud of this free state."

That was the time when the old name of "Rus" began to disappear, giving place to the more popular name, Ukraine, the name which to a Russian or Pole suggests frontier but to the Ukrainian the country where he is at home. In this blood resurrection the name Ukraine gained glory and further popularity and, as a nom de guerre, became endeared to the Cossacks and all the population on both sides of the Dnieper. Dmytro Vyshnevetsky (popularly called 'Baida') founded, in 1552, on the Dnieper isle called Khortytza, a "Sich" or stronghold——a name which in a short time was lauded throughout the world.

The defenders of this Ukraine, the Cossacks, writes the French geographer, Beauplan, "are very strong of body; endure well heat and cold, hunger

and thirst. In war they are persevering, courageous and even carefree, because they do not value their lives." The Polish writer, Starowolski, at the beginning of the 17th century, says that the Cossacks "always consider it better to die in battle than to run away or surrender, and because of that, even when outnumbered, they do not give up the battle and often overcome the enemy."

On one side the fame of the Cossack name and on the other the danger from the Ottoman world led the sovereigns of Europe to send their representatives to the Cossacks, as to an independent state, seeking help from the Knights of the Dnieper rapids against the fear of the world—— warring Islam. Thus the emperor Rudolph II in 1594 sent an ambassador, Lasota, as did the Polish kings and the Muscovite czars. Nominally subject to Poland, the Cossacks often helped her fight against the Mohammedan avalanche, and often saved her from annihilation. Thus in 1621 the Cossack Hetman, Sahaidachny, saved the Polish army which was surrounded by a large Turkisn army near Khotyn. Not only did Sahaidachny save the Poles but he so scattered the Turks that he ended the Crescent's sway over eastern Europe.

A similar part was played by the Cossack divisions which came to the aid of Jan Sobieski, defeating the Turks near Vienna, in 1683.

After a long intermission during the 16th and 17th centuries Ukraine again began to expand systematically southward and eastward into the steppes, despite the raids of the marauders from the bandits' nest in Crimea. With the rapid growth

of the Ukrainian colonies the threat of Crimean horde was finally broken and in the 18th century its complete downfall was brought about.

It seems that a whimsical fate decided to turn the awakened energies of the Kievites into another channel. Fate decided to make the Cossacks the bearers of a new idea of great importance to European civilization. This idea, the seeds of which had been planted in Holland, which burst forth into full bloom in America two hundred years later, and one hundred years later in Europe, was that of national self-determination as opposed to the idea of the divine right of Kings. The Dutch, the first European champions of this new idea, had risen against the monarchy of Philip II of Spain in the name of the not clearly formed but well felt principle of national self-determination. Some score of years later Ukraine again brought up this principle and heralded it into the lime-light.

THE SECOND INDEPENDENT UKRAINIAN NATION: THE COSSACK REPUBLIC

The free Ukrainian nation was not accustomed to be governed by such policies as Poland was exercising in her Ukrainian provinces. The famous Polish kingdom, say some old Latin verses,

Est Coelum Nobilitorum
Paradisus Judeorum
Et Infernum Rusticorum.

(is heaven for the nobility, paradise for the Jew, and hell for the peasant). That was the state to which Ukraine refused to submit. Scherer writes

in his "History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks," "they were peaceful people who at first gave way to the Polish lords and clergy, but when they saw that they were to be exterminated they took to the sword" against Poland, as the Dutch did against Spain. In whose name? In the name of the suppressed Greek-Orthodox Church, in the name of the Cossacks' right of self-organization, and in the name of the right to organize into a free nation. This fight for freedom began with a series of Zaporozhian uprisings which bathed Poland in a sea of blood. The greatest of these took place in 1625, 1630, 1635, and 1638. Whoever has read Gogol's "Taras Bulba" may be able to visualize that heroic age of inhuman terror, unusual courage, unparalleled sacrifices, and bloody battles which began in Ukraine in the 17th century and which reached its zenith in 1648, in an uprising led by a man whose named aroused throughout Europe the same fear and respect as that of his contemporary, Oliver Cromwell.

This man was Chmielnicky who, within a span of six years, was able to place his whole nation on her feet and throw her against the feudal Polish republic. Sienkewicz writes in his "With Fire and Sword," that after the fierce battles "Poland lay in blood and dust at the feet of the Cossacks." Ukraine was free and her 'Lord Protector' received embassies from the Czar, the Emperor, Sultan, and King, and from the otner end of Europe, from Cromwell.

A letter from Cromwell to Chmielnicky, of

which only the introduction has been found, begins:

"Theodorus Chmielnicki Dei Gratia generalissimus Græcorum, imperator omnium Cosacorum Zaporoviensium, terror et extirpator nobilitatis Poloniæ, fortalitiorumque expugnator. . ."

[Theodore (Bohdan in Ukrainian, Theodore being a literal translation) Chmelnytsky, by God's grace generalissimo of the Greeks (no doubt he meant the Greek-Orthodox people), Emperor of all the Zaporozhian Cossacks, terror and extirpator of the Polish nobility, expugnator of fortresses.] The great Englishman saw in Chmielnicky a champion of freedom.

The battles which the Ukrainian people fought under the leadership of Chmielnicky were loudly acclaimed in the European press of that time.

Engel, Austrian historian, 1770-1814, in his "History of Ukraine," writes: "the history of the Cossacks is interesting. The energy of the whole people as well as of the individuals, with which the Greeks and Romans so charmed us, is revived in the heroism of Chmielnicky on the battlefields of Bilhorod, Korsun, and Zbaraz." Here is what the Polish historian, Kubala, writes of this figure who was the Ukrainian Cromwell, Washington and Bolivar: "Strangers compared him with Cromwell. The comparison forces itself to the attention, especially of the age when these two men drew upon themselves the undivided interest of Europe. Both lived and died at practically the same time. Both were standing enemies of the ruling church and government of their countries and in the later years of their lives both stood at the head of an

BOHDAN CHMIELNICKY

uprising that could boast of progress which could put to shame the teachings and experience of the greatest warriors and diplomats. Each created a mighty army by whose help he governed, and both died at the height of their power, willing their position to their children."

Of the two, Chmielnicky had a problem in many respects greater. The state which he ruled was open to attack on all sides. He did not, like Cromwell, have a trained staff of officials when he came to power, nor had he at his disposal the forces of an old and well established government. All the departments of a government had to be created and the whole problem of organizing and training such a force fell on his shoulders. He had to select and train his helpers personally, even the smallest of details demanded his attention. The fact that his army did not starve, that it had arms, cannon, ammunition, good scouts, and that there was never any lack of money——all this was to his personal credit.

After his first triumphs there was born in his mind the thought of a Cossack government under whose rule he wanted to include the whole territory of Ukraine held subject to Poland. His desire was fulfilled, though only for a short period. Poland was defeated and the whole of Ukraine was organized for the second time (and during the World War for a third time) as an independent nation. This independence lasted until the nation became nominally a protectorate of the Muscovite Czar Alexander (The Treaty of Pereyaslav, 1654).

It is interesting to note that with the sudden rise of the free Ukrainian nation there set in an unparalleled period of colonization. Ukraine west of the Dnieper River, devastated by long wars with Poland, lay in ruins. The Chronicler Velychko writes: "Passing through western Ukraine I saw many deserted and uninhabited cities and castles. The walls lay in ruins overgrown with brush and weeds in which snakes had nested. The fields, orchards, and ponds——everything was deserted. Human bones, bare and dry, lay covered only by the sky. Before the war with Chmielnicky this was a second promised land, flowing with milk and honey. No wonder that the Poles had called it the paradise of the Polish lands." Where had the population of this once teeming land disappeared to? Many had been killed in the war and others had run off to the lands on the east bank of the Dnieper and from there they had moved farther east and north into the Muscovite territory.

In the struggle with nature the Ukrainians proved themselves as hardy as the American frontiersmen. One carried the culture of the ploughman across the prairies, the other across the wild steppes. They were what Jack London calls the "inevitable white man," the untiring sower with a sword at his side. In the thirty years between 1650 and 1680 the Ukrainian colonists settled almost all the so-called "Slobodska Ukraine" (province of Kharkiv, northern part of the province of Kursk, the western portion of the province of Voronizh). Lands which thirty years before were hunting ter-

ritories were turned into blooming farm lands. Beauplan, who observed this colonization, wrote: "This country, the greater part of which was settled during my time, is now an unscalable wall of defence against the Turks. In the provinces which once offered to the enemy an open highway to conquest, the foes now meet, to their great surprise, inevitable defeat and deatn."

The uprising against Poland and the colonization of the vast stretches of land within the Muscovite territories brought Ukraine into direct contact with the brutal and despotic Czars of Moscow. This was a new and unpleasant experience for the Ukrainians who were accustomed to the more liberal political traditions of the west.

When Chmielnicky swore allegiance to the Czar the Ukrainian clergy present wept. When the Cossack delegation demanded of the Muscovite Czar his oath to respect the rights of the Ukrainians he refused. The manners and behaviour of this Asiatic despot, who had been brought up in the Tartar traditions, were so strange to the people who had recently gained their freedom by their swords, that an understanding was impossible. Only Chmielnicky's sudden death prevented him from carrying out his plan to break away from Moscow.

The Ukrainians later rose against the despot as they had against Poland. The most famous of these uprisings was led by a man whose fame rivals that of Chmielnicky. This man was Ivan Mazepa.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MAP OF UKRAINE

A Cossack in his youth, he became the Hetman of Ukraine. He was a hero of great dreams in whose bosom lived the spirit of Brutus and Wallenstein. Like the ancient Princes of Kiev he wanted to block the devastating onslaughts of the new Northern Khan. He was a tragic, mysterious and fascinating character who inspired poets, musicians, and painters; Byron and Victor Hugo, Liszt and Horace Verne. Mazepa had all the faults and virtues of that stormy age; he was a Don Juan and a Machiavelli, a Grand Seignieur, a connoiseur of the arts, a protector and founder of churches, a soldier who conquered Crimea and the Sea of Azov, a great diplomat who was able to fool Peter the Great, a builder of mighty plans. These plans, however, tumbled into nothing on "dread Poltava's day" (Byron). The consequences of this defeat were dreadful not only to Ukraine but also to the rest of Europe. Writers and travelers of that time warned the nations of the west that the sea of blood in wnich the Czar had drowned Ukraine was a warning of terror to the rest of Europe. Obstructed no longer by the Ukrainian wall, the Muscovites eventually overflowed into Crimea, Poland, the Caucasus, Lithuania, and the Baltic; only to lay claim, in the 19th century to Moldavia and Wallachia (Rumania), Bulgaria, the Straits and Constantinople. That, after the conquest of Ukraine, Russia is not in possession of the Balkans, Constantinople, and perhaps Czechoslovakia, is only due to the efforts of the European armed and diplomatic coalitions——as in the Crimean war of 1853-55 and as at the Berlin Congress of 1878. Only the guns

IVAN MAZEPA

of the British battleships prevented the triumphal entry of the Czar into Constantinople—a position in which he would have been not only the absolute master of Ukraine, but also, as Napoleon said, "of the whole world."

It is self-evident that, despite the defeat of Sweden and Ukraine at Poltava, the Russians could not succeed at once in repressing the Ukrainians' love for freedom. The cruel demands of the foe in the days of Mazepa only helped him to "pass the desert to a throne" (Byron). After Mazepa's death the cry "let none despond, let none despair" was taken up by Orlyk, who was proclaimed by his own people and recognized by Charles XII as the Hetman "in partibus infidelium."

The French consul to the Ottoman Porte, Chauvalan, in the first half of the 18th century, handed to his government a memorandum in which with unusual foresight he pictured the gloomy future for Europe—threatened by the expansion of Russia——if the free Ukrainian nation was not restored. He wrote:

"King Charles XII did a bad service to Europe when he taught the Muscovites to conquer others. In time the Muscovites will cross the Dniester River, will take Moldavia and Wallachia, will take Constantinople ... and then, in the footsteps of Ukraine, which is already practically a province of Muscovy, a similar fate will await Crimea, Caucasus and Poland ... because there is no end to ambition" of "this crafty and abominable nation," as another French diplomat of those times called her. But these prophetic words of warning were addressed

to the European public and not to its cabinets. In vain did Orlyk in his manifestations call upon Europe to help uphold the "natural rights" of a nation "to free itself from oppression and to regain that which injustice and force had taken away." In vain did the Ukrainian emigres appeal for help from the western powers. In vain did Count Kapnist, an ambassador from the Cossack noblemen, appeal in 1791 to the Prussian court for help for Ukraine "to throw off the Muscovite yoke" in time of war. The fate of Ukraine was sealed. She became a Russian province. In 1763 Czarina Catherine ("Voltaire's friend") abrogated the Hetman government of Ukraine; in 1775 she destroyed the Zaporozhian Sich; in 1783 she introduced in Ukraine feudalism and serfdom. In secret instructions to the senate president, A. M. Viazemsky, the "liberal" Czarina wrote that it is necessary to uproot in Ukraine the "immoral idea that they (the Ukrainians) are a nation completely different from ours" and to fight "against their false and improper republican ideas."

For the time being the Cossack cause fell, but even in its fall Ukraine bequeathed to its coming generations a mighty idea, the idea of national self-determination. In the documents and manifestoes of Orlyk and the other Cossack leaders we meet with the name "nation," "Cossack nation," "our dear nation," "free nation," Cossack republic." In those times, when the "mighty hospodars" exchanged their "subjects" like cattle, the phraseology of the Ukrainians was a novelty. This republican idea of the Ukrainians did not remain a hazy notion.

It took the form of a well defined legal conception as expressed in the "pacts and constitution of laws and liberties" of the Ukrainian Republic proclaimed by Orlyk and the elected leaders of the Zaporozhian Army, on April 5, 1710. These pacts were in direct opposition to the principles of the despotic Muscovite empire. According to this constitution Ukraine was to be a republic with an elected president (hetman), with publicly elected administrative bodies and a parliament without whose consent neither the Hetman nor his ministers could proclaim laws or tax the people. The members of this parliament swore, first of all, "allegiance to their country" and then "loyalty to the Hetman."

THE THIRD INDEPENDENT UKRAINIAN NATION: THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

This constitution formulated only twenty years after the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" and 79 years before the French Revolution, was the first Ukrainian constitution.

This idea of national self-determination was numbed under the brutal government of the Muscovite despotism and the Polish feudalism. It was revived, however, with new strength in the revolution of 1917. Few remember that the balance of power swung to the side of the revolution only when the peasants joined the revolutionary camp and that the vanguard of this peasantry, in the Czarist empire, came from Ukraine. Great uprisings began in 1903 in western Ukraine—and it was these same peasants, who 14 years later sealed the fate of Czarist Russia. The Volhynian regiment

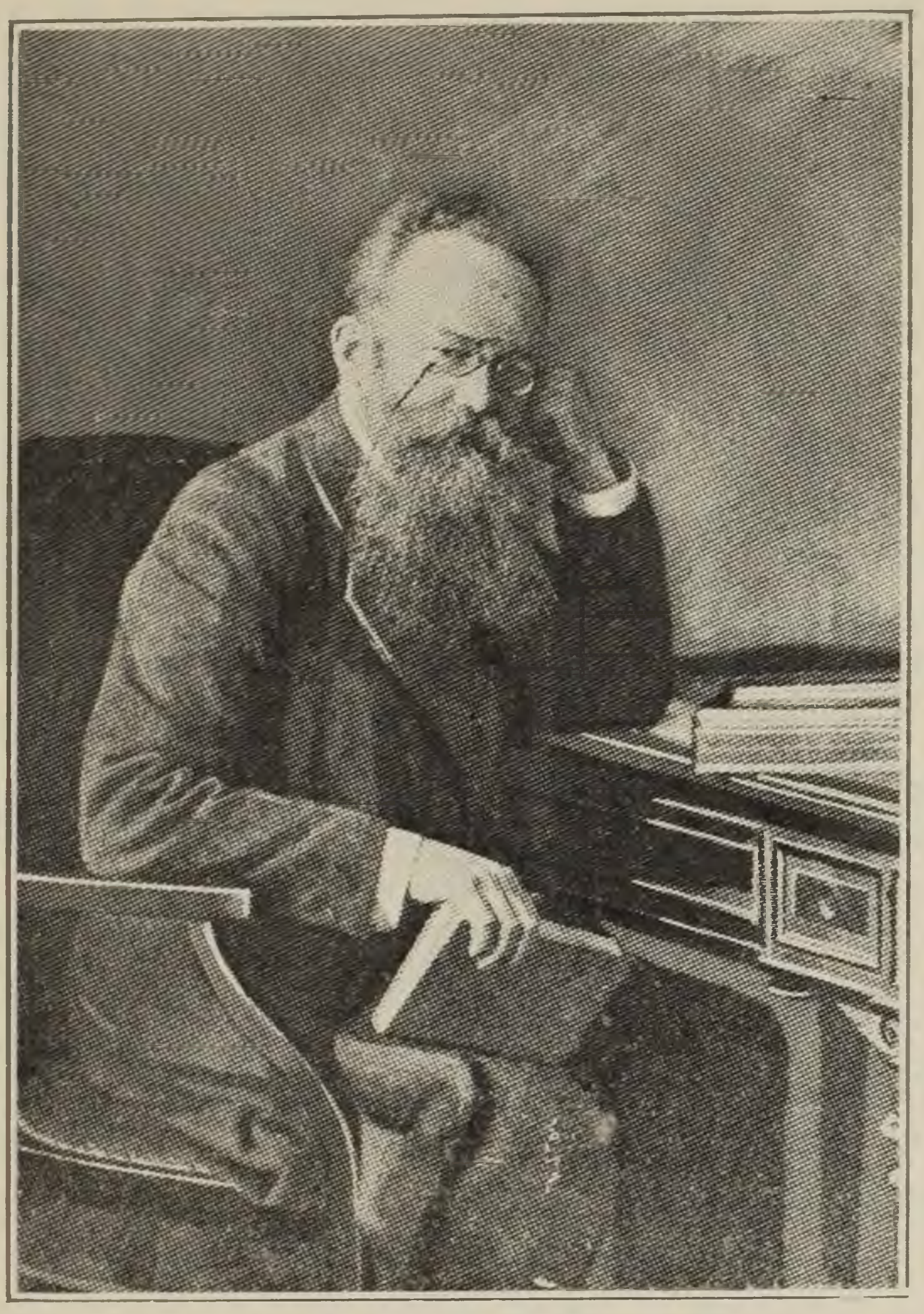
of grenadiers, whose rebellion in March 1917 decided the fate of the second revolution and of the Romanoffs, was a Ukrainian regiment. With the fall of the Czardom, the Ukrainian nation again came into existence, like a Phoenix from ashes. Not, however, the same Ukraine. The colonial expansion of these people had not stopped with the downfall of the free nation at the end of the 17th century. In 1770 the boundary of Ukraine was Tauria. After the fall of Crimea the Ukrainians settled the Nohy steppes, the districts of Kherson, Tauria, and Katerynoslav, and in the 19th century the whole coast of the Black sea between the Buh and Dniester Rivers. In forty years between 1750 and 1790 the population of Kherson, Tauria, and Katerynoslav was increased, by the Ukrainian influx, from 50,000 to 500,000. In this short space of time the population had been multiplied tenfold. In less than a century the colonial expansion had more than doubled the territory of Ukraine and had extended its borders to the Caspian Seas on the east and to the Black Sea and Caucasus Mountains on the south. This expansion which made Ukraine a nation of the Black Sea, par excellence, increased her political importance tremendously. The nation that controls Ukraine controls the Black Sea commerce.

Another factor which added to the importance of Ukraine was the discovery of great deposits of iron, coal, and manganese: materials which were lacking in Russia. Ukraine became indispensable to Russia not only as a granary, but also as the foundation of its industrial development. That is

why the whole Russian Revolutionary Democratic party replied with an outburst of indignation when Ukraine, at the end of the revolution, demanded her stolen freedom, and the right to stand on equal footing with the other countries of Europe.

From this moment, in March 1917, begins a new and yet unfinished period of renewed struggle on the part of the people for their independence. A Ukrainian army and temporary government came into existence. War with Kerensky, Denikin, and Wrangel followed, and later with the Bolsheviks, and to the west with a recreated Poland which wanted to possess the Ukrainian provinces it had once controlled. It was a war for the right of self-determination; a war for one's own home and piece of land instead of Russian communism; a war for the family and the traditional culture of Ukraine instead of the degradation of the Bolshevik barrack government; a war for freedom on the part of a nation which does not want to be a colony to be exploited by a distant and foreign government.

The struggle resurrected the soul of a nation whose long slavery had not made it forget the carefree spirit of its Cossack ancestors whose cry was, "gain victory or death." Old names, once well known, again reechoed in the ears of Europe—Zhmerinka, Kiev, Khorsun, Zhytomir, Poltava—places where blood once flowed in battles with the hordes of Asia. The whole country in the years between 1917 and 1921 was turned into an inferno. In his book "In the Smoke of the Campfires," Brazhnyov, the head of a Russian expedition in Ukraine, writes: "We rode through a quiet steppe.



M. HRUSHEVSKY,
The President of the Ukrainian People's Republic

Pereyaslav, Kaniv, Tarashcha, Zolotonosha; factories of brigandage (that is how the Russians christened the Ukrainian insurgent movement, just as the Spaniards called the Dutch "beggars"). All the people here were as innocent as a stump in woods. Zelenyi? (one of the Ukrainian leaders). They had never heard of such a person. Bandits? There are none here. They did not understand anything, did not see anything, did not hear anything; a blank expression, wandering eyes, a lightening smile ... cut them to pieces and will gain nothing! A dark forest of peasantry, curly peasant jungles—that was our beat. It was not the land which surrounded us, that enveloped us; we burrowed into this peasant homestead. All around us was a peaceful paradise of fertility; silence and dreams among the white houses; girls beyond the fence and leaning on the wall ... and all this was nothing but a masquerade. Behind the stage scenery hid something that barely resembled a village idyl, a nimble body of brigandage ... that's what is hidden behind the opera scenery of Ukraine. Rifles and hand grenades were hidden under the skirts of the village belle. Behind the peasant hospitality lurked a desire for revenge and carnival fire. That is the fire the Ukrainian nation brought to life again in its struggles of 1917-1921. Every house had become a stronghold; every person had become a plotter; every child an enemy of the invader."

In this, tne latest act of the nation's struggle for its freedom, Ukraine has again rendered a service to humanity. That the spiritual epidemic of

Bolshevism has not overflown Europe and that Russia still feels uncertain of her dominance over the Black Sea is due to the fact that she is unable to make Ukraine a safe starting point for the invasion of Europe. That in the time of Bela Kun the Bolshevik Hungarian republic could not lend a hand to Moscow is due to the fact that the Ukrainian steppes smouldered with the rebellious feeling of independence. By keeping the two, red Russia and red Hungary, from joining forces, Ukraine dealt Bolshevism a blow from which it has not yet recovered.

The courage and tenacity shown by the Ukrainian people in their continous struggle for freedom, their initial vigor in colonizing, the idea of self-determination which they have preserved in their long struggle with despotism, together with Ukraine's rich natural resources and the strategic importance of her geographic position give the question of Ukraine's freedom a world importance, one to whose settlement the world cannot be indifferent. No wonder, then, that every nation which has had to fight with the oppressors of Ukraine—as Turkey in the 16th century, as Sweden and France with the same Moscow in the 17th century and Germany with Austria-Hungary in the 20th century, has brought up the question of Ukraine. No wonder that this question has through its universal importance aroused the interest of such leaders as Cromwell and Charles XII, and such defenders of freedom as Voltaire, Byron, and Victor Hugo.

UKRAINIAN CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD'S CULTURE

The Ukrainian problem assumes a greater importance when we consider the fact that, in spite of the rarity of peaceful moments in her history, and the shortness of the periods of her free existence, Ukraine has enriched the civilized world with the idea of national freedom and with many treasures of art——the creation of the temperament of a people placed on the boundaries between two worlds.

CULTURAL ABILITY

The cultural ability of the Ukrainian people was felt by all those who came into contact with them. Those who traveled through Ukraine with open eyes testified to the mental alertness of the Ukrainian peasants, to the liveliness of their emotional reactions, and their talent in expressing their thoughts and emotions. The Ukrainian is never apathetic or sluggish, either emotionally or intellectually. Not even the worst calamaties, personal or national, will drive him to despair. He is somewhat inclined to strong emotions and relishes their effect. He is equally contemptuous of the emotional sluggishness of the Russian and the emotional laxity of the Pole.

The intellectual curiosity of the Ukrainians has always urged him to seek knowledge, to accept it from all sources and, once it was his, to spread it around him. This thirst for learning has characterized the Ukrainian from the very outset of his history. It urged him to swallow all the foreign literature he could lay hands on, then to translate it to his own language, and finally, having absorbed it, to venture on new lines of thought with his knowledge as his starting point. The old Ukrainian religious literature equals its Greek and South Slavic models, while Abbot Danylo, the author of the first Kiev chronicles (11th century) in his descriptions of pilgrimages surpassed his European masters.

The Tartar invasion interrupted this literary productivity of Kiev. Kiev gradually lost influence, both as the political and as the cultural center of the Eastern Slavs.

In the north, in the ethnographic region of another race, a new administrative and cultural center arose. This new capital was in Muscovite, later called Russian, territory.

Literary activity had bloomed particularly in Western Ukraine which was then under Polish dominion. While the Ukrainian nobility in this section was gradually becoming Polonized the Ukrainian artisans took upon themselves the task of preserving the national culture. The Ukrainian church guilds not only looked after the religious life of the people and defended the Orthodox Church against the encroachment of the Polish clergy and nobility but carried on a lively cultural activity,

organizing schools, printing shops, and hospitals. As soon as the Cossacks had organized themselves into a wall behind which it was possible for a nation to flourish anew, Kiev became again the center of cultural activity. The 17th century saw a new golden age of Ukrainian art and learning.

Archbishop Peter of Aleppo traveled through Ukraine in the company of the Patriarch Makary of Antioch (Syria) during 1653-1654. Their object was church business, but though this was the period of the most bloody and disastrous wars against Poland in Ukraine they found time to admire the people and the country. Archbishop Peter says, "Oh, what a beautiful country. Plenty of fowl (domestic), livestock, boundless fields of grain, orchards, ponds, mills, and children as numerous as the sands of the sea. The Ukrainians are a learned people, love knowledge . . . in the whole Cossack country we noticed an odd but pleasant fact; with few exceptions they are all literate; even the greater number of their wives and daughters can read . . . the priests teach the orphans. There are more children there than grass, and all of them are able to read . . . over the whole country of the Cossacks, in every village and on every street, have been built hospitals for the poor and the orphans (especially numerous after the terrible war)." Returning home after visiting Muscovy the Archbishop again passed through Ukraine. He writes, "from the moment we noticed the Pechersky Monastery . . . when the perfume of that fertile and flowery land reached us, our souls relit and we gave thanks to God. During the two years we

spent in Moscow our souls were locked up and our minds were depressed to the utmost, because no one in that country can feel even the slightest freedom ... the country of the Cossacks, on the other hand, was to us practically as our own."

How the spirit of these people was attracted by knowledge may be seen by the fact that in the middle of the 18th century (as shown by the census ordered by Catherine and taken by Count Rumiantzev), in seven divisions (administrative units) of Hetmanschyna (Ukraine under Muscovy before the Hetmanship was destroyed by Catherine) there were 866 schools in 1094 settlements. In Chernyhiv, in 1786, there was one school for every 746 people. In 1875, however, when the Russian government was already well established there remained only one school for 6,730 people. In western Ukraine in 1740 there were 866 schools; after a century of Russian reign not one was left.

In 1490, shortly after the invention of the printing press by Guttenberg, Ukrainian religious works were printed in Krakow by the Ukrainian churches. In 1517, first in Prague and later in Vilna, Franz Skoryna printed the first Bible in Slavonic (the Latin of Ukraine). A whole series of printing establishments appeared: at Nesvizh (in 1562), at Lviv (1574), Ostriv (1580), Mohyliv (1616), Pochaiv (1618), Lutsk (1628), Kremenets (1638), Chernyhiv (1646), etc. In Kiev there was found after the pattern of Western universities the well-known Academy of Kiev, surnamed after its founder Mohylanska Akademia, to which flocked not only Ukrainians, but also Poles, Russians, and even

Western Europeans and Southern Slavs. At a time when the Russians still feared western learning and it was considered treacherous for a young Russian nobleman to travel abroad, when even the "culprits'" father might be punished, the Ukrainians travelled abroad to see the world, to learn. Ukrainian students flocked to the western seats of learning at Padua, Leyden, London, Goettingen Paris, Prague, Koenigsberg, and Rome. While Russia, according to Prof. Pypin, was not even ready to admit her own lack of educational facilities, Ukraine already possessed, in the Kiev Academy, a scientific center of high order the glory of which attracted students from Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Roumania. The Ukrainian nobility and clergy were occupied not only in fighting the anti-Christian Turks and the un-orthodox power of Poland but also in the literary defence of their position. "Through this heated, embittered polemic there passed unnoticed into the Ukrainian life scientific knowledge, learning, through it developed critical methods of thinking . . . Life in Muscovy," Prof. Pypin writes, "was characterized by the fanaticism of the church, by animosity toward learning, by stubborn stagnancy, moral brutality, and cruelty. The Russian theologians still argued over the question: shall one sing 'God save us' or 'O, God save us'? Shall 'Alleluja' be sung twice or trice? Shall the procession go round the church to the left or to the right? How does one spell Jesus' name? Even as late as the 17th century learning was looked upon as the work of Satan, the eternal enemy of man. Tsar Peter II complained

as late as 1698 of the illiteracy of the Russian clergy and proposed sending them to study in Kiev."

EUROPEANIZING INFLUENCES OF UKRAINIANS IN MUSCOVY

The Ukrainians tried to fill that intellectual vacuum at their borders. Prof. Alexander Bruekner, the Polish scholar, devotes an entire chapter in his book on the Europeanization of Russia to the "Europeanizing Influences of the Ukrainians in Muscovy." Right after the treaty of Pereyaslav (between Chmielnicky and the tsar) many Ukrainians students of the western theology, medicine, and science, migrated into the Muscovite empire. "Ukraine," writes Bruekner, "was the equivalent of a school for Russia." Such people as Melety Smotrytsky, Archbishop of Polotsk, who although of orthodox faith was educated in Paris, differed from the Russians in his cosmopolitanism. To the Russians the world beyond their borders was peopled by heretics and pagans. Western-European trends, humanism and learning flowed over Ukraine and left their mark, to which Russia was immune. Such people as Epyphany Slavynetzky, who translated into Slavic West European geographies, works on anatomy and medicine; who introduced, unknown until then in Muscovy, church sermons—all such people were unknown to Russia before Peter's time and the Muscovite government drew them with recognition and delight to its capital in order to inoculate the Muscovites with the ideas of Western civilization.

A still greater demand for the Kievites appeared when Peter I adopted the policy of forcing Europeanization on Muscovy. Three Ukrainians, Metropolitan Dimitri Rostovsky, Stephen Yavorsky, and Theodore Prokopovich, became the closest advisers of Peter. They, armed with western learning, were the teachers, priests, and speakers, court poets and dramatists, philologists and theologists which Muscovy needed so badly. Moscow was spiritually dependent upon Ukraine to such an extent that the grammar of Melety Smotrytsky, published in Kiev in 1619, was reprinted in Moscow in 1648; the 'Synopsis' (history) of Innocent Gizel, published in Ukraine in the middle of the 17th century, influenced the Russian historians more than any other text up to the 18th century and was used in their schools until the 19th century, being reprinted in Moscow in 1863. When Catherine II called a convention of law-makers in 1767 the most important delegates were the Ukrainians. Even as late as the reign of Catherine there were in Russia only 74 physicians of which number 53 were Ukrainians. The Ukrainians were the ones who taught the Muscovites the linear method of musical notation. To learn the art of printing, Peter I sent his men to Ukraine. Practically all of the bishops were Ukrainians. In 1754 a special decree was passed in order to give the Russians more chance of obtaining church offices. In the theological seminaries most of the teachers and pupils were Ukrainians. All over Muscovy Ukrainian grammars, histories, etc. were sold. The influence of Ukraine was felt in singing, music, dress, paint-

ing, and literature. Ukrainian literary men, says the Russian Pypin, "composed works of which no one dreamt in Moscow . . . they were works on grammar, dictionaries, catechisms, histories, church teachings, general polemical church literature which was equal to the literature aimed against the Orthodox Church by the Jesuits." In short, the Ukrainians in the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th played in Russia the same cultural part that the Germans did during the reign of Catherine and the Frenchmen in later years.

Similiar services, though naturally not so important, were performed by the Ukrainians in other Slavic countries. Many of the Ukrainian teachers went to Serbia and Bulgaria. Thus in 1773 a group of Ukrainian scholars from Kiev went to Serbia where they organized schools; the Serbian Metropolitan wrote of them a year later: "They are proficient in learning, well-wishing of moral development and, in teaching their pupils, assiduous, attentive and willing." The Ukrainian, Jurko Huts, born in the Carpathian Mountains, went to Bulgaria and in 1829 wrote a history of Bulgaria which played a important part in the Bulgarian national revival.

THE UKRAINIAN LITERARY CONTRIBUTION

The Ukrainians claim as their own the literature of the old Kiev principality. The repeated theories of the Russian nationalists claiming the literature of Kiev which was produced during the 11th to 17th centuries have been found baseless. "There is no doubt," says the special commission of the Russian Academy of Science of St. Petersburg, instituted in 1904 for the purpose of crystalizing opinion in regard to the official restrictions imposed upon the Ukrainian language, "that the forefathers of the Great Russians and Ukrainians spoke at one time the same language: that language, the written monuments of which have not reached our times, and which is merely reconstructed hypothetically, came to be accepted in science as—the 'All-Russian' language. But of course it is not this language that is thought of by those who hold the old Ukrainian and the Russian languages identical. As early as the pre-historic era the 'All-Russian' language represented in its separate branches distinct dialectic varieties, which furnish a basis to suppose an eternal division of the 'Russian' race into three groups: the northern Russian, the middle-Russian, and the south-Russian."

The language of the oldest manuscripts, the common literary medium of the Eastern Slavs, was the so-called Slavic-Russian, or Church-Slavonic, language. It is a mongrel composite of the South-Slavic with local dialects of the Eastern Slavs. The latter elements encroached more and more, in proportion as the people grew conscious of the necessity to express vital sentiments and thoughts more fittingly. Thus, in the oldest manuscripts a difference can be seen between those in which the admixture comes from Ukraine and those in which it comes from the north. Finally, in the 16th century we meet with the first conscious use of the Ukrainian vernacular for literary purposes. The occasion is the translation of the Bible (into the Evangelium of Peresop)—a process which was taking place in the Protestant countries of western Europe. The products of these activities are mostly religious in character; sermons, religious polemics and lithurgic books constitute the bulk of this early literature. Those were the times of strife between the different churches and the vernacular offered itself as a naturally adequate means of reaching the people. Behind the religious strife very often a racial struggle was going on, the interests of one church being connected with the political interests of one race The polemics of two opposing churches thus offer an important contribution to the improvement of the moral condition in the churches, and to the intellectual awakening of dormant races.

In this period the Ukrainian language made its way into the official documents. Finally it became the official language of the Principality of Lithuania.

This Ukrainian literature, says Prof. A. S. Arkhangelsky, acted up to the 17th century as the connecting link between Russia and the West. There was noticed in those books, likewise, the inception of scientific outlook upon the world. "There is noticeable in Ukrainian life." says Prof. Arkhangelsky, "none of the blind respect for the 'authority' and 'books' which from the earliest times made the Muscovite literary men fight for the preservation of a single letter." But it was perhaps this very spirit that goaded the tsars of Russia to put a stop to the spread of the Ukrainian literature towards the north and to persecute Ukrainian literature and its creators as disseminators of Catholicism and Polish nationalism in Russia, while in Poland the use of the Ukrainian language was attacked as having an ill influence upon the Roman Church and Poland. Tsar Peter I, finally, issued a ukase against the use of the Ukrainian language in printing. The Ukrainian language was driven from church books and later from school primers. Under the influence of the Russian nobility the impression was spread that Ukrainian was a vulgar tongue, not fit for refined literary expression. The use of the Ukrainian language narrowed to manuscripts, primarily works of humorous character, comic interludes, occasional poems, satirical and amorous verses—a pauperization which was quite parallel with the pauperization of the Russian literary activity of that period.

The first serious effort to use the pure Ukrainian language for literary purposes was made by Ivan

IVAN KOTLYAREVSKY

Kotlarevsky. He wrote "The Aeneid Turned Inside Out," in which the heroes of the Roman epic are made into typical Ukrainian characters and the background changed to Ukraine of the 17th century. The literature of Ukraine is considered to have started with the date on which this book was published, 1798. Kotlarevsky also wrote two comedies which have maintained their place in the Ukrainian theatre to the present day. In these plays Kotlarevsky ridicules the mongrel language of the government officers and pleads for the use of the pure Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian. He had a profound sympathy with the national aspirations of the Ukrainian race and particularly with the peasant whom he considered as important as the nobility. "Kotlarevsky," says the Russian Academy in its recommendation for the abolition of restrictions on the Ukrainian language, "is to be considered the first Ukrainian 'populist' and father of Ukrainian fiction and scientific literature."

"Among the writers of those days are to be mentioned Kvitka, a splendid story-teller, who combined the characteristic traits of the Ukrainian soul, humor and strength of feeling; Peter Artemovsky-Hulak, author of wise poems; Hrebinka, the writer of poetry and novels; the fabulist Hlibiv."

This Kvitka deserves further notice as a pioneer in world's literature. He was the first author of a book in which the hero, the heroine, and most of the characters are "common" peasants. The importance of this revolutionary innovation can be fully realized only when we reconstruct the current literary superstitions of the time which held that

only exalted personages deserved a place in literature.

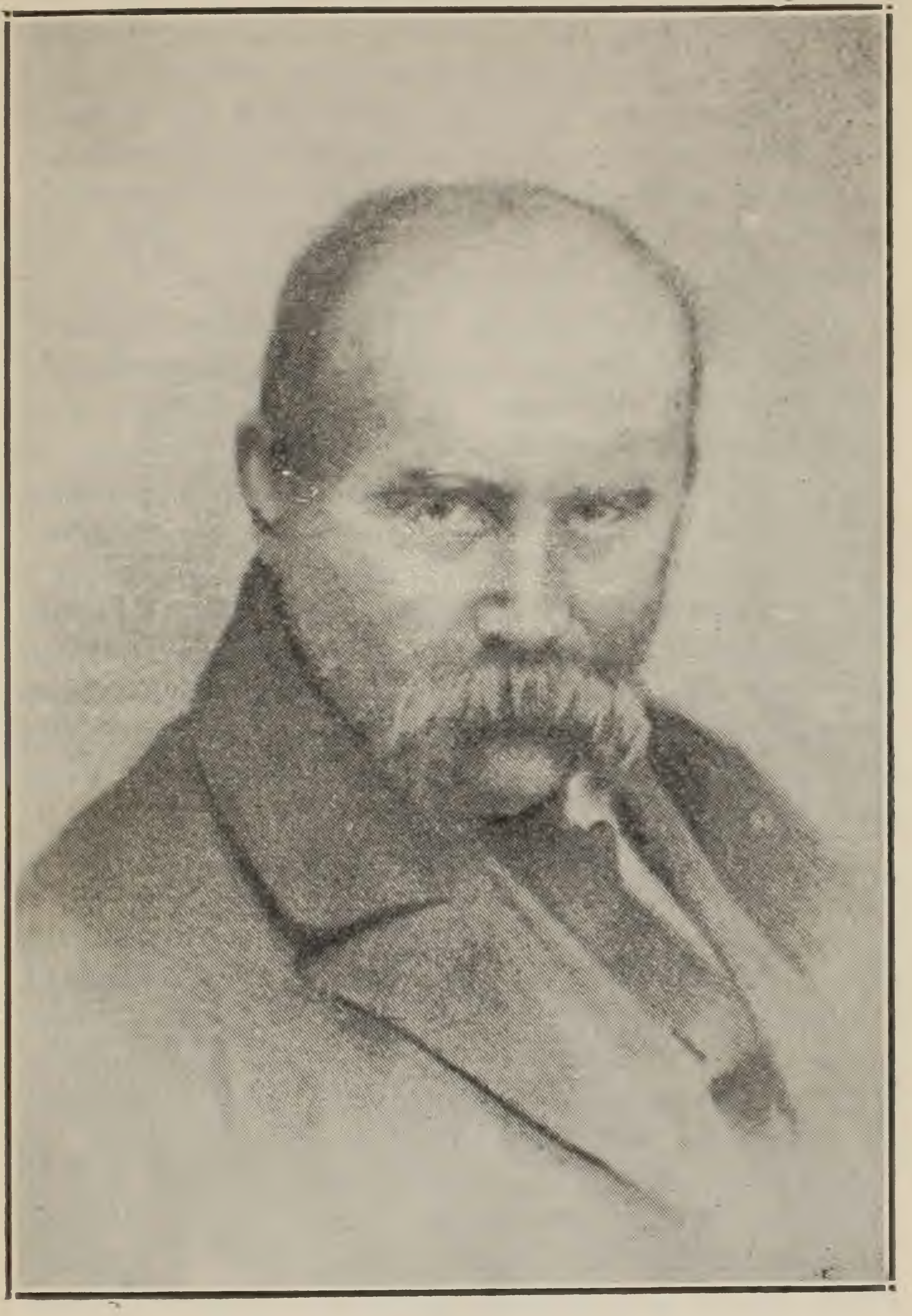
Ukraine had the good fortune to produce, soon after the arrival of its language, a man of unprecedented power, who brought out in his writings all the revolt of the people against the many-sided oppressions from their various foes. This man was a painter, a poet, and in his personal life one of the most romantic figures in literature. His name was Taras Shevchenko. Born a serf (in 1814) he won his freedom by hard labor and an incessant struggle for education. After publishing his poems he was sent to a disciplinary regiment for his liberal ideas. He remained in this regiment until shortly before his death in 1861.

The attitude towards the peasant and the championing of his struggle for freedom which was instituted by Kotlarevsky, Kvitka, and Shevchenko as a necessary circumstance of literary production was continued quite consciously after their death by their pupils. The "Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius" propagated the principles of democracy, the principles which were expressed in their struggles against religious persecution, serfdom, and racial discrimination. In 1841, Belinsky, the most prominent of the Russian literary critics, wrote with bitter irony of a collection of Ukrainian poems: "A fine literature that only breathes the simplicity of the peasant language and the uncouthness of the peasant mind." The Russian Academy of Science, however, in its report on the restriction of the Ukrainian language, evaluates the tendencies of the Ukrainian writers quite

differently: "in its democratic tendencies Ukrainian literature outstrips the Russian by fifty years."

During this period (1800-1850) there appeared a whole series of Ukrainian books on various questions of the day. In them the peasants were advised to live, to learn, and to think. These books were published not only in Ukraine but also in Russia proper: in Saratov, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. The Ukrainian language was trying its wings and the measure of its success can be judged by the fact that Kvitka's novel "Marusya" was translated into French by Prosper Merimee and has been used in the French schools as an example of the peasant classic up to the present day. Marko Vovchok, another Ukrainian writer, wrote stories of peasant life which were translated into Russian by Turgeniev.

The success of the Ukrainian literature aroused the envy and hatred of the Russian government and society. The basic desire behind this literature: to develop the Ukrainian people in the cultivation of their feelings and thoughts, was interpreted as subversive tendencies directed against Russian absolutism, the Orthodox religion, and the Russian nation. The powerful, bitter attacks of the leading Ukrainian poet, Shevchenko, against the tsars offered the government a pretext for dissolving the Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius and to send the brothers into exile. While the Russian intellectuals sneered and jeered, the government suppressed books and persecuted authors. The Polish resurrection of 1863 was utilized by the Russian government as a pretext for issuing a ukase



TARAS SHEVCHENKO

against the Ukrainian language in spite of the fact that the Ukrainian 'populists' were as much opposed to the Polish "szlachta" as they were to the Russian aristocracy. The Ukrainians were denounced for their "separatism" even by the Polish and Jewish newspapers, and the Russian church and government instituted measures to suppress the use of Ukrainian in schools and in books. Finally, in 1863, the Russian Minister of Interior declared that there is no Ukrainian language and there never will be! "Ukrainian literature", says the Russian Academy, "full of hopes for a great future was suppressed at a stroke; the literary workers, no matter how gifted, could do nothing but harmless and useless stories and verses. When they wanted to instruct their people in agriculture, morals, art or any other fields of knowledge they had to clothe their instruction in the garb of fiction. A practice of which we have quite a few samples dating to the present day; ridiculous for those not initiated into the mystery and painful for those who knew the reason."

But "the striving of the educated Ukrainians to enlighten their countrymen; their love for their native tongue, which had shown such great promise; finally the natural reaction against the undeserved persecutions which had deprived them of the use of their native tongue not only failed to kill their hopes but compelled them to seek another method of satisfying their natural and rightful need of communion with their countrymen. There was a method at hand: on the other side of the border, in Galicia, the Ukrainians like those in Russia spoke, wrote and printed books in Ukrainian with-

out any obstacles. As a result of this the literary activities of the Ukrainians were transferred to Lviv, to the great benefit of Austria and to the equally great detriment of Russia. From the second half of the sixties in the 19th century, the Ukrainian literature of Galicia began to grow and perfect itself with a force she herself could not have generated."

Translations of the best there is in world literature, in Greek, Latin, French, German, English, Scandinavian, Russian, Polish, Czech were made in Galicia. Yury Fedkovych wrote his powerful short stories, his novels and his poetry. Others of the poets writing in Galicia were Bohdan Lepky, Osyp Makovey, Wasyl Schurat and before all Ivan Franko (1856-1916), who was also a great novelist, short story writer, and dramatist, and a scholar of no mean achievements. Stephen Kovaliv, Vasyl Stefanyk, Les Martovych, and Marko Cheremshyna distinguished themselves among the Ukrainian writers by their fine short stories.

The Ukrainians in Russia were encouraged by these achievements and began to send their works to be published in Galicia. The devotion of these men to their work was so great that they were willing to forego all remuneration for their work and at the same time expose themselves to the persecutions of the Russians for printing their books in Galicia. Among these men who wrote in Russia and sent their books to Austria to be printed are: Yakiv Shchoholiv, Boris Hrinchenko, Oles, Agafangel Krymsky, Volodymyr Samiylenko, all poets; Ivan Levytsky-Nechuy, and Volodymyr

Vynnychenko, who wrote novels; Michael Kotsyubynsky, Mykola Chernyasky and Modest Levytsky, who wrote short stories.

There was a considerable group of women writers, including Marko Vovchok, the author of many well-known short stories depicting the life of serfs, and Lesya Ukrainka, whose dramas have a cosmopolitan appeal. Ukrainka's dramatic sketch, "The Babylonian Captivity," expressing the horrors of racial enslavement, was translated into English by C. E. Bechhofer.

PERSECUTIONS OF WRITTEN LITERATURE

But the greater vitality Ukrainian literature exhibited the more severe grew Russian official persecution. In 1876, there was promulgated the notorious ukase, which repeated in more severe terms the law of 1863. How the government interpreted the law, became evident soon when the censor suppressed "The Story of the Lives of the Martyrs St. Borys and Hlib" because it was written in Ukrainian. The ukase was repeated in 1880, with the supplementary injunction that Ukrainian books should use the Russian church print, although the use of that print to publish, for instance, a love song would be suppressed by the very church censor who inspired the injunction. Finally the law of 1881 seemingly brought a certain petty relaxation of the strict laws, but at once made it obligatory to use for Ukrainian text the Great Russian spelling, an innovation which the Russian Academy called an impossible fancy since the orthography should follow the sounds of the language,

the use of the Russian orthography for the Ukrainian language being just as absurd as the use of the Ukrainian orthography, for instance, to write a dictionary of the Rusian language.

In addition to this, in 1884 there was issued a law against the importation of Ukrainian books from abroad. By the law of 1895 Ukrainian books for children were prohibited.

To be sure, some Ukrainians were forced or led by these persecutions of the Russian government to use the Russian language as the medium of their literary expression. Some of those writers gained in Russia great popularity. Even before the ukases were published, the Ukrainian, Nicholas Gogol (the Russian equivalent for the Ukrainian name Hohol) discouraged by the society in the use of his native tongue wrote in Russian and, in spite of his handicap, attained the fame as "the creator of the Russian prose." He inaugurated the typical attitude of those writers, the relentless opposition towards the Russian society, its attitudes, mode of life—a tendency which contributed greatly towards the growth of subversive ideas amidst the Russian society.

ORAL LITERATURE TO THE RESCUE

The ukases and legislation against the use of Ukrainian in books, etc. by Catherine II and the other foreign rulers under whose dominion Ukraine was at one time or another were intended to destroy the national consciousness. The practice of writing in a foreign language, however, can be only forced upon a nation numerically weak; not on

one of the largest nations of Europe. Thirty million people, homogenous in their language; meeting on all sides people of their own race could not but feel a desire to express their thoughts, their feelings, and their desire in the tongue which holds an emotional connotation for them. Such a policy of suppression could possibly be effective against a people dull or emotionally unresponsive. It was bound to be unsuccessful when practiced on a race which, although deprived of its national organization for centuries and though it had lost the memory of its racial name, has never lost the memory of its common struggle against oppression.

Those memories were stored in poetry which was passed form mouth to mouth. The Ukrainian was shown the way to express himself and perpetuate the traditions and heroes of his race.

Barred from the use of the written word he resorted to the older, oral methods of speech and song. A retentive memory had to take the place which in more fortunate races is filled by ink and paper.

This arrangement seems to have decided drawbacks. The memory of the people can never follow the original cast of a story as well as a written record. Many a happy phrase, and with it the thought or emotion to which it gave strength and validity, may be lost in this passage from man to man, from generation to generation. But even such an oral literature, with all its drawbacks, is better, under the conditions, than the censor-ridden written literature. A literature bound by

Russian censorship of the written word could never satisfy the needs of the people. Unable to express themselves, they would lose their poise, discipline, and balance. Their oral literature saved the Ukrainians from cultural pauperization, from brutalization.

Russia tried to repress the spoken literature also. She tried to suppress the "Kobzars" (the wandering bards), who sang of the struggles of Ukraine against its enemies. Repressive measures were even directed against the speeches at rallies or songs in Ukrainian concerts. On the whole, however, the one result of these tactics was to increase the determination and longing of the for freedom.

As a result of this suppression of the Ukrainian language in print the people certainly lost a great deal—the masses of peasantry fell back into illiteracy—but the resilient Ukrainian soul instinctively tried to compensate for this drawback, and the oral literature, the thoughts and feelings expressed in the current speech, is surely not inferior to the products of those who have access to a free literature and newspapers. The causes for this unexpected phenomenon are to be found in the process of creating an oral literature. As in written literature the process begins with the work of a single individual. But, while the former ends here the process of producing an oral work goes on. Each person who subsequently takes it up and repeats it does not feel bound to leave it unchanged. He considers it his privilege to subtract those elements he deems undesirable, and to add those

suitable for his purpose and talents. Like a rough diamond passing through the hands of the cutters the work of oral tradition, individualistic in its origin, is polished up, cut into new facets. As more and more people add labors to this creative process, the work becomes more and more the expression of the community spirit and less that of its one original author.

As such it expresses better than any work of the individual artist the temperament and the spirit. Old works are passed on to new generations and are altered to fit the changing conditions. A folk-tale from one region is adopted in another, and here again changes are made to suit the background of the new locality. The work is never static, always changing, fluid, dynamic; forever fresh, new, alive. It changes to suit the new social order though it preserves the memory of the old. It is never far from the soil in which it flowers. It is the fitting symbol of the continuity of life, of the cultural unity of all who consider it the expression of their life and their race.

In Ukrainian folk-literature, poetry stands in the first place both by the richness of its motifs and by the beauty of form and the depth of meaning. In song the Ukrainian expresses his whole life, starting from the cradle and ending with his death-bed.

"The song in Ukraine is everything: both poetry and history, and the father's grave," wrote Gogol, who though writing in Russian was an enthusiastic

K. TRUTOVSKY: CAROLING IN UKRAINE

admirer of Ukrainian folk-poetry. "In the Ukrainian songs," writes another Ukrainian, Filaret Kolessa, who has done great service by his researches in these songs, "the people sing the worries of the mother over the cradle of her babe, the sincere love of the youth, the sufferings of the betrayed girl, the longings of the bride for her family, the hardships of the war-abused wife, the nagging of her mother-in-law, the misery of the widow, and the cry of the orphan." Serhy Yefremov says of these poems, "they reflect a beauty and morality whose equal one cannot find elsewhere."

One group of these songs, the ceremonial songs such as carols, spring songs, and harvest songs reflect the attitude of the people to nature and natural phenomena—the oldest group of all. They are primitive answers to the mysterious questions of nature. The various forces of nature are conceived as man-like, conscious powers in an eternal struggle with each other.

Another group consists of historic or political songs. They depict the changes in the social and national conditions. Here we meet with the memories of the old principality of Kiev. But these are outshone by those dramatic events of the struggle of the Cossacks for the racial unity of the Ukrainian people. A special place in this group is held by the "duma," a semi-epic poem, usually sung to the accompaniment of the Cossack "bandura." They depict the precarious position of the Ukrainian farmer, threatened by Tartar raiders: slavery at the hands of the Turks, and the adventures of escaping prisoners. Another series of the "dumy"

relates the sufferings of the Ukrainians at the hands of the Polish nobility and the struggles of the people to free themselves from Poland; the 'Cossack Order' is pictured as one of freedom and equality, the 'Polish Order' as one of injustice and oppression. Another series of these songs tells of the struggle of Ukraine against Russia. All of them excel in power of feeling, beauty of expression,

P. OMELCHENKO: BANDURIST

and in the moral and humane ideas they present. A parallel to many of these songs can be found in more modern ones in which there is an echo of the same revolt against oppression and the same longing for a free and unified Ukraine.

The richest of the modern groups of folk-poetry is that depicting family life. They are full of dramatic struggles and show a high ethical level. Everywhere in them is evident a desire to solve problems in an ethical and fair way.

One series of these modern songs deals with love: the first stirring of affection, the joys and sorrows of passionate love and its fulfillments and disappointments. Intertwined are songs of family life: life with an unloved one, the separation from one's parents, marriage to a drunkard. The attitude toward the mother in these songs is one of profound devotion, almost devoutness. In the world there is only as much truth and justice as in one's mother. The prayers of a man's mother and father lift the man from the bottom of the sea. There is no greater sin than disrespect towards one's mother. In one song the Virgin Mary receives the keys of Purgatory in order to save those who never showed disrespect to their parents.

The same high moral tone prevails in love songs. The morality of these songs is one of truthfulness in one's relations, a striving after social and personal freedom, protest against oppression and exploitation of infatuation.

Some poems, though lyrical in their character, tell a story or legend, and may be called ballads. Many of them are paralleled in the folk-literature of other lands: e.g. a ballad of a man who marries his sister or mother, one about a man selling his sister to robbers; or about a sister poisoning her brother, a witch changing her daughter-in-law into an animal.

Many migratory elements are encountered in the Ukrainian folk-tales. They refrain from specifying time or place but simply refer to things as happening in the reign of King Pea or Hop in the tenth empire in another nation. Still these stories are Ukrainian and not exotic borrowings, because of the manner of elaborating the common subject matter, the way in which the theme has been adapted to the requirements of the Ukrainian people and country. The study of the Ukrainian folk-literature and poetry would make an important addition to the knowledge of the Ukrainian character. Many of them show such interesting imagination that they have been used again and again by writers, both Ukrainian and foreign.

The store of riddles, adages, maxims, and proverbs in the Ukrainian folk-literature is an exceedingly rich one. Some of them are moral lessons drawn from every-day experiences while others hint at historic events familiar to Ukrainians. Many of them contain pithy analysis of character. These take the form of anecdotes such as:

The quarrelsome mowan, when returning the needles she had loaned to a friend, said "Yes, the point is mine, but the eye?—I hardly think so!"

The lazy man says, "You chop it, and I will say, Haw!"

The conceited girl says, "Oh, Mother, how the people praise us." "What people?" "Well, you praise me, and I praise you."

This review of the forms of folk-literature points to the wealth of motifs and forms. Another proof is found in the ethnographic collections of

scholars interested in Ukraine. The first collectors, the pioneers in this work, brought in thousands and thousands of poems. The number of collectors grew and grew. "The Scientific Society of Shevchenko" (in Lviv, western Ukraine) published thirty bulky volumes of these folk works and a dozen volumes on ethnology. Some of these poems have also been published in Ukrainian magazines and translated into Russian, Polish, Czech, and German. In spite of this mass of material, all the compilers agree that the treasury of Ukrainian folk-literature is far from exhausted, in fact, that it can never be exhausted as new treasures are being created even as the old ones are being put into print. The volume of this work, its intrinsic beauty and artistic form, testify to the indestructable spiritual power of the Ukrainian masses, and fill their leaders with great belief that Ukraine could produce an original, beautiful, and striking culture if the political conditions should make conscious cultural work and proper leadership possible. Because of the unfavorable conditions during the past, and in the present, the Ukrainians have been unable to develop a written literature worthy of their genius —though Ukrainian literary nature has outstripped that of many countries more fortunate politically, —and this disability the enemies of Ukraine have used as an argument against the free development of the Ukrainian literary movement.

The general human appeal of the Ukrainian folk-literature has been recognized by the popularity of Ukrainian tales and the admiring comments of foreign writers and critics.

Prof. Fr. Bujak, the Polish sociologist, writes, "The folk-culture of the Ukrainian is at present richer and better crystalized than the Polish folk-culture. That superiority is manifest in the lively folk-songs, in which respect the Ukrainians are, along with the Serbs, the best endowed of the Slavic races; in the industrial arts, which started from the same elements as the Polish arts, but are much more highly developed".

Another prominant observer of the Ukrainian folk-literature, Elisee Reclue, the eminent French geographer, writes in his capital work "Nouvelle Geographie Universelle" about the Ukrainian folk-literature as the expression of the peasant's character. He contrasts first the Ukrainian and Polish cultures as seen in their folk-literatures:

"The greatest fault of the Poles is their contempt for work. Their forefathers, master and serf alike, were ever taught to despise manual labor, and this sentiment still survives as a lamentable inheritance. From this, quite possibly, springs that paradoxical character which makes them heroes at one time and the slaves of degrading habits at others. When we read their collections of national poetry we are struck with the lack of originality in their ballads, with the coarseness and cynicism of their love songs. Most of their modern poets have been forced to seek their inspiration not in Polish songs, but in Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and even White Russian 'dumas' and traditions. This is due to the fact that ever since the 11th century the Polish peasantry has been enslaved by the nobles, while the serfdom of Lithuania dates from the 15th and that of

Ukraine from the 18th century. A pure and really poetic spirit could hardly have been fostered among the Polish peasantry under the regime of the 'szlachta' fawners of the nobility, task-masters of the poor. Among the other Slavic literatures the Polish is also distinguished by its wealth of historic proverbs, all originating with the aristocracy, which so to say, formed the political element in the nation."

"The freedom-breathing Cossack songs and the refrains of the caravan Chumaks still linger in the memory of the Ukrainians. The Kobzar, who accompanies his notes with the Kobza, or bandura, and the lirnyk, who plays with a sort of hand organ, still chant the lines which first echoed on the steppe. Some of the ballads recited at the fairs have an historic strain; but, apart from their breadth of thought, strength of language, and wealth of detail are like fragments of epic poems. Unfortunately they are tending to disappear, and will soon survive only in written literature. As he listens to these dumy, which seem to conjure up the past, with all the hopes and fears, the joys, sentiments and passions of those stirring days, the Ukrainian fancies that he is living again the life of his forefathers. The national poetry of few languages excels that of the Ukrainians in energy of expression and depth of feeling. And what a sweetness and vigor, combined with warmth and delicacy, are breathed in their love songs! Among the thousands of these poems there are few that will bring a blush to a maiden's cheek, but many will bring tears to her eyes; for they are mostly

cast in a melancholy strain, the poetic expression of people long overwhelmed with misfortune, and who love to brood over their sufferings. Nevertheless, the collections contain many ballads betraying an angry and vengeful spirit. These songs, whose authors are unknown, and which are handed down from generation to generation usually by blind rhapsodists, already form a precious literature, though not the only treasure of Ukraine, which has never ceased to be a cultivated language."

MUSIC

Closely allied to folk-literature, especially folk-poetry, is folk-music. In fact, in Ukraine as in other countries, the folk-music and poetry are almost inseparably bound together. The "dumas" were sung to the accompaniment of special musical instruments. Ceremonial chants as well as the other forms of poetry are almost invariably sung instead of being recited. To a Ukrainian a poem at once brings to memory a tune, supporting the esthetic impression. The tone supports the sensation expressed in the words in the same way that the words help to sustain the impression of the music in the familiar opera or musical comedy to which the average European is more accustomed. On the whole, in the Ukrainian poetry or song the words and tune are of equal importance.

The music and the spoken word were the guardians of the cultural rights of the Ukrainian people. It is through them that we can arrive at a full understanding of the race. Music has been the faith which supported the Ukrainian through the hardships of his existence. On it he built his thought. Music helped to reawaken the Ukrainian literature. Music preserved the memories of racial experiences, moods, and feelings. The entire life of the Ukrainians as individuals and as a race is reflected in their colorful musical forms.

Prof. J. H. Blasius, who took part in an expedition into Russia during 1844, writes of Ukraine in the memoirs of his travels as the "country of music," by which name she has been known to many foreigners. "Nowhere did we see a musical instrument in the hands of a common Muscovite . . . In Ukraine, on the other hand, during the holidays, we heard the sounds of some string or wind instrument from almost every window and door. No public holiday is complete without music."

The history of the Ukrainian music can be divided into three stages. The first stage is that of the pre-Christian period in Ukraine when music arose as a part of a pagan cult which characterizes man's attempt to appease divinity. From this period a great variety of ceremonial and ritualistic songs have been handed down to us. With the introduction of Christianity many of these songs were suppressed, others were incorporated into the Christian ritual. The oldest of these, which are now Christmas carols, were originally songs dedicated to the first long day of the new season. The Easter song—the "haevka"—was the spring song; the incantation to the reviving forces of nature. Special songs announce the arrival of summer. The harvest songs express the gratitude of the peasant for the gifts of nature. Another group of songs refers to the wedding. All of them, for the most part expressing the cult of the sun, are related to the similiar songs of the Indo-Germanic race and characterized by simplicity of melody, pure diatonism and lack of permanent scale.

With the introduction of Christianity, the Ukrainian ceremonial and ritualistic music was enriched by new methods from Byzantium. She herself loses a great deal of the archaic diatonism, extends the rhythmic outline, and complicates the rhythmic structures of the song. Even some non-Christian ceremonial songs show an adaptation of the peculiar church melody. New forms of religious folk-music, such as cants, psalms, make their first appearance. But even in the adoption of foreign musical influences the Ukrainian showed his character by suiting them to his environment.

Another great influence in the history of Ukrainian music was the organization of the chivalrous order of Cossacks, which fought for the preservation of the Ukrainian race. The desperate struggle for existence made the old, serene, calm and pure diatonism of archaic days a form no longer expressive of their life. New forms, more powerful, were necessary to express the profound struggles of the Cossacks; or to sing of Chmielnicky's heroic exploits. The melodies assume new elements and three peculiarly Ukrainian scales.

The chief form of the music of this period is the Cossack "duma" and the closely allied historical song. The rhythmic peculiarities of the "duma" depend entirely upon the rhythm of the words. The "kobzars," aimed at giving the contents of the text by means of the musical illustration so dear to the modern musicians such as Wagner and Mussorgsky.

With the appearance of the "dumas" is closely connected the existence of the rhapsodists, "kobzars," "bandurists," and "lirnyks." In the

Cossack period Ukraine was full of such singers. There existed organizations of these singers, so-called "singing guilds" or "brotherhoods." They flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries. There existed, until the World War, masters of singing who preserved this music—a fact which shows the importance of music in the life of the Ukrainian.

Of all the historic experiences of the Ukrainian people the dramatic struggle of Cossackdom against the enemies of the country made the deepest impression upon the people. Hence Gogol could justly write that in Ukraine, "everything is filled with song, everywhere breathes from them the great freedom of Cossack life. Everywhere is felt that strength, joy, and greatness with which the Cossack threw away the quiet and safety of home life in order to dive into the poetry of danger and battle."

It was this chivalrous spirit of the Ukrainian music which took Russia by storm and made Ukrainian musicians indispensable fixtures at the court of the Tzars and then at the palaces of the rich Russian nobility. As a monument to one of these musicians there exists an ukase by Tsarina Elizabeth ordering a search all over the empire for the "bandurist" Lubystok, who had run away from her court to his native Ukraine. Caught and sent back to the court, the blind "bandurist," whose social position was about that of a beggar, was feted and transformed into a "Russian nobleman."

The third period of Ukrainian music is characterized by modern Western-European traits such as the octave structure of the melody, clear tonics, expressed differentiation between major and minor order. The forms of the songs are very diversified.

In the second half of the 18th century there appeared a collection of "Simple Russian Songs: with notes" containing for the most part Ukrainian songs. This store of rich material has been investigated by a long list of Ukrainian musicians and ethnographers, among whom are numbered: Mykola Lysenko, Joseph Rozdolsky, Filaret Kolessa, Mykola Shukhevych, Alexander Koshets, Demutsky, Stetsenko, Chushbinsky, Kotsipinsky, Leontovych, Ludkevych and many others. The volumes of Ukrainian music have been compiled by individuals such as these and by such organizations as the Scientific Society of Shevchenko at Lviv, and the Scientific Society of Kiev.

The enthusiastic words of Gogol will give an idea of the enthusiam that a Ukrainian feels for the music of his country. "The character of the Ukrainian song can not be expressed in one word... It is exceedingly complex. In many songs it is light, graceful, it hardly touches the ground, it seems to play and trifle with tones, while in others it assumes manly power, its tones grow strong, forceful... and again they become free, broad, and strive to embrace limitless stretches... As for the music of sorrow, it is heard nowhere so vividly as in them, the tones of it live, scorn, tear the soul."

The well-known Russian music critic Syerof wrote of the Ukrainian folk-songs: "they are flowers which came into the world as if of their own volition, grew their luxurious glittering garb, without any author or composer...just as a lily, in its chaste garb outshines the glitter of silk and precious stones so the folk-music with its childlike simplicity

MYKOLA LYSENKO

is a thousand times richer and stronger than all the cunning artifices of school learning which are preached by pedantic musicians in conservatories and musical academies."

That such a rich musical heritage should be an inspiration for individual production is only natural. Indeed, the Ukrainian music has been a source of themes for many prominent foreign composers; Beethoven, Weber, Haydn, Hummel, Knorr, and Franz Liszt used Ukrainian themes in their compositions. M. I. Glinka, A. N. Syerov, Peter I. Chaykovsky and other Russian composers are all indebted to Ukraine for many successful themes.

As a matter of fact, both Russians and Ukrainians were always conscious of the difference between the music of their countries.

"Bandurists" and "Kobzars" who cultivated in the "dumas" and historical songs the traditions of independent Ukraine, were subjected to all sorts of persecutions. Prof. Kolessa, a Ukrainian ethnographer, when he started to collect folk-melodies, was prohibited by the Russian government to travel through the Ukrainian villages. The very publication of the Ukrainian text was censured and made difficult. Permission to produce Ukrainian songs at concerts was often given only with the proviso that the Ukrainian text be replaced by a translation into French.

Happily, music is not susceptible to such measures in as great a degree as literature. Ukrainian music suffered only in those branches where words are part of the performance and where state subsidies are needed (the opera). In the other

departments the only effect of these persecutions was that successful Ukrainian composers are called Russians. Dmytro Bortnyansky, born in 1751 at Hlukhiv in Ukraine, the famous composer of church music in the grand Italian style, is considered a Russian though he was hated by the Muscovites of his time. Artemy L. Vedel, born in Kiev in 1767, created some valuable music in spite of the saccharine sentimentalism of the Russian nobility who ordered and paid for his work. He, however, preferred the confinement of a monastery to a career in Russia. Maksym S. Berezovsky, (1745-1777), was pressed into the Russian court orchestra and then sent to study music in Italy were he received the title of professor and academician from the University of Bologna.

Secular Ukrainian music gave birth in the 19th century to Semen Artemovsky, author of the opera "Zaporozhian Beyond the Danube," which was written in 1863 and is still being produced with success; Mykola Arkas, the author of tne opera "Kateryna"; and the most talented of this group Sokalsky. All these men worked in Ukraine under the dominion of Russia; in the parts of Ukraine under Austria, Michael Verbitsky, Victor Matyuk, Ostap Nyzhankovsky, Anatol Vakhnianyn, Ivan Vorobkevytch, Denys Sichynsky and J. Lopatynsky,- all composed in the 19th century. The greatest service to Ukrainian music were rendered by one Mykola Lysenko, born in 1842, in the province of Poltava. He was the collector of thousands of folk-songs, a learned ethnologist, and a musician of the highest quality who composed many immortal

songs and operas. He died in 1912 and left his work to be carried on by Th. Akimenko, Jacob Stepovy, A. Koshetz, Pavlo Senytsya, Kyrylo Stetsenko and N. Leontovich.

Ukraine has produced many famous singers and musicians: Mandychevsky, a pianist in Vienna; Alchevsky, an opera singer in Russia; Krushelnytska, an opera singer in Italy; Mentsinsky, in Germany and Sweden; Alexander Myshuha, in Russia, Italy, and Austria.

At this moment Ukraine possesses already composers, whose instrumental and vocal composition have won for them already some recognition of the world critics. Of the more outstanding are the following: St. Ludkevych—Choral Symphony (Kaukaz), Symphonic Poem; W. Barvinsky—Rhapsody, trios; P. Kositzky—String Quartet, Suite (for orchestra); L. Revutsky—Symphony, String Quartets; Z. Lysko—String Quartet; R. Prydatkevytch—Symphony, String Quartet; M. O. Hayvoronsky—Symphonic Poems (2), Suite; M. Verekivsky—Ballet, Requiem; P. Pecheniha-Ouglitsky—Symphonic Poem; B. Kudryk—Violin Sonata; Stefa Turkewych—Piano Quintet; N. Nizhankovsky—Trio, Polonaise (for orchestra); M. Kolessa—Suite (for orchestra), Quartet; A. Rudnytzky—Ballet, String Quartet; B. Latoshynky—String Quartets (4), Trio; W. Kostenko—Two Symphonies, String Quartet.

Three Ukrainian composers, A. Koshetz, R. Prydatkevytsch and M. O. Hayvoronsky, live and work in the United States.

FOLK DANCE

Another metnod of self-expression very popular in Ukraine is the dance. As with all the other races of the world, so among the Ukrainians, it reaches back to tne most ancient times and has undergone a long period of development before reaching its present stage. It is now an independent, self-sufficient art capable of expressing a great variety of moods and emotions.

The most ancient ones express the various reactions of the soil-tilling man to the changes of nature. The "haevka", which we have already mentioned in connection with folk-music, was an effort to stir the sun to greater activity by suggestive rhythmic movements. The most characteristic of the Cossack period was the "hertz," the Cossack war dance, which expressed the elation of the fighter with the excitement of war and battle. The squatting dance steps, part of the "hertz," have been torn from their context and popularized by circus performers among those who are apt to mistake acrobatics and gymnastics for dancing. From this Cossack period dates the "chumak," which represents the feelings of the wandering caravan leader during the well deserved evening rest.

Through all the ages there has persisted in Ukraine a great variety of the dances of love, courtship

and marriage. The squatting steps are again found in these dances, where they represent the humbleness of the suitor toward the courted one and his willingness to use all forms of subterfuge to overcome his rivals.

These dances have never been allowed to perish from lack of use. They are still living in Ukraine and wherever the Ukrainian goes he takes them with him, though after a migration they are often modified to express new ideas.

If we add all these forms of art together: dance, music, literature,—we can appreciate the part that art plays in the life of every Ukrainian. Prof. Fr. Bujak, the Polish sociologist, says of the Ukrainian attitude toward art: "the great importance of art and poetry in the life of the Ukrainian masses gives them an idealistic outlook, according to which life is not properly a mere struggle for existence, a venting of energy, vital and economic, but as far as possible a peaceful utilization and experiencing. Such a concept of life reminds one of the conception of life current among the classes enjoying a high degree of prosperity in highly civilized societies." This fact suggests to him that the Ukrainian folk-culture reaches back into antiquity and has absorbed influences from Greece and the Orient.

WOMAN FROM UKRAINE BEYOND THE CARPATHIANS

NATIONAL COSTUME

It would not do justice to the Ukrainian contribution to world culture to end here. The Ukrainian expresses his feelings for beauty not only in his music, his literature, and in the dance, but in his entire life and his dealings with his environment.

This is first of all noticed in the dress of the people. There is a great variety of traditional patterns in Ukraine, but all of them are stamped with certain basic qualities which differentiate them from those of other countries. Though decorative in appearance they are always practical and consistent with the human figure, neither following the lines of the body so closely that they obstruct the freedom of movement nor contradicting the lines for the sake of fashion. While avoiding everything unhealthy, emphasizing modesty, and striving after economy, they try to satisfy esthetic requirements. The Ukrainian girl places a garland of flowers upon her head, braiding them into her hair, so as to lay emphasis upon her face. A secondary emphasis is laid upon her neck, shoulders, and bosom by embroideries, and this is balanced by the embroidered jacket and apron.

WOODWORK OF CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINEERS

THE ARTS OF THE UKRAINIAN HOME

The peasant's home exhibits the same tendency to make beautiful his surroundings. The very manner of placing the houses in a village is admirable. The houses are not aligned on the road like soldiers in file, as they are in Russia, but are scattered as if haphazard along the brooks, rivers and ponds. The houses are nestled in masses of green trees and flowers, and with the indispensable orchard around them they seem to be an integral part of a beautiful landscape. The houses are low set and whenever possible placed on a hill-top. By their very appearance they suggest the domesticity of their dwellers. The houses may be wooden as in the forest regions of the Carpathians or in Volhynia, or they may be built of clay as in the steppes, or of both clay and wood; they may be rich or poor, but such as they are, they are an interesting expression of personality. Sincerity, modesty, fineness, simplicity, naturalness, warm practicality, friendly hospitality, and before all domesticity speak from every corner and object.

WOODEN CUPS AND GOBLETS

Each house shows a delicate balance between the arts of the man and those of the women: the structure of furniture and woodwork on the one hand, and the embroidery and draperies on the other. The most important of the woman's arts is embroidery. Her entire dress, the towels, bed spreads, pillow-cases, ikon drapes, runners, shawls are all embroidered. Of the arts practiced by the man, pottery has attained a high degree of perfection because of the plentifulness of good clay and the esthetic inclinations of the people. Woodcarving is also practised by the man in the wooded regions of Ukraine. All the Ukrainian peasants delight in covering with carved designs every piece of wood they use in farming: tables, benches, chairs, spoons, ladles, dippers, barrels, candlesticks, platters, rolling pins, cheese molds, sleighs, and even plows. In the Carpathian Mountains the skill of the artisans is so great that it gained for them not only a livelihood but also fame. The names of the Hutzul wood-carvers Shryblyak, Mehedenyuk, Devdyuk and many others are known far beyond the borders of Ukraine; on several occasions uneducated peasant artists have carried off first prizes at international exhibitions of industrial arts.

In the Ukrainian carpet, or "kilim," the men and woman join together to produce one of the most characteristic features of the Ukrainian folk-art. Some compare it with the folk-songs and the architecture of the wooden house because in the elements and method of design there can be traced the esthetic influences Ukraine has been subjected to from the earliest time. In spite, however, of these

ORNAMENTED WOODEN PAIL
(From the Carpathian Mountains)

influences the "kilim" is recognized by all collectors as distinctly and forever Ukrainian. It blends the east and west into something strikingly original and its own. The "kilim" shows a wide variety of forms, shapes, and styles, but from the most archaic decorations of the Podolian "kilim," the prehistoric geometric ornament of the Carpathian Hutzuls to the designs of Poltava which show plainly oriental influence, all are characterized by simple, archaic technic, charm of primitive directness, and the power of the almost lapidary. In its compositions, outline, in its harmony of color and decorative expression it is a work of art. The technic is primitive and the tools archaic, but this has prevented the degeneration of the artist into a soulless manufacturer. The man who spins the "kilim" has to be at once the weaver and the dyer of the wool, and the inventor of the design; a craftsman and an artist in one person. There are no copies or mass production; each "kilim" is different, an original work. It lacks the smoothness of surface found in the factory-pressed felt, but it offers an extra charm in the slightly undulating background which shimmers and plays with lights and shadows. The dyes are taken from various plants. They lack the strength and shrinking color of the aniline dyes, but they have a delicate tone and liveliness of color, the line of the ornament is flexible, never trite or conventional.

This "kilim" had known its golden age. "Some of these 'kilims," writes the Mr. Stefan Szuman, the Polish historian of this branch of home-industry, "could easily be placed on equal level with the

A "KILIM" FROM CENTRAL UKRAINE

first class gobelins and the noblest Persian carpets." It is because this appreciation of their own work is dawning upon the producers that the Ukrainian carpet is at present undergoing a new birth.

A guild of weavers in the Carpathian Mountains has been organized with the purpose of recapturing the glory of the "kilim." Great professional artists have become interested in the movement, (V. Kryzhanivsky, R. Lisovsky, Peter Kholodny Jr.), and great success has already been attained despite tne unfavorable political and economic conditions of the country.

The same utilization of the folk-arts for individualistic efforts is noticeable also in other fields. Many people have become interested in the vigorous and original Ukrainian folk-art, have studied it and used its elements in their own work. Artists of "higher" classes have always found a great inspiration in the variety of decorative forms, the colorfulness of the peasant art.

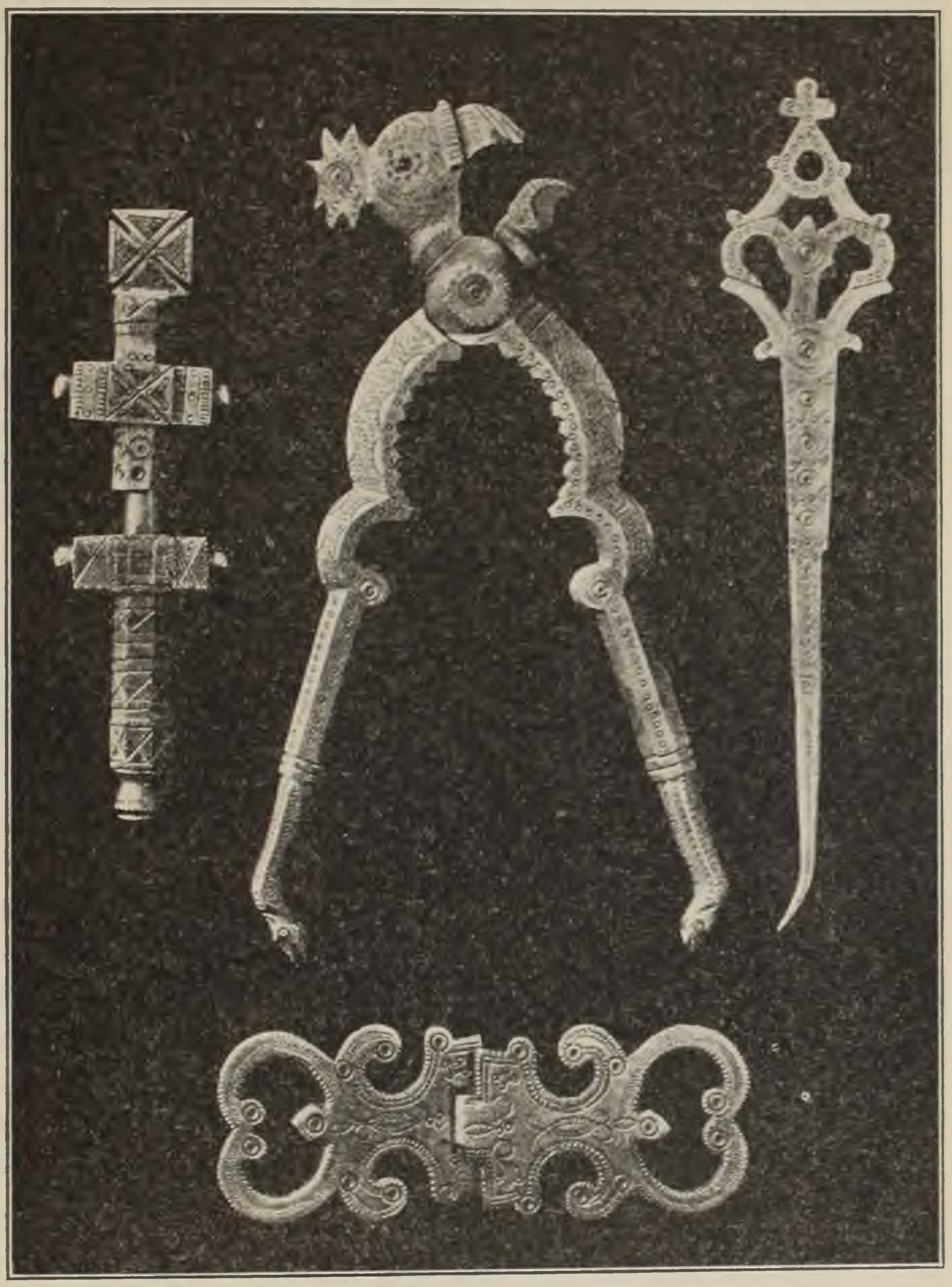
The esthetic spirit which saturates Ukraine was naturally productive of great interest in the plastic arts. Ukrainians have left many interesting monuments in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Never averse to foreign influence they have always striven, not to imitation but to original elaboration of foreign principles.

A UKRAINIAN "KILIM" IN OLD STYLE

ARCHITECTURE

By the middle of the 11th century, Kiev possesed already so many beautiful churches that in the words of Leroy Beaulieu it was "like a small replica of Byzantium itself, or a Ravenna of the North." Though the Ukrainian adopted the Byzantine models, he soon dropped the slavish imitation of the models. He took up also Oriental and Greek influences, and blended them with striking originality into a style of his own. In distinction from the Russian, he safeguards himself from the grotesque so often typified in Lombardo-Russian edifices. The church of St. Sophia in Kiev, the holy church fortress of Ukraine built in the 11th century by Prince Yaroslav, was one of the marvels of the time. The Cossack hetmans have left behind several interesting monuments in adoption of the western-European styles, primarily rococo and baroque. In Lviv, the capital of Galicia, the two outstanding monuments of church architecture are the Ukrainian churches, the cathedral of St. George and the church of the Stavropigian Brotherhood.

David Roden Buxton, in his "Russian Medieval Architecture" (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1934.), emphasize the Ukrainian wooden church as an original contribution of the Ukrainians to the



ORNAMENTED HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS, ETC.
OF CAST BRASS

world's architectural treasure. He writes, "The Rusians . . . quickly rejected the more complex plan seen in the cathedrals of St. Sophia at Kiev and Novgorod. Having made this simpler form their own, they never altered it in any essential particular. The only considerable exceptions to the rule are the wooden churches of the north and in the Ukraine, together with those in brick which take after them most directly, and are therefore almost independent of the Byzantine tradition."

In his opinion, "the wooden architecture of the Ukraine has a long history, and the surviving churches, late though they be, are the descendants of primitive wooden buildings of the pre-Christian period." Though he dislikes the Ukrainian baroque, still he considers the annexation of Ukraine by Russia, as the result of the friendly treaty between Russia and Ukraine in 1654, an event of epocnal significance for the history of architecture in Rusia: Moscow was subjected to active West-European influences.

The Ukrainian wooden church is an original architectural form. In its simplest silhouette it shows the development from the Ukrainian peasant cottage. It has a characteristic plan of three chambers, a particular method of roofing, and the most characteristic feature—a number of domes. These wooden churches are so typically Ukrainian that the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church made a special campaign against them as an earmark of Ukrainian nationalism.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. GEORGE IN LVIV (WESTERN UKRAINE)

FACADE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. GEORGE, LVIV

THE CHUHCH OF ASSUMPTION
Of the Stavropigian Brotherhood)
LVIV, WESTERN UKRAINE

PAINTING

The art of painting was in Ukraine, as elsewhere, at first a handmaid to religion. Ukrainian iconography had a profound influence on the Russian art as Alexander Benois in his work "The Russian School fo Painting" (New York, 1916, Knopf) testifies. The tendencies of the two did not agree and the Russians started a campaign against what they called German influences.

The first department of secular painting was naturally portraiture, and the history of this branch in Russia starts with three Ukrainian names. Losenko, 1737-1773, a Ukrainian, by his portraits "must retain a place of honor in the history of Russian painting," writes Benois. He then adds: "Russia may take pride in Levitsky and Borovikovsky," again two Ukrainians, who depicted "with perfectly convincing vividness, the courtiers of Tsarina Catherine II. Levitsky succeeded, like no one else in Russia, in expressing the characteristic glow and tone, the wnole outward manner of living of the Beau-Monde of his times, and at the same time created a series of superb specimens of painting, hardly inferior in their technical perfection to the best works of western schools."

A UKRAINIAN WOODEN CHURCH
(The Village of Knyazhdvir, Western Ukraine)

"Borovikovsky, 1757-1826, always quoted together with Levitsky, really belongs to another period of painting, and is representative of the 'new taste,' (Borovikovsky, too, was a native of Ukraine) . . . he formed for himself and preserved that rich manner of painting and that picturesque design that redeems in his pictures the defects of his times; a certain coldness and stiffness, and monotony. Sometimes, however, this stiffness disappeared completely, and then Borovikovsky showed all his southern good-nature, coupled with a delicate understanding of life and beauty that these, unfortunately few examples of his work, are on the same level with the best of Levitsky."

Levitsky and Borovikovsky taught a whole group of pupils, some of whom were Ukrainians, whose names appeared in histories as Russians,—a monument to the suffocating atmosphere of social and national oppression under the colonial policy instigated in Ukraine by the tsars—an atmosphere which drove many of the Ukrainian artists into the service of the tsar. Thus it happens that even Levitsky and Borovikovsky are called Russians as their paintings hang in the salons and galleries of the Russian aristocracy, while the Ukraine, in whose soil is rooted their striving for knowledge and the ability to express themselves, is denied the right to claim them as her own.

Ilya E. Repin, whom Benois calls the "biggest artist of the 'eighties,'" the leader and bulwark of Russian realism, was of Ukrainian origin. Long before he professed his Ukrainian sympathies (at

ANTHONY LOSENKO: THE ACTOR VOLKOV

the resurrection of the Ukrainian national state) he showed them in his art by the contrasts which he painted between Ukraine and Russia. Ukraine, in his paintings, is all beauty, joy, happiness, a grand and even reckless struggle against powerful enemies; Russia is wallowing in ugliness and cruelty.

After him Ukraine inspired such first-rate artists as Rufim Sudkovsky, one of the best painters of sea-scape in Russia, who caught the changing moods of his native Black Sea; Gay, who though of French origin, claimed Ukraine as his native land; Vrubel, one of the leading artists of modern Russia. The Ukrainian sky inspired such artists as Levitan and Kuindzhi; in genre painting the best work has been done by Pimonenko and Vasylkivsky. In western Ukraine, Ivan Trush, a splendid landscape painter, and such men as Kholodny and Oleksa Novakivsky led a school of impressionism, which gave Burachok, Vasylkivsky, Izhakevych, Dyachenko, Krasytsky, V. Krychevsky, F. Krychevsky, Levchenko, Kulchytska, Murashko, Pimonenko, Sosenko, Samokysha, Shulha, Yaremych and many others. The group of neo-Byzantinists comprised such masters as: Boychuk, Sedlar, Padalka, Nalipynska-Boychuk, Azovsky, Sakhnovska, Mizyn, Hvozdyk, Byzukiv, and others. Other West-European schools ranging from expressionism to neo-classicism have their representatives in Taran, Palmiv, Tkachenko, Sadylenko, Kramarenko, Zhdanko, and others, in Eastern Ukraine; and Andrienko, Butovych, Hrushchenko, Hlushchenko, Hordynsky, Dolnytska, Yemets, Kovzhun, Osinchuk,

DMYTRO LEVITSKY: PORTRAIT OF A. KOKORINOV,
Director of the Academy of Arts, St. Petersburg

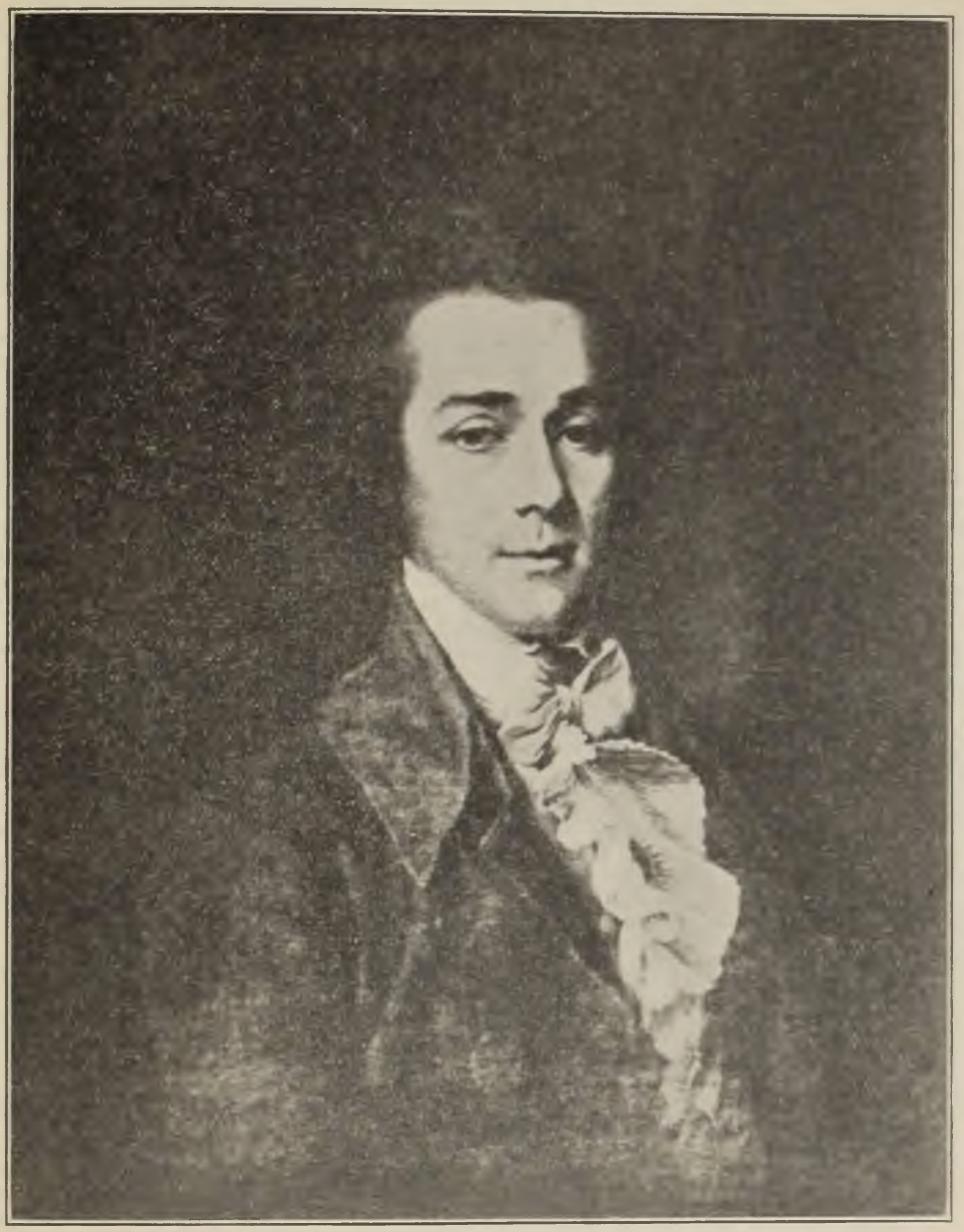
Laturynska, Muzyka, Selsky, and others, in Western Ukraine.

Several organizations of these artists strive at the discovery of the best plastic expression of the Ukrainian arts and acquainting the world with them. Some of these organizations work on the Ukrainian territory, such as: "The Association of Active Ukrainian Artists" in Kiev, Kharkiv and Lviv; "The Association of Revolutionary Artists of Ukraine," "The United Contemporary Masters of Ukraine," and "The Association of Independent Ukrainian Masters" in Soviet Ukraine. There exist also active organizations of Ukrainian artists in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Paris, France.

UKRAINIAN ETCHERS AND ILLUSTRATORS

Ever since the introduction of etching into Ukraine in the 16th century the Ukrainians have been great lovers of that art. They have produced a group of great illustrators. Taras Shevchenko, who lived in the middle of the 19th century, was an etcher as well as a painter and writer. His work is romantically realistic. His artistic career, unfortunately, was cut short when he was sent to a disciplinary battalion and forbidden to write, draw or paint.

The Ukrainian etchers studied usually abroad. At the end of the 19th century, Ukraine produced a series of great illustrators among whom is numbered George Narbut. Narbut did a great service to the development of the graphic arts in Russia. When he died in 1920, he left behind an unusually rich



D. LEVITSKY: PORTRAIT OF NICHOLAS LVOV

heritage of illustrations for Russian and Ukrainian primers, magazine covers, book covers, illustrations for stories, designs for Ukrainian bank notes and stamps.

Other noteworthy etchers are: Olena Kulchytska, Vasyl Krychevsky, Ivan Mozalevsky, L. Lozovsky, R. Lisovsky, M. Kirnarsky, M. Butovych, P. Omelchenko, Pavlo Kovzhun, who is particularly well known because of his beautiful book covers and book plates; Kasyan, L. Hets, M. Kirnarsky and M. Stefanovych-Olshanska.

In sculpture the Ukrainians have produced Martos, Lytvynenko, and the well known modernist, Alexander Achipenko, who lives now in America, and whose influence on modern art is mentioned in every work on the subject.

G. NARBUT: THE REAPERS' HOMECOMING

DMYTRO LEVITSKY: PORTRAIT OF MR. AND MRS. IVAN MITROFANOV

MORAL AND LEGAL HERITACE

In the entire popular art, spoken, musical and plastic, there is manifestly expressed a certain moral character of the people. All those who have searched the folk-literature of Ukraine have attested to the high moral character of it. Sieur de Beauplan, the French engineer, who visited Ukraine in the early 17th century, in the employ of the Polish king to build a fortress against the Ukrainian Cossacks, made note of some interesting customs of the Ukrainian people for the preservation of morality. The same observations were made over and over again by other travelers in Ukraine.

A German, who was passing through Ukraine in 1780, writes in the same tone: "It is especially worth noticing that in this nation which we considered barbarian (always ready to fight), it is safer to travel than in more civilized countries. This difference becomes apparent as soon as the Russian boundary is passed." The Prussian, C. F. E. Hammard, wrote that Ukraine is "a real Canaan." In an interesting book by Campenhausen, the German secretary of Potemkin, we read that Ukraine is the "Paradise of Russia," because of her "fertile land, wonderful climate, and inhabit-

DMYTRO LEVITSKY: PORTRAIT OF K. M. KHOVANSKA AND K. M. KHRUSHCHOVA

ants." He is surprised by the Ukrainian peasant's interest in cleanliness. In Engel's history of Ukraine we find Ukraine spoken of as "a wall that separates cultivated Europe from savage Asia." Edward D. Clark, professor of Cambridge University who passed through Ukraine in 1801, said, "they are a more noble race; stouter and better looking than the Russian and superior to him in in everything. They are cleaner, more industrious, more honest, more polite, more courageous, more hospitable, more truly pious, and less superstitious." He thought that he was in Holland or Norway. "The distinction between the two people can be noticed in as evident a thing as the striking contrast between filth and cleanliness. It was quite a new thing to us, to hesitate whether we should clean our boots before walking into an apartment, on the floor of which I would rather have placed my dinner than upon the table of any Russian prince."

Similar observations are made even by Russians; for example, Michael Danylevski ("Memoirs" 1824), who was struck by the feeling of disgust which the Ukrainians have for the Russians. This feeling, caused by the difference in habit and world outlook, is so strong, writes a German historian and traveler, J. S. Kohl, that for him "there is not the slightest doubt that when the great body of the Russian empire again begins to fall apart, Ukraine will be one of the parts that will become independent. The events of this collapse can be foreseen. The Ukrainians are original, a very numerous people with their own language and their own historical traditions and they seldom mix with the Muscovite."

VOLODYMYR BOROVIKOVSKY: PORTRAIT OF F. BOROVSKY

Professor J. H. Blasius, in 1844, writes in his memorandum on the people, "a greater freedom and independence appears in the behaviour of the people (the Ukrainians),—even in the posture, walk, and facial expressions. All of them, as Ukrainians, look at the Muscovites as their oppressors, as the enemies of their freedom."

During the World War, the foreign observers noted again and again the absence of obscene songs from the repertoire of the Ukrainian peasant. Elisee Reclus, the French geographer, infers from the Ukrainian folk-literature that the Ukrainians are profoundly convinced of the value of work. Even the Cossack, who fought against the marauding Tartars and Turks, never looked upon looting as an honest profession but considered work as the only rightful basis of existence.

In the Ukrainian peasant's conception of law, work constitutes the only just, incontestable, and unassailable method of acquiring property. This right through work is stronger than right through force, discovery, or superannuation. This concept has influenced the laws of inheritance; here, too, according to the popular understanding of the law, no member of tne family has the right to inherit unless he has contributed by his work to the family. It is an axiom that "the Ukrainian is by nature an individualist, while in the Great Russian there prevails a spirit of communalism, collectivism." The Ukrainian people find it hard to accept communal ownership. There is in them a tendency toward the personal forms of ownership. For the

ELIAS REPIN: COSSACKS REPLY TO THE SULTAN

last three centuries the typical economic unit in Russia has been the "mir", while the typical unit in Ukraine has been the "khutor," the privately owned homestead. The Russian "mir" (commune) limits the right of the individual householder to sell his land; in Ukraine the individual is at liberty to do as he wishes with his land.

"The truth is," writes Ralph Butler, in the "New Eastern Europe," 1919, "the commune is an institution very well fitted to the Great Russian temperament and very ill-suited to the Ukrainian temperament. The Commune appeals to that fundamental belief, which is ingrained in the Great Russian, in the majesty of the whole and the insignificance of the unit . . . it forms no part of the Ukrainian character . . . the Ukrainian peasant is profoundly individualistic. He admires success as the English or American admires it; he may envy and abuse it, but the sight of it excites his emulation. It is not so with the Great Russian peasant. . . the examples of success among Russian peasantry has rarely been infectious; they have been more disliked than admired by their fellow peasants and their success has been attributed more to the will of God than to the efforts of the successful individual. Great Russia is perhaps capable of sacrificing economic progress to a social ideal. But Ukraine is not Great Russia, and no speculation as to the future can be of value which do not take this fundamental consideration into account."

This absence of communal economic organization necessitated a high development of voluntary co-operation. In Ukraine several forms of this vol-

ELIAS REPIN: TSAR IVAN THE TERRIBLE

untary cooperation, all depending on the willingness of each individual to cooperate, have existed. The various modern forms of cooperation: in banking, in commerce, and in manufacture, have attained in Ukraine a high degree of development; much higher than has been obtained among the neighboring Poles and Russians, despite the help given the latter two by their respective governments. Ukrainian economists have been the most eloquent champions of cooperation in western Europe (such as Michael Tuhan Baranovsky, the well-known Professor of Economics at the University of Kiev).

The Ukrainian's conception of family relations differentiate him clearly from his neighbors. The large family of grown men united by common blood relationship, living under one roof and ruled by the "elder," as was the practice of Russia, is unknown in Ukraine. The Ukrainian people have learned by experience the advantages of separating the grown children into different households when they marry. The prevalence of the "small" family in Ukraine can be traced as far back as the "Russ Pravda." Family relationships in Ukraine are well-developed, and crystallized forms are accompanied by a great number of traditional ceremonies and attitudes of fixed meaning. An example of this is the "vesilye," the ceremonial folk-wedding, which plays an even more important part than the church wedding, inasmuch as it has often happened that couples who were married in church and did not go through the "vesilye" were not recognized by the villagers as married.

ELIAS REPIN: RETURN FROM SIBERIA

In Ukraine the bride brings to the household of her husband property such as cooking utensils which she will use—in Great Russia the husband, according to the Oriental custom, pays his father-in-law. Marriage in Ukraine is preceeded by the bethrothal period. Either the bride-to-be or the groom can refuse marriage during this period. In such a case the party refusing the other is forced to pay for the dishonor caused by the refusal. The folk-law of Ukraine makes no distinction in such cases between the sexes. Both the man and the woman can refuse marriage and both the man and the woman must pay for such a refusal.

Though the dominance of the man is theoretically recognized in the Ukrainian family, the wife's position is much higher than in the Russian family. She is not considered merely her husband's helper but has her own share of the labor and in her province she is the sole authority. Occasionally this independence of the wife develops into dominance.

The economic independence of the children has always been much greater in Ukraine than in Russia. The Ukrainian father has no right to dispose of the fruits of his children's labors without taking his children's wishes into consideration. Though the industrial revolution of 1918 has brought in some modification into these attitudes of the Ukrainian peasantry, yet it could be safely said that, under the prevailing conditions most of them would persist yet for another generation.

In the Ukrainian village the villagers have always taken the initiative in the punishment of

those who transgressed against the moral and social code. Every act of immorality that grossly violates the harmony of the community arouses the protest of the people. Drunkards, bullies, thieves, and those living in open adultery are likely to have punishment meted out to them. The Ukrainian people respect highly an individual's personal dignity. Slanderers are punished by the village. Corporal punishment is less common in Ukraine than in Russia because of this typically Ukrainian concept of dignity.

M. STEFANOVYCH-OLSHANSKA: AT THE WELL

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE UKRAINIANS

In his religion the Ukrainian exhibits striking characteristics. Though an individualist, he is social and disciplined in his religious life. Ever since the introduction of Christianity into Ukraine he has shown the great difference between himself and his national neighbors. Though the western Ukrainians had become Roman Catholics in the course of time, they still preserved their separate church organization in the so-called Uniate church. On the other hand, the eastern Ukrainians remained Orthodox and part of the Russian religious organization. Despite this, they never forget the difference between the Russians and themselves in religious ideas. "Overwhelmed by the task of creating an empire," writes Pypin, the Russian scientist, "Moscow retreated more and more into her exclusive concept of the world, and at the same time fell into that religious and racial intolerance, which was destined to build a Chinese wall against foreigners and dissenters, engendered extreme racial arrogance, and eventually barred the road to enlightenment: as all that national pride was at the same time religious fanaticism and all dissident races were thought of as being pagans with whom intercourse was damnatory . . ."

SESSION CHAMBER OF THE "ZEMSTVO" AT POLTAVA,
decorated in Ukrainian style by Serhey Vasylkivsky

The Ukrainians would not accept state control of the church which made of her a tool for the autocracy. The Cossacks fought against the encroachments of Roman Catholic Poland, but they also refused to recognize the Muscovite Czar-Pope. The idea of the subjugation of the church to civil authority was so foreign to Ukraine that the Metropolitan Peter Mohyla, of Kiev, said he would rather die a martyr than join the Muscovite church. The Ukrainian church was independent of the government and the people had many rights in the management of the church, electing their priests and sometimes their bishops.

"The Ukrainian Church," writes D. S. Mirsky, "likewise assumed more popular and less authoritive forms than in Russia. Hence, on the one side, a greater intimacy in the Ukrainian's relation to its parish church, the absence of a hereditary caste of priests, and a closer contact between clergy and people. This also led to a greater dependence of the church on the community, and consequently on the rich. The church, for the Ukrainian, did not become an external and superior force whose sanction sanctified the nation (as it was in Muscovite Russia), but a natural function of the nation, an individual attribute, important rather because it was national than because it was religious. This attitude to the church is akin to that of the Balkan nations and essentially different from the Great Russian." The Russian church arrogated to herself the right to censor books, and about the end of the 17th century an interesting argument took place between a Ukrainian monastery in Kiev which was

very active in printing and the Bishop of Moscow. When the Patriarch reprimanded the archimandrite for daring to print books without the Patriarch's permission, the archimandrite wrote him, "It is well known that to this very time it has been our Ukrainian custom to print all kinds of books without any interference." He concludes his letter, „Have pity on us . . . and, as in the old days, let books be printed by our holy monastery without any interference."

In this case the Ukrainians were victorious, but in 1720, Peter I prohibited the Kiev Lavra to print books other than religious ones, and even those, he ordered, were to be printed in Russian. A strict censorship was then introduced. The printing shop of the Kiev Lavra was fined one thousand roubles for issuing a book without permission, and the presses of the Ukrainian monastery at Chernyhiv were confiscated and taken to Moscow.

The Ukrainian is averse both to intense sectarianism and militant atheism. Nowhere did the Orthodox church offer such resistence to the atheistic propaganda (of the Bolshevik) as in Ukraine; and nowhere did the "living church" of tne Bolsheviks find so few converts.

REPRESENTATIVE MEN

When we talk of America we think of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Henry Ford, Thomas Alva Edison, Jane Addams. When we think of England, such names as Shakespeare, Cromwell, Swift, Darwin and Kipling draw our attention. And when one thinks of Ukraine such representative figures as the unknown author of "Word About Ihor's Legion", as Skovoroda, Gogol, as Khmelnytsky and Mazeppa, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko spring up as the individuals who characterize the ideals of the past and present generations of Ukraine.

SOCIAL IDEAL OF "THE WORD OF IHOR'S LEGION"

Ukraine received the idea of the crusaders' expeditions, very likely from Constantinople, if not from Western Europe. The first pilgrim, Abbot Danylo Palomnyk, who was in Jerusalem at the time of King Baldwin I, left beautiful memoirs of his journey in 1106. There he saw the crusading armies and learnt their aims. Inspired by the same ideas, Prince Ihor, who is so beautifully described by the unknown author of "Word about Ihor's Legion," also ventured out in the 12th century.

KASYAN: CHILDREN

The birth of French greatness dates from the time when the Occident met the Orient, when the Islam met with Christianity, or the Arab met with the Frenchman with that deathly impact. He who inspired the French "Chansons de Geste" and "Chanson de Roland" was Charles Martel and those who fell on the battlefields of Poitiers. Similarly, the inspiration for the "Word about Ihor's Legion" was found by its unknown author in the expedition

of the Kiev Princes against the Polovtses on the open battlefields by the rivers Kalka, Donetz and Don.

Truly enough, the heroic "Word about Ihor's Legion" with its spirit reminds one of the French epic and the epic of the Scandinavian Scalds. Roland says: death is better than the disgrace of retreat. Similarly says Ihor: better be cut to shreds than be taken prisoner. It is the same idea of warrior's fame and honor—of the warrior who prefers death to disgrace. Such were also his followers because they were all "under war trumpets born, under the helmets reared, fed at the point of the spear . . . they jump like those gray wolves in the fields, searching for honor for themselves, and glory for the prince." For this fame, the prince sacrifices everything, even his life; for him there exists only the dilemma "to lay down one's head or drink the Don's water with a helmet," in order to break up the force of the nomads, whom he calls "the devil's children" and "pagans."

A knightly quest of fame and battle is his life's philosophy. To him battle is a "festival" and blood is the "wine." To be ready to sacrifice his blood in defence of Christianity is the noblest task of the knight. The pathos of battle against the threatening enemy from the east, the quest of dangerous adventures by the conquistadors who courageously penetrated the unknown steppes, knowledge of their greatness, and the sweeping magnitude and heroism that was the whole philosophy of knighthood, condensed in the mighty poetic words of those times; that is the content of this unusual monument

of ancient Ukrainian times over which worked and work hundreds of native and foreign commentators. The echo of this view of the world which came back to life among the Cossacks and in their epic poetry, and then in the souls of those warriors that fought against Russia in the 20th century, was the foundation of understanding on which generations and generations have been brought up.•

SKOVORODA, THE PHILOSOPHER

A similar idea was presented to the Ukrainians by the philosophy of Skovoroda who, in the latter part of the 18th century, appears to be the second typical Ukrainian representative character. His most beloved teachers were: Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Epicure, Seneca and Marcus Aurelius. The major part of his teachings he devoted to ethics. Philosophy to him, as to Epicure, was action which with the help of results had to lead to a happy life. Therefore his philosophy had above all a practical goal. He despised leisurely pleasures and looked for happiness not in them but in unity with God, who was, to him, "a true nature"—to the unity with the being's actual inclinations; "better to be a natural cat," he said, "than a lion with the nature of a jackass." He quoted with pleasure Epicure's words, that "nature made the necessary—not burdensome, and the burdensome—not necessary." For him "the unseen nature" was God, and the Bible was the first book into which, knowing how to interpret it, one should look for the truth. He was a realist by nature, who above all searched for the happiness of the individual being which, according

to him, lay in the conforming to the indications of "God-nature" against whose will it is not allowed and is even harmful to venture. This happiness should be looked for not in the melting of one's self or losing of one's self in the mass, not in the deprivation of one's individuality (philosophy of the Russian, L. Tolstoy) but primarily in the activity of the individual. To live, one must be master of one's will and should not give way to the mass. He had none of the eastern fatalism but was, if anything, a great optimist. He never cared to hide from the world and always laid great emphasis on one's will and efforts; to the end of his life he was an individualist.

His view regarding action was the view of Lucrecius and Epicure, the first of which placed action above all philosophy and whom Skovoroda adopted for his teacher; from there comes the latter's individualism and life's hapiness. The gloom of the northern sages was strange to him. He and all his teachings were reflecting the brightness of the southern sun and the joy of his life and work. Neither did he possess any of that purely Russian leveling sense of equality. A person should not strive to undermine or undercut the great to meet the low but, instead, should only fulfill his duty, to the utmost. Self-perfection—that was his principle, and individual effort was the method of attaining it. To the eastern fatalism and pessimism he counterplaced individualism and personal happiness, those ideas which in a modified form still exist in Ukraine, in contrast with the gloomy philosophy of the north. This individualism was the second

ALEXANDER ARCHIPENKO: MA

idea, the second aspect of the Ukrainian soul, and its representative figure was Gregory Skovoroda.

GOGOL AND BASHKIRTSEFF

Some prominent Ukrainians are claimed by Russians as their own. Gogol is one of them. And surely enough, he did write in Russian. But was he a Russian? Was DeCoster, the author of the famed "Uylenspiegel," a Frenchman? Emil Vandervelde, in writing about DeCoster, says that in spite of his French language he was Flemish, and that France was only his "intellectual country." That is the kind of an intellectual Russian that Gogol was; his soul was essentially a fragment of its true motherland, Ukraine, whose knightly fame he sang in his "Taras Bulba," whose glowing national humor he reproduced so vividly in his Ukrainian themes. This feeling, this Ukrainian nativity, he not only carried in his heart, but quite often expressed in letters to his Ukrainian frieds. At the time when Ukrainian themes called out in him the deepest emotions, Russian themes created only bitter satires at which the Muscovites shuddered—because in the depth of his soul he could not stand Russia; he felt there as if "in a stifling cellar."

He ran with his soul to the Occident and to his Ukraine, whose "iron faults" and "energy of enthusiasm" he sang in his great poem "Taras Bulba." With this poem and satire of Russian absolutism he placed himself in line with DeCoster, with Freilingrath, and with other poets of freed nations that fought the absolutism of imperialism.

But to the Ukrainians, the tragedy of Gogol's life is more significant than is the greatness of his

literary attainments. If not for that tragic life his literary achievements would have been much greater. The Muscovite prohibitive restrictions upon the Ukrainian literature created circumstances which made Gogol adopt the Russian language for his medium of expression—these same circumstances collected the toll for that shift of foundation. The struggle between his inherent Ukrainianism that permeated his soul—this constant struggle was bound to cause a disastrous reaction which, through self-seclusion, terminated in physical and mental breakdown.

Gogol's tragedy is amplified in the case of Marie Bashkirtseff, a talented young Ukrainian girl, who with her diary drew the attention of such people as Barrie, Francois Coppee, Bastien-Lepage, Anatol France, Maupassant, and Gladstone. She was exasperated with the impotence of the 19th century and, like Gogol, sought rest for her ill soul in Rome and in the history of the Middle Ages. She was in love with Clemenceau, feeling in him a tiger's nature, an exceptional figure which wandered into the 19th century Europe from another age. Russia bored her the same as it had Gogol. "I am neither Russian," she wrote, "nor a foreigner, I am I...the Russians are strangers to me." She turns her attention to her native land and finds there, only among the common people in her own village—as before she found beyond the borders of her native land—action, expression and sincerity, necessary for a painter and for a cosmopolitan which desires to find a national faith. Only Ukrainian songs drew tears to the eyes

of this young girl, condemned to die of consumption at the age of 24; only Ukrainian dances called out in her weak but delicate body a quiver of enthusiasm. She discarded her intellectual native land; but she also refused to adopt for her land the "passport Russia." Her soul could not envision completely her native land which had not regained enough strength to awake, but, cut off from her native stock, she was drawn to it like a sunflower to the sun, expecting to find in it that what the world had denied her—true beauty and strength.

Both Marie Bashkirtseff and Nicholas Gogol, though each utterly different in character from the other, are still representative of those figures of Ukraine which, knowingly or otherwise, tried to run away from themselves by breaking away from their native inherent character—character moulded through centuries of virile national history.

SHEVCHENKO

The synthesis of all, author of "Word about Ihor's Legion," Skovoroda, Gogol, and others,—was Taras Shevchenko. All the secret, mysterious, and daemonic forces that live in the human soul, reechoed in the soul of this colossus, little known and unappreciated in the Western world. Full of great imagination and lyricism, his muse was as severe as the history of his people. "Every revolution was first a thought in one man's mind," says Emerson. The great revolution which burst open in Ukraine in 1917, first against white, and later against red Russia, grew out of the poetry of Shevchenko who had called his countrymen to it,

painting it with his colorful and powerful creations which are the works of the imagination of a genius.

He came out openly against the bondage of his people with the same strength that Lincoln and Beecher Stowe came out against the remains of slavery. When the Civil War broke out, the latter declared that although war is a cruel thing, yet, if it will cause justice to triumph, it is a blessed war. Shevchenko wrote that if heaven did not grant his people a "good fate" then let their fate be evil, with fire, with blood, with chaos and with war, that from the ashes may rise another nation. He wanted to make the heart of his fellowmen hardy and heroic in the expectation of coming events. Together with Joel he sermonized that with rotting hearts you will not gain the Kingdom of Heaven: "And rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God . . ."

His was the gospel of a great duelism, of the polarity of life. He taught that out of the night emerges day, out of chaos—order, love out of hate, truth out of anger, and out of the blood emerges the harvest. Not harmony did he request but that alarming discord, noise, and battle of contrasts, out of which, like thunder out of lightning, is born everything that is great. He knew that without danger there is no courage, without pain—no mercy, no mercy without justice, no justice without punishment, nothing new without the ruin for the old, nor resurrection without death. That is the reason that with such an unknown force he resurrected the great past periods of his people's struggle,

begging God to bring back again those times when one could, if not win, at least fight, hope, and die with hopes. He called for cataclyms onto his people and grafted love onto them; he asked: when will Ukraine greet her "new Washington with new and just law"? He pleaded with God to

> "...Let him live and with his heart
> Love those of which he's part,
> If not—then let him curse with ire
> And set the world afire."

He begged of God not charity or mercy but strength for hardy hands to break the bonds and with the blood of foe to strengthen freedom. His truth was that of "truth—vengeance"; the spark of brotherhood "was smouldering in ruins of fire" awaiting those "hardy and strong hands." Freedom "bathed in blood but slept on bones of spectres." His voice of sympathy, to those that suffer, overwhelmed his scorn of those who suffered passively: with him weakness was a disgrace and not an honor, and his great love always peered above his mercy. Justice was just a chimerical woman whom it was necessary to capture with force. He was a poet who summed up in his mighty poetry the sum of the Cossack's world view-point, irresistable individualism, and the pathos due to the lack of national independence. He showed us a world of crimson rivers, red banquets, and crimson-gold fires: a world bathed in crimson color, which, according to Geothe, was and is the color in its greatest energy which strong and'healthy people admire; the color of heaven and earth on judgement day. The prophet of this judgement day was Shevchenko, a

characteristic figure of Ukraine, her greatest representative figure beside Ivan Franko, whose poetry was longing for a new Moses who would lead the nation out of a Egyptian bondage. The flaming protest against political and national slavery introduced by Peter I and against serfdom introduced by Catherine II, is what made Shevchenko the most popular figure in Ukraine.

IVAN FRANKO

Shevchenko's worthy successor was a man of Western Ukraine by the name of Ivan Franko. He, too, came from a peasant hut, but he was born already after the abolition of serfdom, and his parents understood the importance of giving the

capable boy a higher education. Although endowed with a scientific cast of mind, he left hardly any literary field untouched. Poetry, short-story, novel, essay, literary criticism,—on each of these fields he worked assiduously and with honor. A brilliant talent and a seething temperament, he embraced the entire race with his activities. Whoever worked with hands or brains belonged, in his conception, to the race, and should be free from exploitation and should be given a free chance to develop his work and talents. An analyst, he attacked not only the outward fetters of despotism but also the mental fetters of tradition, conventionalism and obscurantism. In his poem "The Eternal Revolutionist", Franko wrote:

"Eternal revolutionist—
Soul that body spurs to action,
Progress, freedom, satisfaction,
He's alive, he's in our midst.

Eternal revolutionist—
Knowledge, freedom, thought and spirit
Will not let the darkness near it,
Won't be shackled by a mist.

Where in world is there such power
That could keep in its bower,
Could extinguish, could delay
This oncoming, dawning day."

Franko stood for freedom of conscience when to do so meant not only persecutions by foreign oppressors, but ridicule by those of his own race. Like Shevchenko, Franko was one of those characters, which, though rare in the humanity as a

whole, give to the community and the country their fruitful and valuable services with such liberal hand, without any thought of personal rewards, that their very sight is capable of inspiring the disheartened people with new hopes in human progress.

"The time will come, once obstacles are hurdled,
When you will shine among the greatest nations;
Will shake the Caucas, 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."*

LESYA UKRAINKA

Lesya Kosach, better known under her pen-name of Lesya Ukrainka, was the most prominent Ukrainian woman of the last century. Like Marie Bashkirtseff, she was condemned, in her early childhood, to die of disease. She, too, was born of a well-to-do family. Tutored privately, she sought, in her loneliness, the campanionship of the village children. She must have acquired the typical peasant stolidity, which stood her in good stead, when at the age of 11, she was discovered to be afflicted with consumption. Confined to her bed, she bore her suffering patiently and silently. The sickness affected her left hand and cut her off from seeking consolation in piano. Forced to renounce the games and play of the children of her own age, she soon fell upon expressing her thoughts and feelings through

*) Ivan Franko: Moses. Prologue. Translation by Waldimir Semenyna.

poetry. Under the professional guidance of her mother she perfected, with precocious rapidity, the technique of her literary expression.

At first, her solitude and isolation drove her to seek consolation in introspective ruminations. The long hours of solitude, however, awakened in her not only moods and feelings, but deep thoughts as well. She soon came to take the critical attitude towards her own tendency of complaining chronically. To be sure, the poetry of groans may ease her mental sufferings, but what about her readers? The writer may find solace in such poetry, but the normal reader finds only oppressive melancholy.

Reading voraciously, while confined to her bed, she liked to transport herself into the ages of knighthood, the ages of action, of heroic deeds. Thus she felt still more poignantly how weak was her old path of reminding the people of her sufferings, how out of tune it was with the immensity and grandeur of historic events. Tears and silence seemed proper only for those incapable of anything else.

For a time there was a hope of recovery. She rose from her bed and rushed to prepare herself for her knightly role. And here the knight comes upon the side of a glass mountain. As she approached her Russian companions, she felt their animosity. She observed their sneering glances of passerby. Her father's sister was exiled to Siberia by the tsarist government. She observed closer the life around her, and saw that soulless revenge is called administration of justice, that despotic self-will parades as law, that those who are arrogant enjoy honor and glory, while the humble receive

but contempt. She grew conscious of the whole gamut of social and racial classifications and injustices.

It was a simple mental process for the sick girl to find her adversary in the tyrannic oppressor, the tsarist government. In her day-dreams about knighthood she had somehow never sympathized with the arrogant conqueror, who having downed his adversary, yelled, "Surrender!" In the arrogant knight she saw only her own conqueror, her sickness, and all her sympathy had gone to the prone, conquered but not defeated hero, who, with the point of the conqueror's sword on his throat, still called out to the conqueror, "Kill, but I won't surrender!" She became inspired with a sense of her mission, and she entered upon feverish activities in various Ukrainian societies, and at the same time she kept on with her writing. But her stubborn sickness returned to put limitations upon her activities. Concerts, exhibitions, meetings, proved burdensome to her weak health. As her poem "To be or not to be," attests, the young woman finds herself confronted by a dilemma: should she beat her lyre into a plow and plow the fields, or should she cut the roads with an axe through untrodden forests? No, she feels she has neither time nor strength for either the functions of a worker, or those of a pioneer. She is a poet and as a poet she can be useful to society. By her poetry she can make people realize better the vital life values and thus make their life better.

The tsarist government was quick to put its suppressing hand upon her literary activities. Her works had to be printed outside of that section of

Ukraine which was under the tsars,—in the adjoining Austrian province of Galicia, where the Ukrainian language enjoyed comparative freedom. Her work had to be smuggled into Russia.

Her sickness developed further, making it necessary for her to seek warmer climates. Compelled to travel abroad, she was uprooted from her native soil, from which her literary activities drew all their nourishment. She had to go to Italy, Caucasus, Egypt. Instead of living with real people of her native land, she was forced to live the life of watering places and sanitariums. But even there, she kept her roots in the native soil. Learning foreign languages, reading foreign literature, observing the life of foreign peoples, she forever was on the alert to seek a subject which might help the Ukrainian people to relive, and make them realize, experiences important for their life.

Her small inheritance soon dwindled, and the sick woman was thrown upon her literary work as a means of subsistence. This quickly proved insufficient to keep body and soul together. The sick woman had to take to tutoring and teaching foreign languages in the motley crowds of watering places. She kept on writing.

From the various foreign races she drew the plans for her works, which, in a dramatic manner, thundered upon the Ukrainian people the need of activity, of struggle. Act, and work, and strive, and struggle—she called to them. And never give up hope!

The magazines which published her works, were not as popular as she might have desired. Even those who received them did not always show that

they understood them. Still the little woman, now broken by her long sickness, refused to grow discouraged. In July 1913, she arrived at a watering place beyond the Caucasus. Lying on her deathbed, she wrote her last work, which was her answer to the question which tortured her soul: if those who lived in her times, have failed to understand her, will at least the generations to follow appreciate her work? Could it be that her life has been lived in vain?

She imagined herself, in her last poem, in the role of Argo, the Greek philosopher, in the first ages of victorious Christianity, when the newly triumphant creed captured the imagination of the crowds and set them to persecute as heretics all those who differed with them. As the crowd surges, anxious to burn all Greek manuscripts, the Greek philosopher and his children steal out of the city, at night, to bury the manuscripts in the deep sands of the deserts. There, on their knees, the family pray to Helios, the God of Sun, to preserve the vestiges of ancient wisdom till the day when the people would be ready to receive them.

A few days after the poem was completed, the poet, whose life seems to be a monument of Ukrainian fortitude, was dead.

* * *

The viewpoint of the ancient knights which looked for honor and fame in the distant steppes; the viewpoint of the individualism, and struggle against oppression whether it be political, social, cultural or religious; the viewpoint of the constantly ready to battle frontiersmen, and at the same time the longing for beauty and the full

esthetic understanding of life that finds great pleasure in colors, forms and sounds—has been perfected and brought to our attention by this race placed on the border of two civilizations, by this vanguard of the Occident in its unfinished battle with the East.

Now, when the Muscovites refract a new advance of colored races onto the Occident, the past of the Ukrainian people and their culture becomes all the more important. The struggle of agriculture against barbarian nomads, of freedom against bondage and absolutism, activity against quietism, beauty in strength against beauty in quietism—those were the ideas which Ukraine brought into this world, in the long historical struggle of her people, through her representative men and women.

Who knows, perhaps history is presenting to us a dilemma: either to give this people a chance to bloom into a flower with all its natural rich abilities and save civilization from the onslaught of a new Islam, or to let it fall in an unequal battle and open a highway for new attacks by the followers of the red Koran. The Ukrainian question had come to the fore of the world politics at the most critical moments: first, when it was a question of whether Europe was to be a continent of Western civilization or a Tartar vassal; secondly, when Europe was wavering whether to be republican or tzaristic; and now it is a question whether Europe should be European or Bolshevik—and with Europe, other parts of the world.

It is a problem important enough to be of interest.

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ERRATA

Page 69, line 13, read "Reclus" for "Reclue."

Page 80, line 17, read "Kozitsky" for "Kositzky."

Page 88, line 21, read "Shkryblyak" for "Shryblyak."