

A Short History

of

Carpatho-Russia

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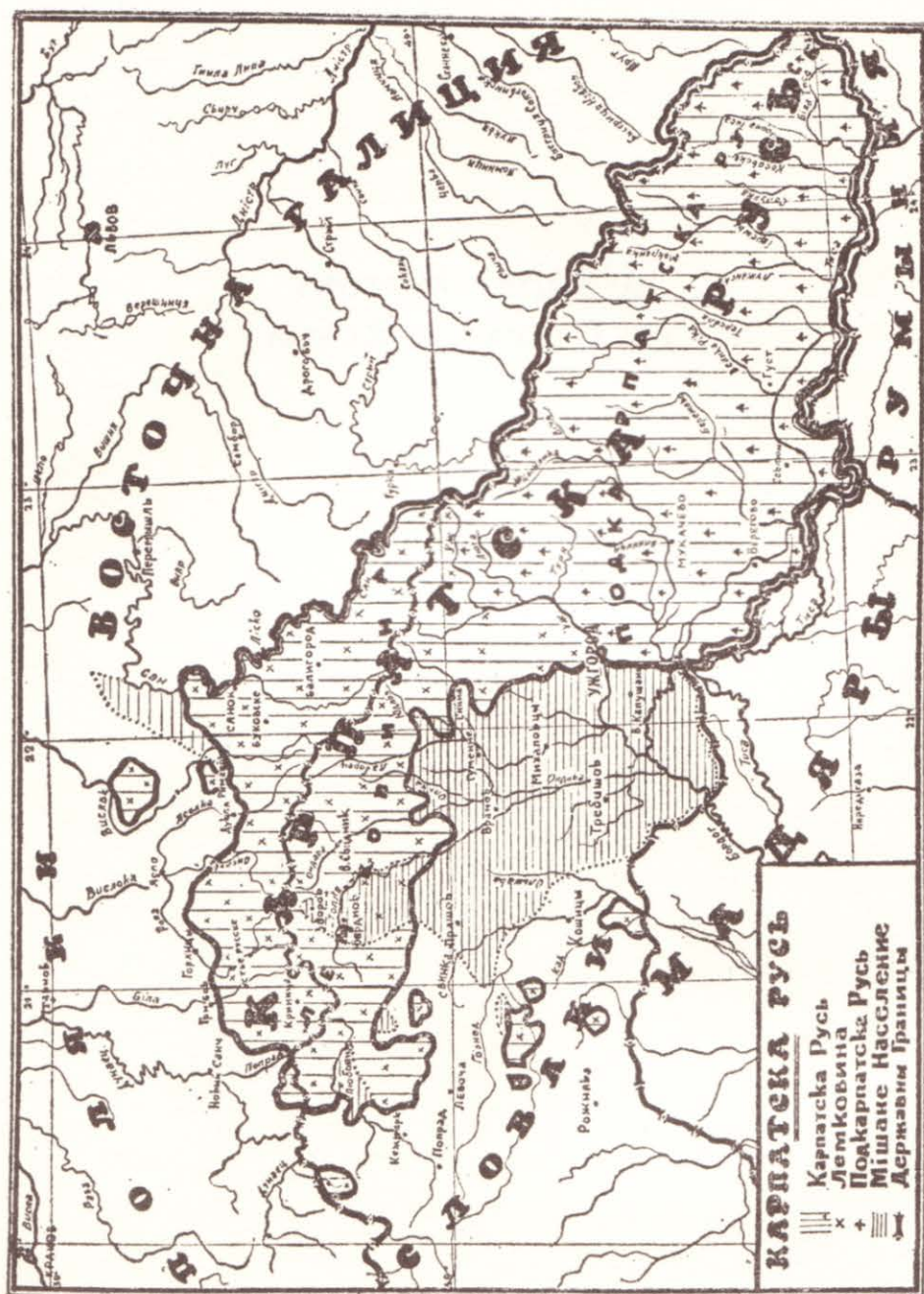
A Short History
of
Carpatho-Russia

by
Dr. Simeon Pysh

TRANSLATED BY ANDREW J. YURKOVSKY

1973

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OF CARPATHO-RUSSIA



Preface

Parts of the translation of this short history have appeared recently in the weekly newspaper, "Svit", organ of the Russian Orthodox Catholic Mutual Aid Society of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and about a year ago in "Karpatska Rus' " of Yonkers, New York, a weekly publication of the Lemko Association of the United States and Canada, an educational and cultural society.

Many of the descendants of the more than 500,000 Carpatho-Russians who came to the United States and Canada report that they need works such as this so that their children, second and third generation Americans, may learn the history of their ancestors. This work, then, is dedicated to all the immigrants from Karpatska Rus', Pod-Karpatska Rus', and Galician Rus', geographically close to each other.

Special honor is due to the late Dr. Simeon Pysh, author of this brief history. So learned a man, a linguist among other things, could have had a professor's chair and thus prestige and security before the age of thirty. But instead he resolved to devote his life, and services to his Carpatho-Russian people, his beloved "Lemkos". Such sacrifice and devotion will always be remembered.

Lastly, I wish to thank my brother Peter, who typed the manuscript, found a publisher, and took care of all the administrative details afterwards.

ANDREW J. YURKOVSKY

Dr. Simeon S. Pysh

Dr. Simeon S. Pysh was born on February 14, 1894, in a peasant family in the village of Vapenne, Gorlitsky County in Lemkovina, at that time under Austro-Hungary and now in Polish possession. He attended elementary school there; then went to the gymnasium at Gorlice.

During the time that young Simeon was preparing for entrance to a university, World War I began. For holding to the ideals of his own Russian people he, together with thousands of other Carpatho-Russians, was arrested by the Austrian gendarmes and brought to a concentration camp at Talerhof, Austria. There during the course of the war perished thousands of ordinary Russian Lemko villagers and intelligentsia from beatings, lynchings, cold, hunger and typhus. There Simeon Pysh suffered for ten months, saved from death perhaps by his rugged youth.

As old Austro-Hungary began to suffer terrible defeats, she needed new troops. So, ironically, Simeon Pysh and other young men jailed as traitors of Austria at Talerhof were taken from that place, inducted into the Austrian army, and sent to the Italian front. Simeon, remembering the horrors he had seen and experienced, resolved to desert to the Italians at the first opportunity. This happened on March 16, 1916.

In Italy, Simeon Pysh spent three and a half years, most of it in prisoner-of-war camps. Interestingly, he also spent six months in the Czechoslovak and Carpatho-Russian Legions, which the Italians organized from among Austrian war prisoners to fight against Austro-Hungary. And after the war ended he spent almost a year in Rome.

In November, 1919, Simeon Pysh arrived in Prague. He very quickly got a job in the editorial department of a Russian newspaper published by the Russian War Mission. A short time later he registered as a law student at Charles University.

Simeon Pysh received his doctorate in law from Charles University in March, 1922. Two months later he left Prague for Germany, there to start on the long journey to the United States.

In 1923, Dr Pysh became the editor of the weekly newspaper "Pravda" in Philadelphia, organ of the Russian Brotherhood Organization, an insurance society founded in 1900 by immigrants from Russian Galicia and Carpatho-Russia and open to anyone of Russian or Slavonic extraction. He remained at this

position ten years, at the same time helping to found a new organization named the Lemko Association.

In 1934, he became editor of the newspaper "Lemko", published in Cleveland by the Lemko Association. The newspaper offices were soon moved to New York City and then to Yonkers; the paper in the meantime was renamed "Karpatska Rus". Dr. Pysh continued in this post until his unexpected death on June 10, 1957.

A Short History of Carpatho-Russia was published by the Lemko Association in 1938.

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OF CARPATHO-RUSSIA

The Carpathians—Ancient Nest of the Slavonic Peoples

The Carpathian Mountains were the ancient nest of all the Slavonic peoples. In the Carpathians were hidden the Slavonic tribes during the stormy times of the great transmigration of peoples, from the fourth to the sixth centuries of the Christian era. Squeezed in from the West and the North by restless Germanic tribes, from the East by ever new waves of Finno-Turkic tribes from Asia, and from the South, from the Danube River, by the legions of the burnt out Roman Empire, the Slavs, who were not overwhelmed by the mass of peoples moving in torrents over Europe, found a refuge in the Carpathian Mountains and there held out during the most menacing time of the emigration of peoples.

But with the passing of time the masses of peoples, drawn into the emigrant stream, either perished in terrible wars, or were impelled farther to the south within the limits of the Roman Empire, emptying vast stretches of land. Then did the Slavonic tribes begin proceeding from the Carpathians and spreading in all directions, to settle these empty and more fertile lands.

From the seventh century, when the great mass of the Slavonic population left the Carpathians, on the lands of the Carpatho-Russia of those days remained a strong Croatian or White-Croatian tribe. The Croatians occupied the foothills of the Carpath-

ians from the Vistula to the Dniester and, beyond the Carpathians, lands of today's Eastern Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia.

A part of the Carpathian Croats crossed beyond the Danube onto the territory of the Byzantine Empire, into what is now Croatia and Dalmatia. Their descendants have preserved to this time their old appellation of Croats.

The Croats beyond the Danube at first created their own sovereign Croatian state. But being located on the border, where clashed the Western-Latin and Eastern-Greek civilizations, they were unable to preserve their independence as a power. They were too few in number and too weak to contain such a strong pressure from two sides. Nevertheless, it was possible for the Croats beyond the Danube to preserve to this time a measure of autonomy, although during the course of many centuries they have found themselves located within the boundaries of one or the other of the neighboring powers.

Concerning the White-Croats, remaining in the Carpathians, historical sources mention them until the end of the tenth century, and then their name disappears. They also found themselves situated on the border among the then organizing Russian, Polish, and Hungarian states, and at the meeting point of the western and eastern civilizations. To create their own state was beyond their strength. Their land soon became the objective of struggles among Polish, Russian, and Hungarian proprietors.

Lemkos, in all probability, appear in significant measure to be the descendants of those old Carpathian White-Croats. To this attest, among other factors, certain language peculiarities, preserved both by the Lemkos and today's Croats. But the Carpathian Mountains also served in the succeeding centuries as a place of refuge for the Slavonic population driven before the savage horsemen. For example, during the time of the terrible Tartar massacres, the population of Tchernovaya Rus sought salvation in the Carpathians. From this appears that the population of Carpatho-Russia of today must be acknowledged as the descendants both of those old Slavic tribes, which remained there in the Carpathians after the Slavonic resettlement in the areas around those mountains, and of the later Russian emigrants from Galicia and other parts of Russian territory.

Up to the time of their leaving the Carpathians and settling around those mountains, the Slavonic tribes had one language practically and, under different historical conditions, might very easily have united into one nation. But, having settled on new

lands, they fell under the influence of different conditions and gradually alienated themselves with respect to language and culture. Of decisive importance, moreover, was this fact, that some of them accepted the Roman, and others the Byzantine church organization and culture. Thus, to the north of the Carpathians, under the impulse of those various cultures, was formed in time the Russian and Polish peoples. The Slavonic tribes, who fell under Roman influence, entered into the depository of the Polish nation; and from the other Slavonic tribes under the influence of the eastern Byzantine culture came forth the Russian nation. A part of the descendants of the ancient White-Croatians under the influence of these historical forces entered into the depository of the Polish nation, while another part of that same tribe remained with Russia.

Thus, the history of Carpatho-Russia is the story of that part of the eastern Slavonic, that is, Russian races, which remained in the Carpathians on the west from the San River, as also beyond the Carpathians, and which during the long centuries in terrible struggles preserved until now her own name and the ancient cultural ties with the Russian world.

The Slavonic Powers up to the Arrival of the Magyars in Europe

Before their dispersal from the Carpathians the Slavonic peoples lived in separate families which banded together to form clans, alliances, and tribes. They were governed by clan elders and numerous tribal princesses.

In the new places, after the dispersal, the Slavonic tribes unite into larger alliances, and so arise the first Slavonic powers. With the arrival of the seventh century, the Czech, Croatian, and Bulgarian states step out on the historical scene. And the Eastern-Slavonic tribes create a strong alliance in the sixth and seventh centuries, in what is today's Galicia and in Volinya, under the leadership of the Dulebovs or Volynyane.

The strengthening of these beginning Slavonic states was hindered by the Asiatic horsemen, the Avars, known in later Russian annals under the name of Obrovs. Having occupied ancient Pannonia, the Hungarian Plain of today, they made destructive raids on all of the neighboring lands, and left a deep trace upon the beginning history of the Slavonic peoples.

In the ninth century, after the destruction of the Avars by Franco-German troops, the strongest Slavonic powers were the Greater-Moravian principality and the Bulgarian power. The

boundaries of the Bulgarian state reached to the Carpathians. The eastern part of what is today Podkarpatska Rus' belonged to the Bulgarian power. While the western part, together with Slovakia and the greater part of Pannonia, entered into the depository of the Greater-Moravian principality. Certain historical facts indicate that even the northern part of today's Lemkovina, and lands farther to the east up to the river Bug, were under the rule of the Greater-Moravian princes.

In Pannonia, the Hungary of today, clashed the domains of the Franco-Germanic kings and Byzantium and, together with this, western Latin and eastern-Byzantine civilizations. In their struggle against Byzantium the Franco-Germanic kings were looking for an alliance with Bulgaria. On their part the Byzantine Emperors strove to find support from Greater-Moravia. With this is tied up the establishment of a Slavonic Divine Service between the Moravians and other Slavonic tribes within the boundaries of the Greater-Moravian state.

German bishops spread Christianity of the Latin rite on the territories of the Greater-Moravian state, which meant subjugation of that state to Rome and western-Latin civilization. The Byzantine emperors, wishing to fight the Latin expansion, in 863 sent the brother-missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, to Moravia. Against Rome and Latin civilization they wrought a new weapon—Slavonic letters. The brothers Cyril and Methodius formed the Slavonic alphabet and translated into the Slavonic language the church books necessary for worship. The German bishops and kings came forward with all of their energy against the Slavonic Divine Service. After the death of Cyril and Methodius the supporters of Latin worship got the upper hand in Moravia. The disciples of Cyril and Methodius and Slavic priests had to leave Moravia. Some of them crossed over to Slovakia and to the other Carpathian Slavs, while still others went to Bulgaria.

There is a complete basis for surmising that the disciples of Saints Cyril and Methodius—the first Slavonic teachers—also carried their teaching to the White-Croatians on both sides of the Carpathians. In such fashion Christianity and Slavonic Divine Service became strengthened in the Carpatho-Russia of today fully a hundred years before the baptism of Kievan Russia.

Approximately during those times, when in Moravia the first Slavonic teachers were beginning their missionary activity, far

to the north in Novgorod, and on the Dnieper, in Kiev, the eastern Slavonic tribes were uniting into large principalities under the guidance of Varangian princes and merchants from Scandinavia. After the unification of these principalities there was created a strong Slavonic power with its capital in Kiev. On behalf of its Varangian rulers it was called Rus'.

In the western part of the Slavonic world the Polish power with its capital at Grezni in what is now Poznan territory, was forming. This state was in a struggle with the Germanic emperors, who were pushing to the east. Farther to the west, up to the river Laba, (Elbe), and to the north, toward the Baltic Sea, lived numerous Slavonic tribes that were unable to unite into a large power or state and consequently were, in the following centuries, conquered by the German Dukes and their lands seized by German colonists.

The Czech lands entered into the depository of the Greater-Moravian state. After the crackup of that Power, the Czech tribes united into their own Czech state that, however, had to acknowledge over itself the supreme authority of the Germanic emperors, and had to pay them tribute.

And so in the ninth century A.D. the greater part of Europe was occupied by Slavonic tribes. Their territory stretched from the Laba to the Volga, and from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea. The Carpathians were in the center of that huge Slavonic territory.

Towards the end of the ninth century new Asiatic horsemen came to the Carpathians. These were the Magyars. Very likely they were summoned to Pannonia by the remainder of the Franco-Germanic rulers for help against the Slavs. In 896 the Magyars penetrated the Carpathians into Pannonia and quickly occupied this fertile land, driving a wedge between the southern and Carpathian Slavs.

The Magyars (Hungarians) in those days were still a nomadic people of the steppes, engaged in wars and plundering. While passing on to new places, they would seat on carts their families, wives and children, load on all the goods they had, and so move forward under the protection of armed soldiers on horseback. Having selected a new site, the Magyars set up their tents in which they lived. They knew nothing of agriculture. Management of the land they learned considerably later after their transmigration to Pannonia. The Slavs taught them this.

An Arab merchant, who lived among the Magyars during the first half of the ninth century, when they were still to be found on the steppes above the Don, has given a series of interesting details about their life. They occupied the huge, dry steppe. They had about 20,000 horse troops, who continually plundered the neighboring peoples, especially the Slavs. Here is how the above-mentioned Arab has described this.

'The Magyars had completely subjugated the Slavonic peoples, who had to get them all necessary products, and were treated by them as slaves. They continually rob the Slavonic peoples!'

The Magyars themselves were of the Ugro-Finnish race, known in Russian chronicles as Ugri. After their march beyond the Carpathians they could not have had more than 20,000 warriors. But, together with them, various groups of Turkic peoples and Slavs, either voluntarily or by force, also settled in Pannonia. In the beginning this was not a very strong mass of people. But they found Pannonia to be terribly devastated by long wars and sparsely settled. They quickly smashed the Greater-Moravian state, pushed the Bulgarian and Byzantine armies beyond the Danube, and became the masters of this huge territory.

The Magyar nation was composed of seven tribes. The newly-occupied territory was divided among these tribes, who further distributed it to the different clans. The native population that was in Pannonia before the coming of the Magyars did not take part in this distribution of the land. The natives remained on the land as a laboring force, and had to work it and pay tribute with produce and labor not only to the Magyar prince, but to individual warriors from the prince's bodyguard.

During the following twenty years after the taking of Pannonia, the Magyars effected devastating raids on the neighboring peoples; they reached France and Constantinople. Their name became a terror to all of Europe. But in these wars they soon used up their strength. In the middle of the tenth century, during one of those raids, their entire army was surrounded by the armies of the German king and destroyed almost to a man. After that the Magyars were forced to accustom themselves to another means of livelihood. They settled down, accepted Christianity, and built their Hungarian state.

The strengthening of the Hungarian state was a great blow to the Slavonic peoples in and near the Carpathians. Before the coming of these Magyars the Carpathians were in the center of

the Slavonic world. Now they were the boundary of the hostile Magyar state. The Slav population of the Hungarian plain, that had been living there prior to the coming of the Magyars, was deprived of all possibility of cultural and economic development. For long centuries these Slavs had to work for their Magyar masters, provide produce for them—in short, be their slaves.

The Carpathian Slavs Are Joined to Rus'

In the ancient Russian chronicles it is written that in the year 981 the Grand Duke of Kievan Russia, Vladimir, waged war on the Polish people and took 'their towns Peremysl, Cherven, and other towns, many of which are to this day under Rus'.'

Thus began the battle of many centuries between Poland and Russia for the Carpathian region. At the beginning of this contest there was still a third protagonist—the Czech state. The Czech princes considered themselves as the heirs of the Greater-Moravian state and came forth with claims to the lands of the Croats. The Czechs had possession of Krakow. On documents they spread the boundaries of their possessions to the rivers Bug and Stryj. But not long after the above mentioned campaign of Vladimir, the Czechs were forced out of Krakow and Carpathian Croatia.

In the Russian chronicles bearing the date 992, there is a paragraph about a new campaign of the Kievan prince Vladimir against the Carpathian Croats. Some historians mention that in the following year Vladimir traveled to 'the Semigrad and Croatian land.'

After this the name Croats disappeared from Russian annals. The separate Slavonic tribes, included in the Russian state, lose their old tribal names and unite under one common name Rus', or the Russian land. For the individual parts of that Russian land appear the names of dukedoms, from the capital towns where the princes were seated.

V.O. Kliuchevsky, the world-famous Russian historian, had the following to say concerning the spreading of the name Rus'.

'The Varangian tribe, from which came our first princes, was called by the name, Rus'. Afterwards that word received a class meaning: Rus', in the tenth century, was called the upper class of Russian society, chiefly the princely bodyguards, consisting of the majority of these same Varangians. Later Rus', or the *Russian land*—an expression that appears for the first time in the

treaty of Igor in the year 945—received a geographical meaning: thus was called, first of all, the Kievan province, where these new-comer Varangians settled in greater number. (*'Polyane, that we now call Rus', according to the expression in the First Chronicle*). Finally, in the eleventh-twelfth centuries when Rus, as a tribe, assimilated with the Slavonic aborigines, both of those terms *Rus'* and *Russian land*, not losing their geographical meaning, appear with a political meaning or connotation: so began to be called all of the territory ruled by the Russian princes, with all of its Christian, Slavonic-Russian population.

Thus came the name *Rus'* to the Carpathians. It penetrated beyond the Carpathians even later—with the Russian settlers from Russian territory and with the Slavonic-Russian letters, because the authority of the Russian princes did not reach that far. The Carpatho-Russia of today was created by the people themselves, without the participation of princes.

The Cherven towns, joined to *Rus'*, remain under the rule of Russian princes until 1340. Twice Polish kings succeed for a short time in detaching them from *Rus'*, but each time the Polish rulers are quickly chased out.

Already during the time of the grandsons of Vladimir, in the latter part of the eleventh century, in that region there appear co-ruling Russian princes—the sons of Rostislav. These Rostislavitchi created on the lands of Chervonaya *Rus'* a strong Russian state. The princes sat in Peremysl, Terebovlya, and in Galich. In the twelfth century the Galician principality was one of the wealthiest and strongest in the Russian land. At a time when Kievan Russia was losing population and becoming ever weaker from the constant raids of wild, nomadic tribes from Asia, Galician Russia was becoming more densely populated and growing in strength and importance. She defended herself successfully from Polish and Hungarian kings. Trade grew, agriculture was improved, and culture moved forward. The author of the famous Russian epic of the latter half of the twelfth century, "The Tale of the Host of Igor," speaks of Yaroslav Osmomysl as one of the mightiest and richest Russian princes. His possessions extended to the Black Sea and to the Danube. His military leaders led Galician regiments to the aid of Byzantium, Hungary and the Czechs.

After the dying out of the princes of this line, the Rostislavitchi, in Galician Russia there arose discord and discontent; and Hun-

garian and Polish kings tried to profit from this in order that they might bring under their submission that rich land. But finally, after 50 years of internal unrest and discord, the Romanovichi solidified themselves here. They were descendants of the former Volynyan prince Roman, who had also ruled for a short time in Galicia. They united the principalities of Volyn and Galicia into one mighty power. But then came the terrible Tartar invasion. *In the battle against the Tartars Russia exhausted all her strength. By bearing the brunt of the first, most terrible of the blows of the Tartar invaders, Russia shielded and saved Poland, Hungary, and all of western Europe.* The Russian land was laid waste; the old civilization was destroyed. Thus, weakened, the Galician-Volynyan Russian State became an easy prey of her now strengthened neighbors, Poland and Lithuania. In 1340 the last independent prince of the Galician-Volynyan power died. Immediately Polish and Lithuanian armies threw themselves upon that territory. The Galician boyars tried to resist, and with Tartar help chased the Polish king from Lvov. But soon he gathered new armies and occupied all of Galician Russia. *And she remained under the control of Polish kings and nobility until the first partition of Poland in 1772.*

But a detailed description of these events belongs to the history of Galician Russia. In the history of Carpatho-Russia we are interested chiefly in the question, when and how did the Russian population come beyond the Carpathians into what is today Sub-Carpathian Russia and Pryashevschina; and also to the northern slopes of the Carpathians beyond the San River into today's Lemkovschina. We are also interested in finding out how the Russian population lived long centuries under foreign rule, yet preserved to this day its old Russian name, and the memory of belonging to the Russian nation.

The Russian Population Beyond the Carpathians

The well-known Magyar chronicler, Anonym, presents the view that the Russian population came beyond the Carpathians together with the Magyars; and that, on the territory of what is now Podkarpatska Rus', the Magyars already met the Slavs, who were settled there by Bulgarian princes.

'Descending from the Carpathians at Minkatchka (Mukachevo)', writes Anonym, 'the Magyars found here Slavs and Bulgars, over whom ruled Salan. His grandfather Kean, Grand Duke of

Bulgaria, had settled these Slavs and Bulgarians here on the border of the Russians and Poles. The Slavs related how Kean, Grand Duke of Bulgaria . . . occupied that land, and how the Slavs from Bulgarian lands were brought to the Russian boundaries. Almosh (chief leader of the Hungarians, and the father of Arpad) rode on farther with the Magyars, toward the castle Hung. The chief of the castle, Labortsy, called, in the Slavic language, a prince, fled toward the castle Zemlun and was captured on the river and hanged; and with his name from that time the river began to be called "Labortsy" (Laboretz).'

But Anonym wrote his chronicle toward the end of the twelfth century, about 300 years after the Magyars crossed beyond the Carpathians. Not having at hand written documents, he had to write down the oral traditional stories and legends. Names and relations that existed during his time, in the twelfth century, he transfers to events that occurred 300 years before that time.

We have already stated above how the name "Rus' " arose, and how it reached the Carpathians. During the time of the Magyar emigration. *Rus'* could be called only the Varangian bodyguard of the Kievan prince. This *Rus'* was not yet baptized, not yet Christian. True, in Magyar annals it is written that the Hungarians, during a crossing of the Dnieper River, defeated an army of Prince Oleg. These latter could have taken with them prisoners of war from eastern Slavonic tribes, others might have joined them voluntarily; but this was not yet a Russian population, only a Slavonic.

The mention by Anonym of Russian emigrants, who came with the Hungarians past the Carpathians, is important for another reason. *Obviously, the Russian population during the time of Anonym, was so numerous beyond the Carpathians that, in order to explain its presence in Hungary, the Magyar chronicler found it appropriate to tie up the Russian emigration with the emigration of the entire Hungarian nation.*

There was no mass migration of the Russian people beyond the Carpathians; this is indicated by the known historical facts. But, in smaller groups, the Russian people had been crossing and settling beyond the Carpathians from the very beginning of Russia itself.

The Hungarian kings were in close fellowship with *Rus'*: they married off their sons to Russian princesses, mixed in the princely internecine wars and in the internal affairs of the Russian principalities, and often sent their armies to the aid of this or

that Russian prince. The result of this was an intensification of the crossing of the Russian people through and beyond the Carpathians. A marriageable girl, who traveled from Rus' to Hungary, took with her many house servants, alike for defense as well as for personal service. Magyar kings, who took part in wars in Russia, brought back their prisoners and settled them on lands in various parts of Hungary. Often the Russian people voluntarily crossed over the Carpathians. In the chronicles we often read of princes or boyars escaping to Hungary when they got into trouble in their own land. And, quite likely, this happened to the ordinary people even more frequently.

Hungary was sparsely settled, and accepted eagerly settlers from abroad, especially military men and farmers. *In Hungary during the reign of the kings of the house of Arpad (to 1301), there was no repression either of minorities, or for religious reasons. As a matter of fact, Hungarian magnates even preferred having on their lands Slavonic villagers, who were more obedient and humble than the average Magyar.* Similarly, religious relations were under the strong influence of Byzantium (Constantinople). Although the Hungarians officially accepted the Catholic religion, the ceremonies and forms of the Latin church failed to consolidate themselves in Hungary for a long, long time. *The Roman Catholic clergy continued to get married in Hungary long after a strict celibacy (single life) was established in the other Catholic countries.*

The Carpathian Mountains formed the boundary between the Russian principality of Galicia and Hungary. But the Carpathians in those times were covered with dense forests; and the boundary was not represented as it is today: it did not pass through the edges of the woods on both sides of the mountains. Thus, a wooden strip, from 50 to 60 kilometers wide (about 30 to 35 miles,) which belonged to no one, remained between both powers.

On the edges of the forests, on both the Galician and Hungarian sides, were constructed defensive abatis with ditches and fallen trees, which were supposed to stop the enemy or delay him in case he broke through the woods and wandered unexpectedly to fall upon the settled frontier territory. For passage through these abatis, under the protection of constant guard, gates were established at designated points. Forest footways met at such gates, and from them the roads again diverged in various directions across the plains.

The line of these forest abatis was not constant, but to the extent that the population cut down the trees and built villages, the line moved farther and farther into the hills.

Nobody knew much, if anything, about what was happening in that wooded strip between both powers; nobody cared or was interested. It was known, however, that some sort of Walachian shepherds wandered in the area with their flocks.

There they built their huts in which, together with their flocks, they lived. But further information about them is lacking. Inasmuch as they paid no taxes, and belonged to none of the nobility, no one was especially interested in them. Hidden in those Carpathian forests, they also to some degree engaged in agriculture. On sites scorched by fire they sowed a little grain, but then abandoned these sites and transferred to other places.

They were called Walachians; and from this Hungarian and Polish historians deduce that they were Rumanians, who with their flocks wandered along the Carpathians all the way to the borders of the Czech state and Shlezk. Then it appeared that those Walachians near Teshen were Poles. *But when the line of colonization reached to the very tops of the Carpathians; when the Magyar and Polish magnates, having received possession of the mountainous regions, forced these Walachian shepherds to settle the lands, build villages and pay tribute, then it was shown, that in those villages on both sides of the Carpathians, appeared the Russian population; and of the Rumanians there was no trace. That Russian population on the southern side of the Carpathians was of the same language and race as the population on the northern side.*

Thus, in reality, the Carpathians in those times were in their own way a place of freedom for the Carpatho-Russian population as, later, the Zaporozhka Sitch was for the Ukrainian people and the Cossacks. The population hid itself in the Carpathian woods during times of wars, during the times when the princes fought one another suicidally, and whenever it wanted to be free of the nobility. There everyone lived in freedom. But, later, when the authority of the nobles began to reach even to these forests, together with taxes and socage (panschina), in the Carpathians appear gangs of "Carpathian outlaws," who for a long time fought the nobility in defense of their freedom.

In 1241 the Tartars, having laid waste the Russian land burst into Hungary and destroyed the greater part of the population; the towns and villages they burnt to the ground.

Afterwards, the influx of Russian settlers beyond the Carpathians increased. If earlier, there came from Rus' for the most part military men, who enlisted in military service with the Magyar kings, thus giving a beginning to the separate Russian military garrisons in various parts of Hungary, then now there come in greater numbers villagers, landowners; they settle down on lands of the kings and magnates.

In the latter half of the 13th century the Galician prince, Leo Danilovitch, received, as a dowry of his wife, a daughter of the Magyar king, the entire Mukachevsky province. *This meant an easing of the tie of Galician Rus' with this future center of Carpathian Rus'. Emigration beyond the Carpathians in all likelihood increased, because Galician Rus' was exposed to constant Tartar attacks.*

The Hungarian king Ludwig, upon becoming king of Poland after the death of Casimir the Great in 1370, annexed Galician Rus' and Podolye to the Hungarian kingdom. He sent to Galicia Hungarian soldiers to fight against the Lithuanian princes pressing down from the north. The Hungarian troops remain in the Galician towns even after the death of Ludwig; for the Magyar magnates increasingly desire to keep the Galician province attached to the Hungarian kingdom. It is only the anarchy that arises in Hungary after the death of Ludwig that helps the Poles to get control of the Galician territory. But the Poles had to use force to chase the Hungarian troops from the Galician towns.

Large numbers of Russians were forced to leave Galician Rus' together with the Magyars. There is a connection with this Magyar-Lithuanian and Polish-Magyar struggle for the Galician territory and the known emigration beyond the Carpathians of the Lithuanian-Russian Duke of Podolye, Theodore Koriatovitch. He received from the Magyar king as his own possession the province of Mukachevo . . .

Theodore Koriatovitch brought with him beyond the Carpathians a considerable number of his own people—more than 40,000 Russians from Podolye settled with him in Hungary, according to some Carpatho-Russian writers. But such items are completely fantastic; they are not based on any historical documents. None the less, the twenty-year activity of Koriatovitch resulted in a significant strengthening of the Russian element in Carpatho-Russia. With his name is connected the founding of the Mukachev Orthodox Monastery, that played an important role in the history of Carpatho-Russia.

From the 14th century there begins a rapid settlement of the Sub-Carpathian land. There arise entire groups of villages based on volost law and united into large magnate domains or regions. Based on volost law, these villages and regions had a firm autonomy, similar to that of the German colonies in other parts of Hungary. In the villages there were "princes" or bailiffs, in the districts, governors. Their rights and duties were listed in charters. Among other things, these "Walachians" were obliged to serve in the armed services. The population of these "countries" consisted of Russians, Rumanians and other nationalities.

In the 14th century mention is made in documents of the Bereska "krai" or region, consisting of 9 villages to the south of Mukachev.

In the Yuzhansk region at this time mention is also made of villages on volost law that later were united into a vast and rich Ungvar domain. At the beginning of the 17th century this region numbered sixty six villages. It was divided into two parts: Russian and Magyar-Slovak. The Russian part consisted of 43 villages.

In the Zemplinsky area there arose the strong Humenyansky domain. In the 16th century there are mentioned names of governors and village princes.

In similar fashion, on volost law, arose villages even farther to the West—in Sharishskoy, at Spishy, and farther in Slovakia.

Volost law, which played such an important role in the settlement of Sub-Carpathia, evolved under the influence of German law with which the Walachians became acquainted in Transylvania. From here it was brought to Carpatho-Russia and Galicia. The villagers, taking up the land, received definite rights from the magnates and, in the beginning, were freed from payment of tribute and from other obligations. Such a situation attracted country folk to such villages. But no sooner did this designated "free" period end, than the situation of the villagers became unenviable. Taxes and work for the landowners ruined them quickly. Many villagers, once this "free" period had elapsed, vacated their homes and moved to new towns as new settlers, where they could again remain for a certain time free. And when there was no other recourse they retreated farther into the hills and woods in piratic bands, ready always to begin the struggle against landowners and magnates. As a result of such relations between the landlords and the people, it frequently

happened that the old, well-populated villages began to become empty, and on the new places arose for a short time populous colonies.

In 1526 the Magyars suffered a terrible defeat in a battle with the Turks near Mogatch. Hungary thereupon was divided into three parts. The largest part, together with the capital, remained in Turkish hands for 150 years. The Hapsburgs held the small western part. The northern parts and Transylvania were autonomous, under the Turkish protectorate. Here among German colonists and Magyar lords Protestantism quickly spread.

These autonomous territories were the scene of a long struggle of the Magyar magnates against the Hapsburgs and Catholic reaction. One after another followed the bloody uprisings against Austria: the revolts of Botschkay, Tekel, Rakotchi. Koshitz found itself in the center of these battles. Villages and towns of the whole of Sub-Carpathia suffered terribly in the revolts.

Most important for the history of Carpatho-Russia was the uprising of Franz Rakotchi, master of the Makovitz dominion The revolt dragged on from 1703 to 1711. In the beginning the insurrection bore a popular social character. The Carpatho-Russian and Slovak villages hastened eagerly to the banner of Rakotchi in the belief that in the war they would wrest freedom for themselves also. At first the Magyar magnates feared the insurrection; but later they joined it and gave it the character of a fight of the Hungarian lords against Hapsburg absolutism.

Rakotchi declared himself an independent Sedmigrad ruler and gave himself the title of Prince of Mukachevo and Makovits. As an independent ruler he entered into diplomatic relations with Russia and France.

At that time Tsar Peter was waging a heavy war with the Swedish king, Charles XII. The Russian armies were in Poland, were approaching the Carpathians. Wishing to get the help of the Hapsburgs against the Swedish king, Peter I proposed to them an alliance, and was ready to send his armies into Hungary against Rakotchi. But the Austrian ministers were afraid of this. They opined thus: once the Muscovite armies entered Hungary, they would not leave. In Vienna, they said that Moscow's money was acceptable, but the presence of its armies in Hungary was not. Besides, the Hapsburgs feared that an alliance with the Russians would bring down upon them the ire of the Swedish king. So Tsar Peter threw himself to the side of Rakotchi and

wanted to set him up as king in Poland. Twice the Ambassador of Tsar Peter journeyed to Uzhgorod for negotiations with Rakotchi. Rakotchi's best General, Count Bertchenny, went to a meeting with Peter in Poland, and then in letters to Rakotchi described how he talked with the Tsar, without a translator, making use of that Carpatho-Russian language that he learned from his subjects. "Your worship speaks Russian, I see. You do speak the language." Peter supposedly told the Hungarian magnate. At any rate, he thus passed on the words of the Tsar in his letters to Rakotchi.

The Hapsburgs, however, having smashed the Turks, turned their armies against Rakotchi. After military failures, Rakotchi fled to Poland to ask help of the Tsar. But Peter I, having defeated the Swedish king at Poltava, had no further interest in Rakotchi's affairs.

Village Uprisings

The Russian population was composed of half-free peasants who had no political rights whatsoever. In documents or records, when mention is made of the villagers, they are referred to as "miserable indentured folk." These simple people paid all taxes and did all of the work. Judicial and all administrative authority over the village people resided in the hands of the landowners and the privileged clergy.

As in other European countries, so in Hungary the state was ruled by the privileged classes: Landowners and the clergy, together with the magnates and the kings. The landowners and the clergy freed themselves of all taxes and burdens, transferring these on to the shoulders of the plain village folk.

Among these privileged groups the Russian population had no representation. It is true that in the beginning, up until the end of the fourteenth century, into Hungary there came from Russian lands also representatives of the higher classes; but entering upon service to the Magyar kings, they quickly tore themselves away from their race and sank into the mass of the Hungarian nobility.

At this point it may be noted that in modern times among the Magyar nobility genuine Magyars, who could trace their lineage from the old Hungarian tribes, constituted an insignificant percentage. The old Magyar tribes, that came into Hungary with their father *Arpad*, perished in the unceasing wars and internecine struggles. But such was the strength of kingly and

sovereign traditions that members of other nationalities, upon entering the service of Magyar kings, accepted those Magyar traditions for their own and became Magyars. Such Magyar noble and magnate families as the Oros, Telegy, Tarnochy, Komlosy, Ormandy, Tiso, and others, trace their descent from Russians. Authors of the first code of laws of the Hungarian state were two Slavs: a Russian and a Slovak.

The plain village mass projected itself upon the political scene and turned upon itself the attention of history only then when it started a rebellion against the privileged classes and slaughtered its oppressors.

In the Russian regions especially brilliant was the uprising of the mass of the people in the fifteenth century under the impetus of the agitation of the Czech Hussites. At Spishy and in Sharish the plain people created their religious-military brotherhoods and destroyed the secular and ecclesiastical magnates. One strong division of Hussites under the leadership of a former priest made merry along Spisha and the border territory in Poland, occupied Tchorshinsky castle, plundered Tchervonny monastery and burnt Kezhmark to the ground. They then broke up into smaller bands and terrorized the mountains. One of them, composed of Czechs and Russians, under the command of some man named Theodore Russin, a Russian "Prince", (it is possible that he was a village bailiff), educated in Czechia, was building near Tchorshutin a new castle, from where it considered attacking the Polish and Hungarian landowners. In 1434 the Polish king Jagiello raised against them his nobles, who defeated and scattered them. Many people gathered under the banner of Jan Iskra of Brandisa, who declared himself Hetman of Gorni Ugor and waged war in those areas up to the battle at Sharish Stream in 1458, where he was completely smashed.

Still more terrible was the village revolt in 1514. The Cardinal-Primate of Hungary assembled and armed the peasants, in order to lead them in a crusade against the Turks; but the villagers turned their weapons against the secular and ecclesiastical magnates. After terrible bloodshed the magnates were able to put down the uprising. Having gathered together after this at a Sejm, the magnates issued a new law against the villagers. This law stated the following:

'Although all of the villagers deserve the punishment of death, in view of the fact that the Hungarian prelates and nobility cannot live without the peasants' labor, then for this reason only

we ordain that only the leaders be put to death, and the rest . . . must be decimated. Those who remain alive shall forever remain slaves and shall not be permitted to go from place to place. From now on only they will pay all of the taxes and, besides, they must work without pay one day of each week for the prelates and nobility . . . As of this day no son of a villager may ever be consecrated as a bishop.'

This slavery was in effect up to the second half of the eighteenth century. Under Maria Theresa and Joseph II the Vienna government, desirous of breaking the opposition of the Magyar magnates to tax and administrative reform, takes under its protection the village masses and the nationalities oppressed by the Magyars. The landowners' jurisdiction over the villagers was cancelled and the villagers were made subject to state courts. Although the gentry was not eliminated, still personally the peasants were freed: they could leave the landowner and move about from place to place.

The Position and Role of the Clergy

As regards religious relations, the Russian population beyond the Carpathians belonged to the Orthodox Church. The Carpatho-Russian churches were under the Patriarch of Constantinople.

But the beginnings of ecclesiastical organization in Carpatho-Russia are covered with gloom. The first time that the name of a bishop of that church is mentioned in the Royal Charter is in the year 1491. Whether there were any Orthodox bishops even before this is not known, because the written documents of the Orthodox Church of that period did not extend down to our times. It is certain that in the monasteries and churches the monks and priests copied books, kept chronicles, and received and recorded letters and documents; but after acceptance of union with Rome the Uniat clergy did not preserve these documents. On the contrary, it destroyed them, so that not even a trace of the old faith would remain.

In Hungary, the clergy was a privileged class, especially that of the Catholic Church, which was domineering and had a mighty hierarchy. The Orthodox clergy did not profit from these privileges. Having settled down in a village of a Hungarian landowner, the Orthodox priest became dependent upon that landowner, just as the village was. In order to better its position the

clergy agreed to a church union with Rome. For a long time the union remained but an agreement on paper, because the people kept the old faith. Only at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries, during the times of a strong Catholic reaction in Hungary, did the ecclesiastical union strengthen itself in Carpatho-Russia.

The position of the Carpatho-Russian Uniat clergy became improved only in the second half of the 18th century, when the Vienna government undertook special guardianship of the Uniat Church. After the partitions of Poland, Austria received a common boundary with Orthodox Russia. In its wars with Turkey, the Tsarist government had stepped forward in the role of protector of all the Orthodox peoples in the Balkans. Interests of state dictated to the Viennese government support of the Uniat Church among the Russian population. The Uniat bishop of Carpatho-Russia was announced to be independent of Latin bishops and made equal in rights with them. Attention was turned to the lifting of the educational level of the Uniat clergy. Under Bishop Bachinsky there was established a seminary in Uzhgorod and a diocesan library. The Russian language was introduced into church management of the diocese.

All of this was the easier to do because, as we have shown above, the Viennese government supported the non-Hungarian nationalities in Hungary in order to get their help in the battle against the Magyar magnates.

This period was the most brilliant in the history of the cultural development of Carpatho-Russia. In a short period of time Carpatho-Russia produced a considerable number of educated people, who began to develop Carpatho-Russian literature and carry enlightenment to the masses. Some of them, such as M. Paludiansky, P. Lody, I. Orlay, and others, settled later in Russia and there occupied important positions.

The Russian Population Beyond the San

The history of the settlement of the northern slopes of the Carpathian mountains beyond the River San by the settled Russian village people presents even a more difficult riddle for historians than the history of the colonization of the southern sides of the Carpathians.

The boundary of the old Russian principality of Galicia went far beyond the San. This fact one can establish on the basis of

historical documents. But to reconstruct accurately the old boundary of Galician power and Poland is not so easy. Russian chronicles and Polish annals contain much material about princely internecine wars, about wars of Russian and Polish princes, about princely bodyguards, about episcopal and monasterial matters, but they are not concerned with distant boundaries and the life of the simple people. Only here and there, in accounts of a princely march on Poland or a Polish attack on Russia are there mentioned borderland places around which the armies fought or were devastated. Thus it is known from the annals that Rzashev still belonged to Galicia in the XIIIth century. In all likelihood, the boundary passed near the little town of Ropchitz.

Habitually Galician historians consider the old boundary between Rus and Poland to be at the confluence of the Ropa and Visłoka Rivers, and farther on the left side of the Visłoka as far as the San.

But this does not answer the problem as to whence came the Russian population in a compact mass farther to the west in the Carpathians, beyond the mentioned old Polish-Russian state boundary—in the Gorlitsky, Gribovsky, Sandetsky, and Novotorzhsky counties. The famous Galician-Russian historian, Dennis Zubritsky, repeated over and over again, that the Russian villages in the mentioned counties are remains of an ancient Slavo-Russian population of what is now Western Galicia. *Even before the widening of the boundary of Poland to the Carpathians, Slav tribes between the Carpathians and the Visla accepted Christianity with Slavic worship and Slavic writing from Moravia.* The Polish kings and the Polish clergy brought thither the Latin rite and gradually squeezed out the Slavonic ceremony from Krakow to the Carpathians. And as the old Slavonic rite and language in Galicia quickly became synonymous with the Russian Church and Russian language, all of the inhabitants in old Poland who preserved the Slavic rite began to be called Russians. *D. Zubritsky, citing known facts, revealed that in Krakow and Tarnow even in princely times there were Russian churches in which Divine Service was conducted according to the Slavonic rite.*

But the Russian churches in Krakow and Tarnow might have been built, also, for tradesmen and guests, who traveled from Rus' to Poland. The more likely explanation seems to be that

the northern slopes of the Carpathians, similarly to the southern, in princely times, in the XII, XIII, and XIVth centuries, did not belong to anyone, neither to Rus, nor to Poland. This means, that in those mountains, covered with dense woods, neither the Russian princes nor the Polish kings distributed lands to their nobles, and those who lived in these forests were free from taxes and all other state burdens. Chroniclers make mention of monasteries situated right in the very center of that wooded mountainous zone, and of forest hamlets. The pastoral population of the mountains passed freely with its herds from place to place because the land was free.

As to how far the Carpathian forests stretched in those times this can be seen from a whole series of documents of later times. For example, in the charter of the Polish king Casimir of 1348, concerning the founding of the village of Lubisky, near Bitcha, it is stated that it was established in forests completely uninhabited up to that time. And the next Polish village, Lipinki, which today already borders with Russian villages (Rozdilya, Bodnarka), was also established in the forest in 1418. This means that all of the territory on the south, to the top of the Carpathians, that is, all of today's Russian part of Gorlitsky district, was closed to the Polish Pans (nobles) by dense, uninhabited forests.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the Polish queen received from her husband the Sandetsky land, which later she transferred to the convent in Sary Sanch. In the records there is listed a number of villages presented to the convent, but among them there is not one of today's Russian villages in the mountains of Sandetsky District.

Such places as Sanok, Krosno, Bitch, Gorlitsy, Gribov and Sanch were, in the beginning, defensive citadels on the edge of the forest. Only considerably later did they receive German colonists, artisans, and tradesmen, received the privileges of self-government according to German law, and were transformed into towns. In unceasing princely wars and, later, during repeated and often terrible Tartar attacks, the villages and towns of Chervonaya Rus' and Poland were devastated and depopulated. It was necessary to call colonists from densely populated Germany and entice them by all kinds of privileges, so that they would settle on the ravaged lands. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Galician towns were Germanized to such an extent that the official language of local administration was German.

Under such circumstances, understandably, neither the Galician-Russian boyars, (old-Russian noblemen) nor the Polish noblemen could think of seizing for their own private rule the forested territories of the Carpathians. And what need had they of these wild woods and mountains when, as a matter of fact, they could not settle the fertile lands, towns, and villages granted them on the plains? *Only from the fifteenth century under the Polish regime, when the level lands were more thickly settled, does the authority of the nobles begin extending farther and farther up the mountains. One after another villages appear there. And all of these villages have, at the very beginning a homogeneous Russian population.*

This fact can be explained only in this way, that there lived in the mountains a Russian population before the establishment of Polish authority. This population did not have villages organized on today's order; it lived only in separate families, or family groups among the woods and mountains. And the basic part of that population was composed of old settlers, who had lived there from time immemorial. These were probably the descendants of the old Croats, of whom the earliest Russian chronicles make mention. How else can one explain the fact, that on the whole expanse of the Carpathians from the San up to Tatra, and along both sides of the Carpathian range, appeared so simultaneously one and the same people, with the same language and national character?

This population was always supplemented by a stream of new refugees from Galician Rus and Hungary. With them came thither, also, monks-anchorites, who there established their mountain monasteries. In the *Chronicles*, we find the names of these monasteries. Under the date of the year 1241, it is recorded that the Galician Prince Danilo, returning to Galicia from Hungary, put up for the night at Sinevidsky monastery; but, learning that the Tartars were storming over Galician Rus', returned to Hungary and, through Bardeov, entered Sandomirsky territory. A few years later, it is recorded in the *Chronicles* that Prince Danilo, having ridden out to Hungary, is overtaken at Telitchy by the messengers of his brother Vasily with important news. Since the name of the place is mentioned, it is obvious that it must have been a village of consequence.

In Galician Rus', in the times of the princes, there grew up a strong boyar class. The prince distributed lands to worthy body-

guards and armed volunteer forces. In those days it was said that the prince "fed them." He who collected much land and wealth became a boyar. *This was not an exclusive noble class, for anyone who became noteworthy in princely service could become a boyar.* He received land, villages, towns. But the villagers on the land were free. They worked the land and paid its owner an agreed-upon tax. If they did not take a fancy to the land, they could leave the nobleman and seek happiness elsewhere.

After the seizure of Chervonnaya Rus' by the Polish kings, the old Galician principality was divided administratively into "Lands": Sandetsky, Peremyslsky, Cholmsky, Lvovsky, Belsky, Galitsky, Podolsky. The lands were administered by deputies of the king or by zemsky overseers. The lands of Sanotsk, Peremysl, Lvov, and Galicia comprised together one government of a province, with the capital at Lvov. This "voyevodstvo" was called an official voyevodstvo, or Russian land. The old princely officials were replaced by officials of the Polish king, and Russian law by Polish. Polish kings in documents are titled "pans and diditchy of Rus."

National Revolts Against the Polish Nobility

After the annexation of Chervonnaya Rus' to Poland, the Polish gentry flocks to the Russian lands. The Polish kings with generous hands distribute to them these possessions. *And the old Galician-Russian boyardom quickly becomes Polish, in order to keep its property and become the equal of the Polish gentry with respect to privileges and political matters.*

The Sanok land, especially, soon began to be famous in all of Poland for its numerous and wealthy gentry. Here, on fertile lands, on the so-called "Sanok Podolye", arise lavish noble households. Sanok, which already under Russian princes occupied an important position as a fortress against Hungary and Poland, grows now into an important commercial and cultural center. In 1366, King Casimir granted Sanok the Magdeburg law and all kinds of trading privileges, rebuilt the castle and surrounded the place with a defensive fence. The villagers of the near by villages were obliged to repair this enclosure around the town. In a preserved document of the year 1448 it is clearly set down which part of the enclosure is to be repaired by each of the surrounding villages.

In the Sanok region the newly organized Roman Catholic

bishopric in Peremysl also received rich lands from the kings. In 1384, the Ugrian queen Mary, who ruled for a brief time in Chervonaya Rus', gives the Peremysl bishop the town of Radimno in Peremysl territory, and four villages of the Sanok land, namely Bresen (Beresov, Bzhezuv), Domaretz, Ravnu and Tsirgov, (nowadays, the villages Rovne and Tsergova near Dukly), and writes in the charter, that those villages are set or located in "our Russian dominions."

In 1434, King Ladislaw Jagiello gives Jaslicka, Korolik, Dalyovy, and Novy Jasonky to the bishop of Peremysl. *In the charter it is written that these villages are situated in the "Russian land."* (*villas nostras in terra Russiae et districtu Sanocensi sitas*).

Those documents are also valuable in this, that from them it is evident, approximately, what part of today's Lemkovschina administratively belonged to the Russian Land after the incorporation of Chervonaya Rus to Poland. In another document of Casimir the Great, it is stated that the towns of Ryashev and Rogy are also located in Russian Territory.

In today's districts of Jaselsk and Gorlitz many Russian villages were established . . . by the town sheriff of Bitchsk. In the districts of Sandetsk and Gribovsk huge settlements in the Carpathians were organized by the Polish bishops of Krakow. They kept in their hands the whole dominion of Mushina to which, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, belonged thirty-six Russian villages.

In 1612, the bishop of Krakow, Peter Tilitski, issued a charter in which he speaks of the founding of the town of Tilitch as a new town, receiving its name from his; and he permits the inhabitants to have a church of the "Greek" rite, provided that in it will serve a Uniat priest, acknowledging over himself the authority of the Roman Pope. But in the town, and that, moreover, a bishop's town, it was necessary, also, to establish a Roman Catholic parish. However, as there were no Catholics in Tilitch, the Polish curate wanted forcibly to convert the population to Catholicism. In 1681, the Polish curate seized the Russian church and chopped up the altar and icons; and then commanded that wine be brought; and so, inside the church, drank to his victory over "schismatics."

In the archives of the Peremysl Greek Catholic diocese is preserved an extraordinarily interesting document of the year 1682, in which, in detail, is described this destruction of the Greek Catholic church in Tilitch. The bishop of Peremysl sent to

Tilitch his representative in order to investigate the matter. He heard all the witnesses and composed a protocol. From this it is obvious that, even at that time, Tilitch already had around twelve hundred inhabitants, *among whom were only twelve souls of the Latin rite*. In the document it is mentioned, also, that in Mushina there were still many inhabitants of the Greek rite. But the church there was in ruins, a cemetery alone remained.

Similar histories were repeated in other places. And this explains why such a huge number of Russian villages of former Chervonaya Rus', especially in the districts of Ryashev, Kronsnyansk, and Berezovsk, were completely polonized.

The Polish Pans (masters, gentlemen), spiritual and temporal, also brought the rural population in the Carpathians economic oppression and slavery. Under the rule of the Polish state, the condition of the villagers quickly worsened. Out of formerly free village peasants, the Polish schliachta (nobility) created slaves tied down to the land. They were not allowed to move about from one plot of land to another. The master could do with his peasants as he pleased.

Besides, when they established new villages, or reorganized them on new rules or law, they did not pay much attention to the rights of the oldest inhabitants, who were able to work the land in that locality. Thus, many villagers were expelled from the land which they occupied. In the eastern parts of Chervonaya Rus' and in Podolye, he who was so humiliated and did not want to submit to the yoke of the nobles, fled to the Ukraine and became a Cossack. In our Carpathians there were always woods and inaccessible thickets where it was possible to find a refuge. And he who was the boldest fled from Polish law farther into the forest and became a "bandit". Thus were created in the Carpathians many bandit gangs that attacked the courtyards of the nobles and Polish village policemen, and took revenge upon the Pans for their special and national grievances.

Carpathian "bandits" or "lifeguardsmen" appear as unexpectedly in Polish history as do the Ukrainian Cossacks, and approximately at the same time. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries acts of the courts of Polish towns along the Carpathians were filled with lawsuits concerning these rebels. In court indictments they were called "bandits". They were hunted and executed in Mushina, Novy Sanch, Gribov, Bich, Krosno, and Sanok.

In the memory of the people remain many legends concerning

these Carpathian bandits. In our villages even up the present day the old people tell stories about the glorious leaders of the bandit gangs, who were not afraid of the Polish nobles. At this point one can mention a few names preserved in the national legends. Out of Great Matzina came the renowned member of the gang, Sipko, whose sword was of magic strength. Even before World War I, the old folks in Matzina and Vapenna used to say that in Kernytsky forest, above Bortno, under a huge rock lie hidden remains of that Sipko. An even more glorious member of the gang was supposed to be Ivan Malik of Rostok, who was tortured in the prisons of Mushina and Novy Torg. Yurko Tsiupa, Sidorik of Blichnarka, Yatsko Vatrak from Regetova, Marko and Panko Scherba of Smerekivtsa, Danilo from Hanchovy, Vasil Bayus of Litshin, and Hritz from Krivy stormed mainly in the vicinity of Bich and Gorlitz and on the Ugrian side where, in the same way in the Carpathian Mountains, were many bandit gangs with their atamans like Vasil Tchepetz from Stopkova, Senko from Makovitsky, Savka from Orava, and others.

Beginning with the second half of the 17th century, Poland quickly inclines toward a collapse. She is shaken to her foundations by the warriors of Khmelnytsky. As the military forces of Khmelnytsky penetrated beyond the San, the people in the mountains, benefitting from this, formed their own rebel forces and attacked the households of the nobles. Soon afterwards came Swedish soldiers and those of Rakotchi, while on the other side of the Carpathians there followed one after another bloody rebellions of the Hungarian magnates against the Hapsburgs. The Carpathians find themselves under fire almost continuously.

In scarcely fifty years after Khmelnytsky's rebellion, Poland had weakened to such an extent that Tsar Peter I could do as he pleased there. Russian troops entered Poland and even reached our Carpathians, defending one Polish king from another. Inasmuch as a part of Spisha at that time still belonged to Poland, the Czarist troops found themselves in Spisha, making their quarters in Lubovna.

Just before the partitions of Poland, the Lemko villages in the Carpathians suffered much from confederates of the Polish lords. Fleeing from the Russian troops, they, in 1769, retreated to the mountains and encamped in our villages in Gorlitsky, Gribovsky and Sandetsky counties. Groups of the Polish gentry stormed through the villages and plundered the people; those who re-

sisted were brought to trial in courts of the nobles and hanged. But soon the Russian troops came into the mountains and scattered them in bloody engagements in Sandetsky and Yaselsky counties.

But these were already the last convulsions of a collapsing Poland. In 1770 Austrian troops occupied Spisha and pushed farther along the Poprad valley as far as Novy Sanch. Soon after this occurred the first partition of Poland, in which Chervonaya Rus' came under Austrian rule.

And so, again, all of Karpatska Rus' found itself within the boundaries of one power, under one government.

Only after a final union of Karpatska Rus' with Austria did our people in the mountains, for the first time, find themselves under such a power in which there was some sort of legal order and a sure, positive state administration. In old Hungary and Poland there had been everlasting anarchy and wilfulness of the nobility, where for the plain people it had been impossible even to think of improving their economic and cultural life.

The Vienna government, believing that the Polish Pans would strive to rebuild their Poland, endeavored to find support against them in the simple, coerced people and among the nationalities and religious sects and churches oppressed by the Polish state. In the times of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, one of the best Austrian emperors, there was carried out a series of reforms that lightened the conditions of the village folk. First of all, in the state administration, and the department councils, and the old, rural government, officials of the nobility were eliminated and in their place were established imperial officials subject to Vienna. Appointed as officials were, for the most part, Germans and Germanized Czechs. The reforms of 1782 and 1786 demolished the personal dependence of villages upon landowner-nobles; that is, serfdom, bondage, was abolished. The villagers continued to work for the landowners (socage), but the dimensions of this panschina were limited and regulated by the government.

Under the old Polish regime it was impossible even to think of any kind of education for the people. Now the Austrian government tries culturally to lift up the Russian nationality in order that, in case of need, to have it in reserve against the Poles. With especially a warm guardianship did the Vienna government surround the Russian Uniat clergy both in Galicia and Carpatho-Russia. The government closed the monasteries; the huge mon-

asterial and church properties became possessions of the state. In place of all this, there was established a special fund for the financial security of the clergy. Alongside the betterment of the economic situation of the Uniat clergy, the government was concerned about the raising of the level of its education and culture. In Vienna, there was established a seminary for the Uniat priesthood, and soon afterwards in Lvov and Uzhgorod. There was established also at Lvov a university with a Russian Language Department. In the cities, gymnasiums were opened.

Alongside of this proceeded Germanization, because the Vienna government had introduced the German language into the schools and administration in order better to unite all of the provinces into one whole. But, in the beginning, there was undoubtedly an advantage in this, because the German language and literature opened up to the studious youth access to European learning—something that neither the Polish nor Hungarian language in those times could offer.

If, afterwards, Uniat Russian priests were so loyal to the Austrian government, then we must acknowledge that they had good reason to be thankful to the Austrian Caesars. Austria brought them out to the people and gave them equal rights and privileges with the Roman-Catholic clergy. From this time on Uniat priests could send their children to school. From among these children of the priests are recruited for a long time afterwards all of our intelligentsia, who guided the cultural awakening of our people. This, however, also had sad consequences for the national-cultural development of the people; for they threw down the mantle of narrow religious intolerance and cultural emptiness on our entire national life, and closed to the people the door to true enlightenment and progress.

In Austria, after the death of Joseph II, a sharp reaction against his liberal reforms took place. The Vienna government became frightened of the revolutionary spirit hidden in the national masses and again depended upon the reactionary *schlachta* and clergy. In Galicia, the Uniat clergy provided for materially and better educated, quickly deserted the poor masses under the yoke of the nobility and became polonized, in the same way as earlier were polonized the Galician-Russian boyars.

The Russian language and the awakening national culture in Carpatho-Russia, as well as in Galicia, found themselves in the grim vises of the Austrian censorship, which choked every ap-

pearance of a free national spirit and national creativeness. The Austrian police were afraid of books that were written in a language closely related to the Russian literary language in use in Russia, because this might awaken in our people thoughts of their cultural unity with the Russian people in the Russian Empire. But the Austrian police were fearful of even the vernacular, native language because nationality in those times signified revolution. Only the old Church-Slavonic language was recognized as trustworthy. And the writer who wanted his book to pass through the Austrian censorship had to avoid, on the one hand, such words that were reminders of the very new Russian literary language and, on the other, words taken from the living people's language. Even the new civil writing accepted in Russia was suspect to the Austrian police. Books had to be printed in Church-Slavonic letters.

And so the Austrian police, in dread of revolution and Czarist Russia, depended upon the old, dead Church-Slavonic language and writing, which it strengthened among our people. But this meant that the door to education and national awakening was closed to our people.

The Polish nobility could not forget its golden freedom in old Poland and always thought of rebellion. The Austrian government let loose against the Polish nobility the serfs, who in 1846 cut them up in bloody fashion. But, when the danger of the nobles' uprising had abated, the villagers had to return again to the drudgery of life under the nobility.

But came the historic year 1848. Revolution burst forth in all of Austria. And in Galicia the Polish nobility grabbed for the weapons, in order to utilize the new calls of the masses for freedom, for the rebuilding of their old, privileged Poland. When also the Hungarians began to revolt against the Austrian government, then the Polish and Magyar Pans joined hands, renewing the old Polish-Hungarian friendship. Polish officers hastened to join the ranks of the Hungarian revolutionary army.

In this time of troubles, the Austrian government again remembered its loyal "Ruthenians". Under the pressure of the revolution, the power of the nobles, their way of life, were completely liquidated, because it was necessary to uphold the masses of the people loyal to the government. Uniat bishops and heads of religious orders rise to the defense of the dynasty and call the people to arms against the revolutionaries. For this loyalty to

Austria in these critical times our people received in Vienna the title, "the Tyrolese of the East".

But the revolution was suppressed. In Hungary, the uprising was crushed with the aid of Russian troops sent there by Tsar Nicholas I. In Vienna, as soon as the revolutionary storm subsided, the government returned again to its old reactionary politics: the constitutional freedoms were removed, and the masses were again in the clutches and under the power of the nobles and the clergy. And here they forgot the loyal "Ruthenians". For their fidelity they found themselves now under the Polish and Hungarian yoke.

Austria victoriously outlived the revolution of 1848, but that was the last triumph of the old monarchy. In that revolution she left all of her life's energy. She no longer had the strength to go forward and develop the spirit of the new history, but froze in one place like an old, petrified tree, that awaits the first strong storm, in order to tumble to the ground.

The Vienna government returned to absolutism, but soon afterwards war in Italy and war with Prussia showed the entire weakness of the old monarchy. The Magyar magnates took advantage of the weakness of the Viennese and achieved a division of the monarchy into two parts: Austria and Hungary. In this two-part monarchy only those people could develop, who were strong enough to exert pressure against Vienna and threaten the government by one means or another. And the materially and culturally weak peoples could find the support of the Viennese government only then when they were necessary to it for some political purpose.

The Carpatho-Russian people on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains belonged neither to one nor the other categories of privileged people of old Austro-Hungary. They were poor, culturally backward, without an intelligentsia of their own, and given up for full exploitation to the other peoples. An intelligentsia of its own the Carpatho-Russians could not have, because the Carpatho-Russian villager even after his liberation from the nobility was too poor to send his children to higher schools. True, the Carpatho-Russians had their clergy, who received in Austria all kinds of privileges and materially were well provided for.

But we must not forget that the clergy is not the intelligentsia, but an enclosed within itself class, a separate camp, like that of the nobility. And the tragedy of the Carpatho-Russian people

consisted in this, that, not having its own national intelligentsia, which could have led it in cultural development, it depended upon the clergy, and gave it the direction and leadership of cultural matters. But the clergy, just like the nobility, can only use the people for its own ends and not elevate it culturally.

The Polish people in old Poland had the Polish nobility, the Russian people in Russia had its Russian nobility; but these Schlyakticky and Dworyane were interested only in this, that their national masses remain unenlightened and poor, because only with such people could the nobility preserve its privileges. And the same thing is true with the spiritual estate—the clergy. The priests are not at all interested in seeing the people become educated because enlightenment of the people threatens their privileged position. For the cultural awakening of the people, the noble class can do even more good than the class of the clergy, for in history we can find examples of nobles who became revolutionaries and fought for freedom and rights of the people; but history shows no examples of such fighters from the ranks of the clergy.

During the first half of the 19th century, Ugorskaya Rus', under the influence of cultural development, stood higher than Galicia. There was more of the secular intelligentsia, who were concerned about the cultural awakening of the people. In the person of A. Dobryansky, Ugorskaya Rus' had a political worker of European caliber; whereas, in Lvov, there was only the Polonized, reactionary clergy. But, after 1848, these beginnings of cultural awakening of Ugorskaya Rus' quickly were extinguished under the pressure of Magyarophile politics from Budapest.

The territory of Lemkovschina, to the west of the San River, also produced a large number of educated people in those times, but they were mostly priests or the sons of priests. One of the most remarkable Lemkos in the olden times, at the beginning of the 19th century, was Paul of Krosno, educated in the Latin culture. He was a professor and a poet, who lectured at Krakow University and in Hungary. He published in Vienna a book of verse in Latin, dedicated to someone named Gabriel Peremyi. From the Lemkos, in the 18th and 19th centuries, there came forth a series of educated people, who occupied themselves with literature also; but it was church literature, which did nothing for the cultural awakening of the people.

Of those writers, Vladimir I. Hiliak can be placed in the first

rank. He wrote a series of stories that was published not only in Galicia, but in Russia as well. His narratives he signed with various pseudonyms: Jeronym Anonym, Lemko-Semko, Ya Sam, V. Nelyach, and so on.

But beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century, the cultural life of Galician Rus' is concentrated in Lvov. Lemkos, in this educational work, looked toward Eastern Galicia and Lvov, where quickly began a narrow, party battle between Ukrainophiles and Russophiles, and continued up to World War I and the collapse of Austro-Hungary. Ukrainian animation, based upon the vernacular, could have led to a national awakening of Galicia, but the Ukrainian movement quickly was transformed into a political party movement, turned by the Vienna government against Russia. This divided Galicia into two implacable camps and destroyed for many years the cultural work among the village people. Galicia has not worked out a healthy national consciousness even to this day, because a healthy national awareness is possible only then, when it is based upon the historical traditions of the people and tied organically with its past. And the national consciousness of the Galician Ukrainians was molded by the program of a political party thrown by foreign (Austrian) interests into the battle against Moscow.

And the masses of the people remained still under the yoke of the Pans. Neither the government nor its own intelligentsia did anything in the way of their economic and cultural uplift. Thus, when there opened up a possibility of emigration to North America, the people threw themselves in a mass beyond the sea for a piece of bread. For a period of thirty years before the First World War, from Karpatska Rus' there left for North America from 400,000 to 500,000 emigrants. From Pryashevschina and Galician Lemkovschina, the emigration quickly took on a public, mass character; the majority of the generation growing up settled beyond the sea. At home only the children and old folks remained.

In North America, the Carpatho-Russian emigrants found themselves in completely new circumstances. There they had freedom and a livelihood, which for the first time in the history of our people gave them the possibility of becoming independent people. But, being culturally unprepared, these emigrants did not know what to do with their freedom. Their freedom and economic independence they utilized for the most part only in the construction of countless churches and in religious struggles.

Just before World War I, Galician Lemkovschina found itself in even a better position than Ugorskaya Rus' for, beyond the Carpathians, the clergy and teachers fell under complete Hungarianization. The Magyars had grabbed even the village schools. On the Galician side, however, during the decade before the first World War, from bourses and higher schools in Sanok, Gorlitz, and Novy Sanch, there graduated more and more of the village intelligentsia. There appeared the first Lemko national newspaper, "Lemko"; there were opened up cooperatives and reading rooms in the villages. The clergy began quickly to lose its primacy, and the leadership of cultural matters began passing into the hands of the new people's intelligentsia.

But all of this cultural work was cut short by the World War in 1914. Horrible oppressions began. Thousands of the most spirited villagers and almost all of the intelligentsia were driven to jail and concentration camps in Talerhof. Many perished on the gallows and in the war. But this was already the last act of the old Austrian monarchy. After four years of war Austro-Hungary collapsed, and the Austro-Hungarian authority was swept from the Carpathians once and for all.

Carpatho-Russia after the Imperialistic War. Our "Self-Determination"

The imperialistic war cost Karpatska Rus huge sacrifices, human as well as material. Besides those people who fell at the front, many others were murdered. Some were "tried" by court martials as "Russophiles" and spies; others were murdered without trials by German and Hungarian gendarmes and soldiers without any chance of appeal. A Russian could be shot or hung by any German or Magyar gendarme, officer, or soldier without any punishment to himself; no one investigated if that Carpatho-Russian villager were in truth guilty. Out of the thousands of Galician Lemkos interned in horrible German camps, hundreds died of typhus and hunger. Many Carpatho-Russian villages, where terrible battles occurred, were burnt and despoiled of sowing, cattle and other means for living. When at last came the end of the terrible imperialistic world war, out of all the countries involved the poorest and hungriest was Karpatska Rus'.

But even poorest and hungriest Karpatska Rus' became alive when she heard of the self-determination of peoples, and our people understood this word of the American President Wilson,

and naively believed in such self-determination. By it our people understood that henceforth neither the Magyars nor Poles would rule over us, that we would ourselves be the bosses of our land. And it is not strange that Carpatho-Russians sincerely believed in such gratuitous freedom, for they did not understand that there can't be any kind of national freedom under capitalistic order, that that capitalistic order is tightly tied with imperialism, seizure of foreign peoples and their lands, and with national oppression of weaker nations. This we did not understand because there was no one to teach us. We also did not understand the Russian proletarian revolution. Why, all the learning that they gave us, was the learning in and around the church and under her control. Small wonder that we believed in the "self-determination" of peoples large and small, that we believed in our own "self-determination".

But when, after the fall of Austro-Hungary, the leaders of that multi-national power already knew what they wanted, already had worked out a program with their national organizations and knew everything about their own people, our people during the course of a long bondage had been deprived of its leaders: they had crossed over to the camp of the ruling nations. And, when the time came to step out in the name of the Carpatho-Russian people, those who wanted to lead did not know whom to guide, did not know what country, what land, what people they were supposed to champion. They did not understand the situation of the Carpatho-Russian people, did not understand its soul, and even did not know its language and ethnographic boundaries. And it is not surprising that every one of these self-styled leaders of our people sought freedom and benefits only for himself and not for the people.

And this explains why no people in those times had as much orientation, established as many "radas" (councils) as our own Carpatho-Russians. No sooner appeared another self-styled leader, than already another orientation and "rada". These "rady" multiplied like mushrooms after a rain: in Lyubovna there was organized a "rada", in Pryashev still another, one in Uzhgorod sponsored by a chapter of a church order, one in Mamarosh.

The members of the Uzhgorod "Russian Rada", established by canons at the Uzhgorod church chapter, oriented themselves toward Hungary. And the Russian Rada in Pryashev, whose members were the old Pryashev patriots . . . oriented Carpatho-Russia toward Czechoslovakia.

No less in number were the "radas" established in the Galician part of Lemkovschina. There, in fact, in every district was established a "Russian Rada" by the local district leaders. There was such a rada in Sandetsky district, in Gribovsky, in Gorlitzky, Yaselsky, Krosnyansky; and, in the Sanok district, there was even proclaimed in Lupkova a republic, called afterward, jestingly, the "Republic of Lupkova".

In one respect, all of these "radas" in Galician Lemkovschina were the same: all wanted to join our people to Russia, but all imagined, not a Soviet, but a national Russia. The leaders of these radas did not understand or did not want to understand the Russian Revolution. They could not understand, those leaders of ours, neither from one nor the other side, nor even here in emigration in North America, that the first condition for achieving any kind of national, autonomous rights for Carpatho-Russia was her union, that is, a uniting into a nation according to geography, ethnography, according to the laws of nature, language and national ideology. When Lemkos from Pryashevskaya Rus' did not care what happened to the Lemkos on the Galician side, and Marmarosh cared not for Uzhgorod and Makovitsy, then it is easily understood that nobody else was obliged to care and fight for that union of those lands into one Carpatho-Russia.

The Unifying Work of the Lemkos

The Lemkos came forth for the unification of Carpatho-Russia at a great mass Vetcha (old Slavonic popular assembly) under the naked sky in the village of Florinka, Gribovsky County, on the 21st of November, 1918. To this Vetcha . . . came on foot thousands of Lemko villagers from three southern districts: Novy Sanch, Gribov, Gorlitz. Others came from the districts of Yaselsk, Krosnyansk, Sanok; while from the district of Novy Torg came delegates from a couple of villages. To this Vetcha Pryashevskaya Rus', the Ugorska part of Lemkovschina, also sent its delegation. Present were the former ambassadors of the Austrian Parliament, Dr. D. Markov and the Rev. Tchaikovsky. But neither our old Lemko patriots nor the stalwarts of Lvov could decide what to do; and the former ambassadors could give no advice to the Lemko people, could not tell them which decrees to accept. All of them waited for some sort of a miracle from Russia; they expected that power would soon be in the hands of the generals and a new Tsar, and that the Lemkos had to wait.

Towards the end appeared the editor D. Vislotsky, and de-

scribed the situation of our Carpatho-Russian people in the Carpathians. He explained that for us the most important thing was not to break up into Galicians and Ugorschane; that we, together with the Ugorskie Carpatho-Russians, comprise a national unit geographically, ethnographically, and linguistically; make up one Carpatho-Russia. And, howsoever determine or decide our brothers on the Ugorsky side, thus also must we. Most important of all was that we not allow ourselves to be divided between two powers or countries. Once our Ugrian or Ugorsky brothers chose for themselves Czechoslovakia, under which they wish to build an autonomous Carpatho-Russia, then we, also, together with them must unite because by nature and by nationality we belong to Carpatho-Russia.

In this sense, a resolution was presented to the people and was adopted by them unanimously. Immediately there was elected a committee that was sent to Pryashev for mutual work with the Pryashev Russian National Rada (Council). Into this Rada, the name of which was changed to Carpatho-Russian People's Rada, entered the representatives of one and the other side. At a meeting of the members of the Rada in Pryashev, Anton Beskid was elected Chairman. He was a former member of the Hungarian Parliament and the Carpatho-Russian member of the Czechoslovakian delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference. D. Vislotsky was elected Secretary. In Pryashev, there began to appear the organ of the Carpatho-Russian People's Rada—"The Voice of the Russian People," under the editorship of D. Vislotsky.

Before the Pryashev Rada was this chief task: to unite in one autonomous Carpatho-Russia these three parts—Prashevskaya Rus', the Galician part of Lemkovschina, that is, the territory settled by the Carpatho-Russians in the districts of Novy Torg, Novy Sanch, Gribov, Gorlitz, Krosno and Sanok—about three hundred and fifty villages of Pryashevskaya Rus'; three hundred and fifty villages of Western Galicia, and present-day, so-called autonomous Sub-Carpathian Rus'—into one Carpatho-Russian autonomous land or Carpatho-Russia. But, while the Galician Lemkos understood this matter, that only such an autonomous Carpatho-Russia can exist and develop: that without the Galician part Pryashevskaya Rus' would not be united with Carpatho-Russia, our Ugorsky brothers were weakly oriented and inadequately pictured to themselves their future Carpatho-Russia. And when from the United States, as delegates of American Carpatho-

Russian fraternal organizations arrived Zhatkovich and Gardos, they simply announced at a meeting of the directorate of the Pryashev People's Rada that they wanted nothing to do with the "Galician Lemkos".

But to the Peace Conference in Paris came one after another resolutions of the Galician Lemko masses: that they protest against the division of our people between Czechoslovakia and Poland; that they demand their union with Karpatska Rus'. Anton Beskid, a member of the Czechoslovakian delegation, alone received such resolutions from 79 groups of Galician-Lemkos. And once, when between the stall-keeper and a Polish delegate a dispute arose concerning Teshin, the stall-keeper showed these resolutions of our Lemko masses and said that this was the first national plebiscite whose results appeared at the Peace Conference, and this plebiscite is not to the benefit of Poland. When the Polish delegation found out about these resolutions, Polish soldiers were immediately sent to our villages and the old Ugor-sky-Galician border was closed.

These resolutions of the Lemko groups were signed by the heads of the groups and the members of the Rada. And they came in handy to the Czechoslovak delegation in its bargainings with the Poles about Teshin: for such a union of our people did not benefit Czechoslovak chauvinists. They very well understood that when our people between the Uzh-San, on the one side, and the Poprad and Danube Rivers on the other, would be united with Sub-Carpathian Rus', then there would already be more than a million Carpatho-Russians, and this people would no longer allow itself to be denationalized and dishonored. On the other hand, even the European imperialists considered it unprofitable to acknowledge the existence of Russian people in the western Carpathians. Only President Wilson treated us generously and sent to Lemkovschina Col. House, a member of the American delegation. He traveled through our villages and made a report about the Lemkos. But this report was not made public. All of us know that the European imperialists ridiculed Wilson and his idea of self-determination of lesser peoples; and divided them up according to their imperialistic programs.

To the Czechoslovak chauvinists this boundary at the expense of our people also was advantageous because only in this manner could they declare Pryashevskaya Rus' as Slovak territory and so annex her to Slovakia. And so, with the exception of the

representatives from the United States government, all of the other delegates of the imperialistic, victorious powers were against the union of the Carpatho-Russian people and the territories settled by them into one autonomous Carpatho-Russia. Between the Galician part of Lemkovschina and the Ugorsky part (Pryashevskaya Rus'), they left the old Polish-Hungarian boundary as the new Polish-Czechoslovakian frontier. As regards the autonomous part of Carpatho-Russia, which was to be formed in Czechoslovakia, the Peace Conference did not set up its boundaries, but determined, (in the St. Germain Treaty), that to the south of the Carpathians must be established an autonomous Sub-Carpathian Russia, the boundaries of which would be decided upon in conference between the Czechoslovaks and the Carpatho-Russians. Everyone can understand the kind of negotiations there could be between the weak Carpatho-Russians and the dominant Czechoslovak nation. As a matter of fact, these negotiations were not even held! The Czechoslovak authorities themselves established the boundary of Sub-Carpathian Russia, by means of which two hundred thousand Carpatho-Russians in Pryashevskaya Rus' were cut off from the so-called "autonomous" Sub-Carpathian Russia in Czechoslovakia alone, not mentioning the other two hundred thousand Galician Lemkos who were given up to the Polish nobility for denationalization by the great imperialistic powers.

Sub-Carpathian Rus'

In Uzhgorod, on May 8, 1919, the representatives of all the Carpatho-Russian Radas, of former Ugorskaya Rus as well as of the Galician part of Lemkovschina, gathered together and created one Central Russian National or People's Rada (Assembly). The Chairman selected for this Central Council was Anton Beskid . . . The Secretaries were Andy Gagatko, Representative of Galician Lemkovschina, and Dmitry Vislotsky, Secretary of the Pryashev Carpatho-Russian Rada, which included in its program a united Carpatho-Russia. At this great assembly of representatives of all the Rada, and representatives of the American Carpatho-Russian emigration, it was decided unanimously to join the united Carpatho-Russia to the Czechoslovak Republic as the autonomous, territorially and nationally, land with its own Sejm or Parliament, Governor, and autonomous officials and clerks, except for such matters as international

affairs, defense of the country, finances, communications and the post office.

Many years have since passed. First of all, we see that, as regards the boundaries of Carpatho-Russia, the people's will was ignored. The boundary of Subcarpathian Russia by the Czechs (in the 1930's) is considered to be the River Uzh. This means that only one-half of Carpatho-Russian territory and only one-half of its population was considered or set aside as the autonomous Subcarpathian Russia. But even worse: up to now even this part did not receive autonomy! All of the affairs of Subcarpathian Russia, even educational matters, are administered and controlled by the central authorities in Prague by means of the officials of Czech nationality whom they sent out there . . .

It is true that the central authorities at Prague appoint for Subcarpathian Rus' a governor of Carpatho-Russian nationality, but this Carpatho-Russian governor has not the slightest voice in governing the country. The first such governor in 1919 was G. Zhatkovich sent out by the American Greek-Catholic "Union of Russian Brotherhoods" as a delegate to the Peace Conference and for negotiations with the Czechoslovak government. But Zhatkovich quickly renounced such an office and position that gave him only the title of governor but no authority. All the power that belongs by right to the governor actually was in the hands of his assistant, a Czech sent by the Prague authorities. After Zhatkovich, Anton Beskid was appointed the Carpatho-Russian governor. This old man had been first, Chairman of the Pryashev Carpatho-Russian Rada, then Chairman of the Central Russian National Rada. Old Anton Beskid became content with the title of governor and its trappings and remained such a titled, figurehead governor until his death. Then the Prague authorities appointed another figurehead governor the Greek-Catholic priest Grabar, and he held the office until the advent of World War II. We repeat that such a Carpatho-Russian governor had no voice in the administration of Subcarpathian Rus'. All power resided in the hands of officials of Czech nationality sent to Subcarpathian Rus' by the authorities in Prague.

Why the Czechoslovak Government Did Not Grant Autonomy to Subcarpathian Russia.

When we, or anyone else, asks the Czechoslovak government why it, during these twenty years since World War I, did not ful-

fill its obligations, which were included in an international treaty after the imperialistic war and signed by the representatives of Czechoslovakia, the central authorities of Czechoslovakia reply to us and to all others who are interested, that the Carpatho-Russian people could not yet be granted autonomy because they had not matured enough for it, they had as yet no one capable of governing the country. And, during the first years after the war, one could agree with this argument of the Czechoslovak authorities, because we know in what condition we came out of the terrible oppression of the Hungarian nobility. In the first place, the mass of the people was illiterate and politically ignorant. And the intelligentsia had completely crossed over to the camp of the rulers of Hungarian nationality. In all of Subcarpathian Russia there was not an educated person who knew the Russian language! There were no Russian schools, and all those who graduated from Hungarian schools accepted the Hungarian language as their native one and even in private life spoke only in Hungarian (Magyar). The Carpatho-Russian language remained only with the people, but it was so debased by the Hungarian authorities and by its own national traitors, that even the masses of the people began to be ashamed of their own Carpatho-Russian language and in its place created a new, so-called "Catholic", or "Slovenian" language—that language which is spoken around Pryashev. This is not the Slovak language, but a mixed-up Carpatho-Russian one (Lemko dialect).

It was clear, that in order for Subcarpathian-Russia to receive autonomy—the right of self-government—it was necessary to educate new people from the masses, with love for its down-trodden people and native language; it was necessary to awaken our people to national and social life. The Czechs, standing higher culturally, could have helped in the cultural uplift of the Carpatho-Russians. But those Czechs, who found themselves in power in the new republic, in truth were either Austrian officials or politicians; and so it was not remarkable that they adopted the Austrian method of ruling a country—"divide and rule". Thus, the Czechoslovak authorities, instead of helping the Carpatho-Russian people lift themselves up culturally, began to take advantage of their cultural and national backwardness and economic poverty for their own Czech, national and denationalizing purposes.

In the first place, in Carpatho-Russia before her annexation to

Czechoslovakia, there were no nationalistic quarrels, there was no Ukrainian question. The Carpatho-Russians in their long Hungarian bondage had preserved their old feeling of being Russian, their Russian nationality and old Russian language, which was neither Great Russian nor Ukrainian, but Carpatho-Russian. In order to divide the Carpatho-Russian people nationally and linguistically, the Czechoslovak politicians created a national and language question in Subcarpathian Rus', and divided the Carpatho-Russians into two hostile camps. In order to enroot Ukrainianism in Subcarpathian Russia, the Czechs sent there Galician-emigrants, Ukrainian nationalists, who insisted upon the use of Ukrainian. And in order that they might have worthy opponents, the Czech authorities also sent out Russian immigrants, White guards or nationalists, who strove to include the literary Russian language in the schools. And so, in Subcarpathian Russia, for this same Carpatho-Russian people, both of these nationalists promote each his own language, but neither one nor the other is the people's. For this same Carpatho-Russian people in Subcarpathian Rus' there exist two kinds of schools with Great Russian and Ukrainian languages, but there is no school with the Carpatho-Russian language. There graduate from these schools two kinds of people: Some of them write in literary Russian, others in Ukrainian, but neither of them writes in Carpatho-Russian which they consider fit only for peasants. Newspapers and books are published in both literary languages, but not in the vernacular Carpatho-Russian.

Doesn't such a course of affairs seem to be deliberate, intentional, in order to hold back progress, the cultural progress of the Carpatho-Russian people? And in order more quickly to denationalize them? Because, besides these two kinds of Russian schools, the Czechoslovak authorities more and more, in the villages of Subcarpathian Russia, open up Czech schools and, profiting from this national and language battle, point to a way out of it in the Czech language and the Czech school. And, in order to attract more Carpatho-Russian children to Czech schools, they introduce an interesting system: We all know that the backward Carpatho-Russian parent would not, if he could help it, send his child to school at all, for the backward parent believes neither in schools nor in learning. And if he sends his child to school, rather than tend cattle, it is only because he fears a monetary fine. In Subcarpathian Russia and with this view-

point exist two kinds of schools: if the child does not come to Russian school, the parent pays a fine; if he does not attend or is absent from the Czech school, there is no fine. For this reason, he registers his child in a Czech school.

When already such a language chaos was brought into being in Subcarpathian Russia, the Czechoslovak authorities wanted to show that they were not responsible and so announced that parents could vote for their choice of a school language. So, eighty-five percent of the population of Subcarpathian Russia voted in favor of having the literary Russian language in the schools of Subcarpathian Russia, while but fifteen percent voted for Ukrainian. It turned out that the tendency toward Russian was far stronger; so that now the central authorities will support the inclination toward the Ukrainian so that it will not expire.

How can one explain this attitude of the Czechoslovak central authorities toward the brotherly Carpatho-Russian people? Only thus it is to be explained: that, from the great success in the building of the Czechoslovak Republic, the heads of many Czechs were turned; they thought that there was no power that could threaten their independence, and that they could govern their country without regard to the rights of other nationalities, especially the rights of the culturally weak (Carpatho-Russian people.) And those Czechoslovak chauvinists were, during those twenty years, in the majority in the Czechoslovak government. But now the majority of the Czechs in power already see that to govern such a multinational state as Czechoslovakia, without regards for the rights of other nationalities, is impossible; that it is necessary to consider the wills and desires of all the different peoples making up the state.

From the negotiations going on, between the representatives of Subcarpathian Rus' and those of the Czechoslovak government, it would seem that autonomy for Subcarpathian Russia is near. But although Subcarpathian Russia will receive the autonomy entitled to her, there still is a great distance to go before our people become satisfied with their situation. Our people will continue to be dissatisfied so long as she does not receive national and economic freedom in order that our people can live on their land, which has enough resources for their livelihood. But these resources are in the hands of others.

Pryashevskaya Rus' (Ugorskaya Lemkovschina)

Lemkovschina (the western part of Carpatho-Russia, about 10,000 quadratic kilometers), is a land inhabited by the Carpatho-Russian people (over 400,000), known as Lemkos, to the west of the Uzh and San rivers, beyond Poprad and Dunaets. On this territory are to be found upwards of seven hundred Carpatho-Russian Lemko villages, in a mountainous section, continuous, not mixed with any other nationality. This Carpatho-Russian land and its people has remained up to now completely forgotten as if condemned to death.

Once upon a time they were free, when Polish and Hungarian Pans did not venture into the hills. Afterwards, the Polish and Hungarian states ran their boundary along that Carpatho-Russian land. But when Hungary and Galicia came under the rule of the Hapsburgs, we found ourselves under one power and, during their rule, although one-half belonged to Austria, and the other to Hungary, between us was a tie of trade and culture. Bardiov, Lubovnia, Mezhiboretz were, so to speak, our trading centers, to which came Lemkos from the Galician side; whereas to Galician trading centers came Uhorsky Lemkos. Besides the times of trading fairs, we saw each other en masse during holidays. Also, wealthy villagers from the Galician side sent their children to the schools in Pryashev, where they taught in German.

The people were conscious of their identity. But this was not in the interests of the Hungarian authorities, and just prior to World War I (1914), on the Uhorsky side there began a forced Magyarization. But it was difficult to Magyarize the villagers. Only those became Magyars (Hungarians) who finished Hungarian schools in the cities: priests, teachers, and others.

As was already mentioned, the imperialists, after World War I, left that boundary among us as the boundary between Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the Uhorska part of Lemkovina was united with eastern Slovakia, as Slovak territory; whereas the Galician part was joined to "Western Little-Poland", as Polish territory, against the will of the Carpatho-Russian people.

How did the new Slavonic authorities treat us? They treated us in simple fashion, just as a domineering people treats a culturally weaker minority. The Slovaks, themselves not long ago under the Hungarian yoke, denied to Pryashevskaya Rus' the

national rights of a minority; they do not even recognize the Carpatho-Russian nationality in eastern Slovakia. In Russian villages in Pryashevschina, where there existed Russian Parochial Schools under the Magyar regime, now such schools are being shut down and in their places Slovak schools are being established. Where there were Hungarian state schools, there the Slovaks have transformed them into Slovak state schools. In Pryashevskaya Rus', with a population of 200,000 Russians, there is not even one Russian high school.

Slovak chauvinists, organized in a "Slovak League", took as their goal forcibly to Slovakize a population of two-hundred thousand Russians, and in such a manner increase the size of their own nation. The Slovaks thought that our people in Pryashevskaya Rus' would not be capable of defending themselves. But it turned out differently. Our people in Pryashevschina are already awakening not only nationally, but are also class conscious. And they were awakened by the newspaper "Lemko", which came to Pryashevskaya Rus' from the United States for a couple of years. The Slovak chauvinists grasped the fact that the newspaper "Lemko", and the literature of the "Lemko Souz" in the native Carpatho-Russian languages, awakens Pryashevschina, and they saw to it that the authorities at the end of 1937 put a stop to the entry of the newspaper "Lemko" into Carpatho-Russia. This newspaper was refused entry only because from it our people could educate themselves in their own language; there was no other reason.

We know that all foreign Czech and Slovak newspapers, be they fascist or communist, may freely enter Czechoslovakia; only for local Carpatho-Russian newspapers and for those published overseas are obstacles created. Especially persecuted is the newspaper "Lemko", as a truthful Carpatho-Russian organ of the people. However, among our people, among the workers in the emigration, and the Carpatho-Russian villagers, there are no enemies of the Czechoslovak State. When Czechoslovakia was threatened by German fascism, the entire Carpatho-Russian people, with the exception of a couple of Magyarophile priests, stood in defense of its Slavonic republic, for its unity and independence. Unanimously stood in defense of the Republic and democracy our brothers in the old country, and the entire Carpatho-Russian emigration in the United States and Canada, under the leadership of its only peoples' Carpatho-Russian organization—"Lemko Souz."

Galician Lemkovschina in Bondage to the Polish Pans

Worst of all lives that part of the Carpatho-Russian people that fell under the authority of the Polish Pans that is, the Galician part of Lemkovschina, from the River San to the Poprad and Dunaetz. The Polish Pans (nobles) also forcibly established Polish schools in our villages (in the 1930's). Those Russian teachers, who remained in our villages after the Austrian regime, were sent away by the Poles to the interior of Poland; and in their place to Lemkovschina as teachers were sent downright chauvinists-fascists who did not know a word of Russian. But the Galician Lemkos are more stubborn in the defense of their nationality than the Ugorsky Lemkos. While the Ugorsky Lemkos in their mass accept Slovakization almost unconcernedly, the Galician Lemkos fight against Polish Chauvinism. The Galician Lemkos have come to an understanding with the progressive Polish village and labor organizations and, in union with them, are stepping out into battle with the power of the Polish Pans in Poland not only for their national rights, but also their farming and economic rights. Galician Lemkos more firmly hold on to their Russian nationality and more highly value their vernacular language than do the Ugorsky Lemkos. This can be explained by the fact that, during the Austro-Hungarian rule Galician Lemkos had more rights as a nationality in Austria than their Ugorsky brothers in Hungary; and during this period they acquired national consciousness. For example, all of the Galician Lemkos when writing use the Russian alphabet; whereas, of the Ugorsky Lemkos only a few write with Russian letters. Half of the Russian population of Pryashevskaya Rus' does not read in the Russian alphabet or letters. This explains why Carpatho-Russian fraternal society or insurance newspapers for emigrants from Pryashevskaya Rus' are printed, half of them, at least, in the Latin alphabet.

And if history has permitted the Galician Russians, or Lemkos, better to inform themselves nationally, politically, and as a class, then they must now share this with the Ugorsky Russians, or Lemkos; in fact, with all Carpatho-Russians. The Galician Lemkos must be those advanced, nationally and as regards class, Carpatho-Russians; they must help all of the Carpatho-Russians to get going nationally and culturally; they must help them unite and win their right to national and economic life.

Polish and Czechoslovak chauvinists censure our national movement; they say it is one of separatism; that if we proclaim

the unity of Carpatho-Russian people and Karpatska Rus', the unity of our country, then we wish to deceive on the one hand, Poland, on the other, Czechoslovakia. Polish chauvinists condemn our national effort, stating that we want to tear away the Galician part of Lemkovschina and unite it to Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Czechoslovak chauvinists accuse us of wanting to tear away Pryashevskaya Rus from Czechoslovakia and unite it with Poland, because we are engaged in enlightening our people both on the Czechoslovak and the Polish sides of the border. To this we can only reply that not only do we not wish to betray either the Polish or the Slovak people, but that we want to help them gain a true national freedom, the same kind as for ourselves; and that we want to live with the Polish and Slovak neighbors in the best harmony and brotherhood. We are not fighting, nor shall we ever fight, against the Polish, Slovak, and Czech brotherly peoples; we want nothing more from them except our rights to life on our own lands; and we fight and will fight only against those who deny us these rights to life and cultural development on our own native Carpatho-Russian land.

Carpatho-Russia can receive complete national and economic freedom only after the decline of imperialism, through a national socialistic revolution, which will bring freedom not only to our people, but to all the peoples of the world. And in order to liberate our people, gain for them a true people's, national, and economic freedom, we must fight for such freedom, together with all oppressed nations, together with the working class of the world; we must fight against those domineering nations . . . against war, and against the new creature they created—against fascism. To fight against these enemies of mankind is possible only with the help of a national organization.

Is there among us such a people's organization, that fights hand in hand with similar organizations of other nationalities for freedom for all, for the brotherhood of nations?

Such a Carpatho-Russian organization we have; it is called "Lemko Association."

The Lemko Association

The Lemko Association was organized in the "New World," to which had gone half of the population of Carpatho-Russia. There is only one country on earth which so quickly sent out half of

its population as emigrants, and that country is our own Carpatho-Russia. And this, our numerous Carpatho-Russian emigration in the United States and Canada, would have died without a trace had not her best laborer-emigrants founded the first Carpatho-Russian cultural and educational organization, the Lemko Association.

The beginning of this organization was in Winnipeg, Canada, early in 1929, where a few young workers, emigrants from Lemkovschina, had gathered for a meeting and set up a brief people's program for the organization. They named this organization the Lemko Association because, first of all, they were Lemkos and, secondly, because the Lemkos were the worst oppressed of all the Carpatho-Russian people, and most stubborn in the fight against their oppressors.

The organizers of this new Carpatho-Russian organization wrote about it to the editors of the newspaper "Lemko", which appeared once a month in Philadelphia. When our people in the United States found out about this organization from the newspaper, the more responsible of them began organizing branches of it among our Carpatho-Russian population. The newspaper "Lemko" soon became the organ of the association. At the beginning of 1930, the newspaper began to be published as a weekly in Cleveland, Ohio. And in that place on February 22, 1931, was held the first convention of the Lemko Association. At this convention the by-laws of the organization were accepted, and it was decided to adopt a charter. From this time on, the Lemko Association began to grow in the number of its branches and its members; and most of all did the members grow in their national and class awareness. The Lemko Association has during its existence caused an upheaval among our emigration; it taught many of our people to think and to read books and newspapers. Every year the number of books, almanacs, and newspapers published by the Lemko Association increases. Early in 1936 the editorial office of the newspaper and the office of the organization were transferred from Cleveland to New York City, in the very midst of the Carpatho-Russian emigration. The newspaper is published twice a week. And the Sixth Congress of the Lemko Association resolved to take steps toward the construction of a Carpatho-Russian American Center, which is being built in Yonkers, New York. The Seventh Congress or Convention of the organization

has been announced for the end of October 1938, in its own home. As this is being written, the Center is rapidly nearing completion.

In order to describe this great cultural work that is being done by the Lemko Association for our emigration and for our own land in Europe, a whole book would have to be written.

The chief merit of the Lemko Association lies in this, that by its people's working organization our Carpatho-Russian people proved that they want to live and develop culturally; and for this, their existence and cultural development, they are ready to fight against their oppressors. Such a people cannot perish!

