

INFORMATION

REGARDING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE
RUTHENE TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE CAR-
PATHIANS PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS BY THE EMIGRANT RUTHENIANS

18. I. 1922



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At the XIV plenary sitting of the League of Nations September 16, 1921 M. Osusky delivered an address on the part of Czecho-Slovakia and, in connection with a request of Lord Robert Cecil, he gave an account of the memoire regarding the organisation of the Ruthenian Territory in the South-Carpathians presented to the Council by Dr. Benes, minister for foreign affairs.

Not having had occasion to become acquainted with the memorandum in its entirety we must content ourselves with the supposition that M. Osusky's account corresponds in the essential with the contents of the memorandum. M. Osusky's declaration at the close of his address certainly goes to prove this.

It was with astonishment we read the statements regarding the Ruthenian question this memorandum lays before the Council of the League of Nations. It is our duty towards our people to reduce to its own value the erroneous information offered and to give the League of Nations the means of seeing clearly in this matter. This is all the more necessary as in the absence of the autonomy stipulated for the Ruthenian people in the Treaty of St. Germain, of September 10, 1919 they have no means of giving their opinion publicity and the League of Nations, under whose special protection our people was placed, can not bear their complaints.

The fate of the South-Carpathian Ruthenian people has always been represented one-sidedly by the Czecho-Slovak Government. If what the Guarantee Treaty says, and what is mentioned by M. Osusky is true, that the Ruthenian people joined the Czecho-Slovak Republic voluntarily then surely this unfortunate people should be granted a hearing when their affairs, their very life is under discussion. Surely the statement cannot hold good that it is alone and exclusively the Czechish Government and its organs have the right to speak in the name of the Ruthenian people? Why, according to the above mentioned Treaty, the Czechish State has not only rights to the Ruthenian territory awarded to them but obligations towards them invested with the force of international law. In controlling the fulfilment of these obligations can the declarations of the Czechish Government alone be considered worthy of attention.

We will leave out of consideration that habit of the Czechish Government according to which they will of a surety declare of us, as of all our precursors that we are not furnished with rights to speak in the name of the Ruthenian people. We are not able to look on any longer at the terrible sufferings of our people and are convinced that the League of Nations will weigh the truth of our assertions in the light of the documents we are about to present.

And who would according to the Czechish Government should be called upon to make declarations in the Ruthenian Question besides themselves. The people itself hardly, for the Czechish Government declares of our unfortunate, long-suffering people that the great majority is not able to read and write and occupies the lowest level of civilisation.

The Czechish Government forgets that only a few years ago they considered this people ripe to decide their own fate, and fit to receive an autonomy. That was when they wished to gain them over to their own side. We will prove by the acts of the Ruthenian union annexed that the organisers or exponents of the Czecho-Slovak State, M. Masaryk and Benes, as also M. Kramarz at the Peace Conference, secured our adherence by the promise of an autonomy for which they then considered our people ripe. But putting this point aside let us only consider whether it may be supposed of the Peace Conference that is to say of its Council of Ten or the Council of Five with its special competency, that they had not fully weighed the matter before they gave this *single people* an autonomy while all the other people freed from oppression by the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were simply joined to their racial kindred? In our eyes, *after* the Treaty of St. Germain (September 10, 1919) when the five Principal Powers created the autonomy, there can be no more occasion for any one, least of all the Czechish Government to the question whether our people are ripe for an autonomy or not. This question has been settled by the Principal Powers *de jure* and *de facto*, leaving no room for appeal.

But the Czechish Government knows no educated class among the Ruthenians such as might have the vocation of representing the people. This is easily under-

stood by all who know the ruthless persecution carried on from the moment of Czechish occupation to our days compelling the educated Ruthenians to leave the territory. Still this educated class exists and wherever its members may have found refuge they are bound with the ties of blood to this people, whose sufferings they feel and whose misery finds in them a willing advocate whatever official Czechish organs may say. They cannot dispute the fact of their having originated from the people and being one with them in body and soul.

The Czechish Government speaks only of one man of Ruthenian origin, twice mentioned with emphasis in Osusky-Benes's address. This man, Dr. Gregory Ignatius Zsatkovics, nominated governor by the Czecho-Slovak Government is an American citizen who since his fifth year has lived in America, cut off from the Ruthenians of Hungary till the summer of 1918. It was Zsatkowics who since the 26th June 1918 worked together with M. Massaryk and Dr. Wilson in the United States in preparing the union with the Czecho-Slovak State. As an unconditional and zealous partisan of the Czechish union he must certainly be a chief witness as to the preliminaries and the actual history of the union as also for all the events happening on Ruthenian territory since the Czechish occupation and especially during the term of his governorship.

Zsatkovics was nominated president of the Ruthenian Directorium organised by the Czechish Government November 18, 1919, resigning together with the members of the Directorium February 19, 1920, in a letter to the Premier of Czecho-Slovakia (109—20) saying: As my political convictions regarding the affairs of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (i. e. the South-Carpathian Ruthenian Territory) is not in union with the policy of the Czecho-Slovak Government.

He was subsequently nominated governor April 26, 1920, which post he relinquished March 16, 1921. The causes of his demission are set forth at some length in a Memorandum (Exposé) presented to President Massaryk and the Czecho-Slovak Government. This memorandum or exposé contains authentic and exact details of the preliminaries of the Ruthenian-Czecho-Slovak union and of the Czecho-Slovak régime. There is no cause to doubt the authenticity of M. Zsatkovics's account nor can we believe the Czecho-Slovak Government would discredit the facts of their high functionary whereas MMs. Benes-Osusky still refer to him and boast of his governorship.

We therefore in the argument between the Czecho-Slovak Government and the Ruthenian people go upon the basis of M Zsatkovics's Exposé. We have the honour to annex this exposé to our memorandum in authentic translation and at full length. (Appendix I.) We are ready, if desired, to present the Ruthenian original also.

May we be allowed after this to draw the attention of the League of Nations to the statements of Dr. Benes's memorandum detailed by M. Osusky so that the League of Nations may have the means of noticing the contradiction evident in each point.

1. Osusky commences his account of the Benes memorandum by the statement that though the autonomous Ruthenian Territory was entrusted to the Czecho-Slovak Republic September 10, 1919 still, the Treaty of Trianon not being signed until June 4, 1920, *the administration of that territory by Czecho-Slovakia could only be commenced in the July of 1920.* This statement, it seems was necessary to the Czecho-Slovak Government to explain the omission of fulfilling their obligations during two years.

True it is that Czecho-Slovakia was awarded the Ruthenian territory by the five Principal Powers September 10, 1919. We are not, however, able to understand the connection between the signing of the Treaty of Trianon and the *de jure* and *de facto* possibility, of organising the Ruthenian territory. Surely Dr. Benes, the excellent international lawyer does not mean to say state that the convention concluded with the five Principal Powers really came into force when Hungary signed the Treaty of Trianon? The Treaty of Trianon runs thus: „Hungary, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers recognises the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State, which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians.“ This Article is included word for word in the treaties with Austria and with Germany too. Its meaning in international law is nothing more than that the countries just mentioned are also bound to acknowledge this decision of the Principal Powers.

Had some connection truly existed between the signing of the Treaty of Trianon and the commencement of the administration of the Ruthenian territory this would have applied to the Slovak territory too, this also having been taken from the territory of the former Hungary and the quoted Article of the Treaty of Trianon having reference to this territory also. MMs. Benes and Osusky would surely hesitate to affirm that the administration of the Slovak territory also commenced after the signing of the Treaty of Trianon.

There is therefore no connection between the signing of the Treaty of Trianon and the organisation of the autonomous Ruthenian territory. The territory was entrusted to Czecho-Slovakia in the Treaty of St. Germain September 10, 1919, with full legal force. This is, for the rest proved of the proceeding of the Czecho-Slovak Government, the clauses of the Treaty of St. Germain referring to Ruthenia (Chapter II. Article 10, 11, 12 and 13) being — but in a form much opposed by M. Zsatkovics formerly Governor of Ruthenia — inserted among the guarantees of constitution on occasion of the establishment of the Republican constitution in the February of 1920. (Czecho-Slovak constitution Article III, paragraphs 2—7).

But Dr. Benes's asseveration that the Czechish Government was not, until the July of 1920 in a position to inaugurate the administration of the Ruthenian territory is not only untenable from a legal point of view, it is also *contradicted by the facts*.

The General Hennoque, of the french army, military dictator, published on the 20th August, 1919 the decision of the Peace Conference regarding the Ruthenian territory that is, proclaimed the formation of Pod-Karpatska-Russ. On this basis a government of this territory was formed at Ungvár, a Czech not knowing Ruthenian, Dr. Breiha, being made head of the civil government with the title of Governor, and installed in his office by General Hennoque. Dr. Breiha organised the central and the local administration selecting Czechs as in chief referees of each department and ridding himself by means of persecution of the old and tried Ruthenian functionaries in the several offices filled their places with Czechs or with Ukraines and Russians (Lemcos, Kacaps) from Galicia.

These facts leave no doubt that the administration of the Ruthenian territory by the Czechish Government was actually begun in the August of 1919.

The details set forth above are placed beyond doubt by M. Zsatkovics's Exposé. We quote from it the following: „Government appointed a Dr. Breiha as head of the civil administration whose chief object it seemed to be to break up the Ruthenian people into as many fragments as possible“. The unavailing discussions carried on by Zsatkovics as president of the Directorium with the Czechish Government in the matter of the appointment and discharge of *officials* nominated by the administrator, respectively by the military dictator, are particularly interesting. (See Exposé.)

2. It is not the first time we have met with the statement of Dr. Benes's memorandum commented by M. Osusky that *85. p. c. of our people are not able to read and write*. This statement is continually reiterated on all occasions, especially since the Ruthenian people have been granted an autonomy. We must make this matter clear before European public opinion uninformed on this point the mere so as this statement is represented by the agents of the Czecho-Slovak Government as a serious obstacle to our promised autonomy. We will not now call to mind that the people who prepared the Czecho-Ruthenian union (Massaryk, Benes, Kramar) never mentioned this circumstance with one word, on the contrary they themselves made the offer of an autonomy for the Ruthenian people in America and before the Peace Conference. We must suppose them to have been acquainted with the Ruthenian people in 1918, and in 1919, and they do not seem then to have considered this asserted majority of illiterates as an obstacle to the granting or the building up of an autonomy. Nor was it an obstacle and is not one now as we will prove immediately.

MMs. Osusky-Benes having thought good to emphasize this statement, placing it at the head of their argumentation, and having forged it into an accusation against the Hungarian Government for having thus wickedly neglected our unhappy people, we think it necessary to prove the perfect untenability of this oft repeated assertion.

We cannot say from what statistics MM. Osusky and Benes take their date as to 85. p. c. of our people being unable to read and write. Probably they are using the returns of the Hungarian statistics. This supposition is supported by the remark on the responsibility of the Hungarian Government for these unfavourable conditions. Truly an average of 85. p. c. may be established from the Hungarian statistics by taking those unable to read and write in the four ancient Ruthenian counties of the present Ruthenian territory. Only the mention of an essential circumstance is omitted by MM. Osusky and Benes namely that the 85 p. c. refers to the inability to read and write *Hungarian*. According to Hungarian statistics then, *85 p. c. of Ruthenians is unable to read and write Hungarian*.

The Hungarian State required Hungarian instruction in all schools of the country, not only in the State schools but also in the denominational ones. That is required the knowledge of reading writing and arithmetic in Hungarian. This demand met with a passive resistance on the territories of non-Hungarian language. The Hungarian State, however also ordained the obligatory teaching of the nationality's language in the denominational schools and its facultative teaching in the

State schools. (In Appendix II. we have made a list of the names of the Ruthenian teachers of scripture and of the Ruthenian language in the middle-schools and training-schools for teachers maintained by the State or by denominations.) The importance attributed to this ordinance is proved by the fact that in the (State) training colleges for teachers a special diploma was given for teaching the language of a nationality on the grounds of a special examination. Thus in the Ruthenian denominational (Greek Catholic) training college at Ungvár the teaching of Ruthenian was obligatory and the teachers gaining a diploma there received a diploma for the teaching of Ruthenian also. According to the statistics from 1914 the number of such teachers was 355. These as diplomed Ruthenian teachers taught Ruthenian, as a compulsory subject in the 339 Greek Catholic elementary schools, using the school-books of Csopey László—Fenczik Gáspár. These school-books written in the living language of our people have been found so good that now, under the Czechish rule they are still ordered from Budapest and the printing offices at Ungvár are not able to supply the demand for them.

The church ceremonies of the Greek Catholics also required that the faithful should be versed in reading and writing cyrillic books for they had to take part at mans in the singing or chanting of the psalms, canticles and the creed. Whoever is acquainted with the deeply seated religious feelings of our people will understand that every Ruthenian farmer was proud if his sons were able to support the precenter in singing during the mans. They therefore required of the teacher, and do so now, to satisfy this desire of the parents, so that by for the greater part of the younger generation in the villages know how to read and write the cyrillic-letters. *We may therefore safely assert that 85 p. c. of the Ruthenian people may be unable to read and write Hungarian, but the proportion of those not knowing the cyrillic reading and writing is 30—35 p. c. at most and the greater part of these are women.*

The Ruthenian men who had not learned to write cyrillic overcame this difficulty by copying the printed letters from the books and using them in writing. Oven the women had to the greater part learned to read printed letters. The Ruthenian people received their mental sustenance in the almanach appearing yearly, the periodical the "Nauka" published at Ungvár and in the peoples's papers published by the Hungarian Government and propagated in thousands of copies. They were read with pleasure being written in the language the people spoke among themselves.

If the statement of Mss. Benes and Osusky were true we would humbly inquire who is to read the many Ruthenian and Pravoslav papers, printed in cyrillic springing up on our territory as which as mushrooms after a rain? If 85 p. c. of our people are unable to read and write for whom are these papers printed and propagated, many of them powerfully supported by Czecho-Slovak parties.

To dissolve any doubts which may still exist we will enumerate the cyrillic papers appearing now in Ungvár:

Narod	edited by Eugen Puza]
Russka Niva	" Michael Brascasajko
Nauka	" Augustus Volosin
Russin	" A. O. Zsatkovics
Ruskaja Zemlja	" Dr. Andrew Gagatkó
Podkarpatska Russ (Czechish)	" Joseph Stulik
Pravda (communist paper)	" Ivan Mondok
Nasa Oborona	" George Tanchakovsky
Uчителj	" Dr. Ivan Panykevich
Vpered	" Eugen Puza
Karpato Russkij Vistnik	" Joseph Kaminszky

With the object not only of postponing the organisation of the autonomy to as distant a term as possible but also to cloak the great defects and faults committed by the Czecho-Slovak Government on this territory and to give a reason for the terrible conditions prevailing at present on the Ruthenian territory in the department of economy, hygiene and education MMs. Benes and Osusky attempt to throw all blame in this respect on the Hungarian government. It is not our business to defend the Hungarian Government but in the name of our people we must still protest against this proceeding lacking all basis of objective truth. It is a fact that the economic, hygienic and cultural conditions of our people have vastly deteriorated *since the Czecho-Slovak régime*. This decline cannot be attributed solely to the burdensome economic conditions arising after the world-war and prevailing the world over. The hard situation obtaining everywhere has been doubtless rendered much more difficult by the inefficiency of the administration inaugurated by the Czecho-Slovak Government. We have facts to prove the abuses of the official staff the unbearable hygienic conditions and the retrogression of school affairs.

It will be, perhaps, the most convincing if to publish the numerical data

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illustrating to every reader the conditions imposed upon the Ruthenians by the Czecho-Slovak rule. We owe it to fairness and truth to establish that the Hungarian Government did not neglect our people, on the contrary — though not in any way bound to do so — a special movement for the aid of the Ruthenians, not extended to the other nationalities, was started in 1898 (Highland action). The results of this action are set forth in detail in the annex (Appendix III.). We, however, deem it necessary to draw attention here to the chief facts, as follows:

A) *Purchase of land.* The Hungarian Government purchased arable land and pastures for 33 Ruthenian villages, 8,464 yokes in all, to the value of 5,145,536 crowns. Besides this all Ruthenian villages were assisted in the renting of pastures, to an extent of 20,000 yokes.

B) *Stockraising.* The Hungarian Government distributed 16,647 animals for breeding to the value of 3,891,026 crowns of which 1,443,602 crowns were found by the State. It must be considered as a result of this action that in 1917 on the Ruthenian territory the live stock in the three counties (Ung, Bereg, Máramaros) amounted to 15,173 horses, 178,243 homed cattle, 108,466 sheep and 66,945 pigs.

C) *Courses in agriculture and in the handicrafts.* From 1898 to 1914 1920 Ruthenian youths received theoretical and practical training in the agriculture schools maintained by the State, and one hundred more were trained for dairy-work. About 10,000 Ruthenian small farmers attended altogether 50 agricultural courses, 60 priests, 85 teachers and 17 small farmers (model farms) receiving besides a full training both theoretical and practical. The expenses of all this amounting to 612,631 crowns, were borne by the Hungarian State.

For training the Ruthenian people to the handicrafts the Hungarian Government organised about 120 different courses for handicrafts, at which 5489 Ruthenian youths were trained. 14,487 Ruthenians took part in the practice of different handicrafts, assisted by the State in starting their industry with 845,576 crowns.

281,064 crowns were expended on improving the land of the pastures rented by Ruthenian farmers. The cost of the seed distributed among Ruthenian agriculturists amounted during these twenty years to 702,732 crowns. (See Annex F, point 5.) 400,000 grafts for fruit-trees were distributed among the Ruthenian farmers while 142,956 wild fruit-trees were grafted at a cost to the State of 200,000 crowns. So at the time the Czechs took possession of the Ruthenian Territory in 1919 there were, besides the trees in private property, 542,956 grafted trees in the hands of the Ruthenians through the care of the State. (E.)

In years of bad harvest the Hungarian Government provided the needy Ruthenians with food gratis and also indemnified them for war-losses. The sums paid out on these two amounts made up no less than 20,702,249 crowns. (F, point 13.)

Besides this within the sphere of this action roads were built between the Ruthenian villages and between the villages and the Alpine meadows leased for pastureland, dikes were constructed to prevent the damages caused previously by the mountain streams and by landslips, the costs of which were 350,214 crowns. (F, point 11.) In the Ruthenian villages unprovided with drinking water and on the Alpine pastures for the watering of the cattle, wells were bored and all these provided with drinking-water at a cost of 237,022 crowns. (F, p. 12.)

The total expenditure of the State in the Ruthenian action carried on by the Hungarian Government for twenty years amounted to 39,589,626 crowns according to the final statement.

The profitable continuance of the Ruthenian Action briefly sketched above was prevented by the world-war and the events following it. The Highland commission of the action established at Munkács was pressed into the service of Czechish interests by the Czecho-Slovak Government. The milk produced in their dairies was sold at a low price to Czechish officials and even the fruit harvest of 1920 was bought at a favourable figure by Czechish dealers. The live stock in the present possession of the commission is the following: at Munkács: 7 horses, one cow; at Szolyva 4 bulls, 6 cows, 4 oxen, 8 horses, 50 sheep, 10 pigs; at Alsóvereczke 18 cows, 12 calves, 8 oxen, two horses, 2 mules and 30 sheep. It is characteristic of the treatment accorded our people that while for instance at Szolyva the newly arrived Czechish caretaker received 1000 crowns monthly salary, lodging, firing, light and two litres of milk a day the Alpine keeper who has been in this service for 23 years has 600 crowns salary and rent money. The Czechish controller M. Zsalut is entrusted with conducting the whole action. We have only mentioned these few facts to show how the Czecho-Slovak régime has, in a short time, ruined this promising economic action.

The terrible deterioration of *public health* is best studied in the official Czechish statistics themselves. In 1919, when the Czecho-Slovak Government took possession of the Ruthenian Territory, mortality amounted to 4430, and in 1920 to 17,613. The following statistics are also characteristic of the conditions of public health: in the district of Vereczke, 1919 the number of births was 623, of deaths 471.

Death was caused in 47 p. c. by epidemics. In 1920 the number of births was 529, of deaths 570, 84 p. c. being caused by epidemics. In the first half of 1921 the number of births was 271, of deaths 212, of which 80 p. c. caused by epidemics. In this district numbering 20,000 inhabitants there are but two physicians only one of whom is officially appointed.

In the village of Ökörmező in 1920 hunger-typhoid had 57 victims, in Cserjés 26. In the village of Dolha the average number of deaths is 160, but in the past year (1920) 260 persons died. At Kovácsrét (Máramaros) the yearly average is 80, but in the first half of 1920 the decense of 160 persons was registered. The rise in the death-rate of Kereczke (county Máramaros) is shown by the following figures: the number of deaths in 1918 was 76, in 1919 79, in 1920 114.

The administration of public hygiene on the Ruthenian Territory is in the hands of Dr. Dostár, Czechish referee, formerly surgeon major in the common army of the Monarchy. In his conduct of affairs he is guided entirely by political considerations. He causes physicians from the Czechish land to settle here though we have plenty of young doctors without posts or practice. These apply in vain for the post of circuit physicians; rather the district physicians who have done honest work for tens of years are also got rid of. The Red Cross institution was formed with the exclusion of Ruthenian doctors. It is not medical skill nor the knowledge of Ruthenian that is considered but solely the question whether the applicant knows Czechish or not.

Let us now consider the matter of *public education* regarding which Messieurs Osusky-Benes have declared that during the Hungarian regime there were in 1914 18 schools and these were closed in 1915 by the Hungarian Government.

We do not know from whence this date is taken. The tables annexed (Appendix IV) afford convincing proof that in 1914 there were on Ruthenian Territory 339 Greek Catholic Ruthenian schools. The county of Máramaros, during the war suffered Russian occupation for a time, in 1915, as also some other northern portions of the Ruthenian Territory. It was probably then that the schools were temporarily closed, and this is perhaps the basis of Mss. Benes' and Osusky's statement regarding the suppression of 18 schools of Ruthenian language. The inference that this was the total number of Ruthenian schools certainly does not hold good, for in 1914 and 1915 there were 513 teachers active in the 339 Ruthenian and, besides these, the other State schools, teaching altogether 32,134 Ruthenian children.

But let us examine how public instruction was organised in General on the Ruthenian Territory *under the Hungarian régime*. We must again refer to the statistics annexed (Appendix IV.) from which it may be learnt that 767 schools of different type existed, such as infant schools, elementary, burgher, modern (real) schools etc. The statement of Mss. Osusky and Benes on the other hand registers only 679 school, less, therefore, by 88.

The account given by Mss. Benes and Osusky is, doubtless calculated to represent public instruction on the Ruthenian Territory as having been organised by the Czecho-Slovak Government, whereas in reality the said Government has done nothing more than to take over the schools existing under Hungarian Government, not even developing them, but rather allowing them to deteriorate. We cannot therefore understand what these gentlemen have to be proud of in the province of public instruction. Surely not the chaos they have created by forcing on us Ukranian and Russian as language of instruction in the stead of our Ruthenian tongue appoint Ukranian and Russian teachers and introducing school-books from Russia, unintelligible to Ruthenian youngsters. We are ready if the League of Nations so desire to furnish concrete examples of this also. We will now content ourselves with having proved the Ruthenian language to have been taught, showing the list of its professors and of Ruthenian school-books before Czechish dominion (See at the question of ability to read and write) and thus giving documentary proof of the existence and vigorous life of our language under the Hungarian sovereignty. We protest against all Ukranian and Russian attempts at denationalisation which we consider in the light of a flagrant contravention of our right of lingual independence assured us in our autonomy. The statistics of Mss. Benes and Osusky keep silence on this point, nor do they mention the persecution suffered by the Greek Catholic denominational schools of the Ruthenians, also incompatible with the promised autonomy in matters of church and school.

3. M. Osusky sets forth the constitutional guarantees voted in February 1920 by the Czecho-Slovak Republic in regard to the Ruthenian Territory.

First of all we must protest against any such presentation of facts as tries to make the establishment of these constitutional guarantees seem to be the outcome of generosity on the part of the Czecho-Slovak Government. These so-called constitutional guarantees were established by the five Principal Powers as obligations

of the Czecho-Slovak State by virtue of the Treaty of St. Germain (September 10, 1919) invested with the force of international law. The undertaking of the obligations established in this Treaty formed a condition of the awarding of the Ruthenian Territory to Czecho-Slovakia. The Treaty had to be ratified by the Czecho-Slovak Parliament. We had to set forth all this to avoid misunderstandings for the rendering of Mss. Osusky and Benes is calculated to foster the idea that it was the Czecho-Slovak State which, in its liberality, furnished the Ruthenian Territory with broad rights.

The ratification, inserted under the name of constitutional guarantees was not carried out conformly to the Treaty of St. Germain in spite of this being proclaimed in the introduction to Article 2 Clauses III of the Czechish constitution. It is open to any one to compare Articles 10—13 Chapter II of the Treaty of St. Germain with the articles of the Czecho-Slovak constitution quoted by M. Osusky, when they will receive convincing proof that essential modifications have been made on the conditions established by the five Great Powers to the prejudice of the Ruthenian Territory from which rights of importance have thus been confiscated.

In paragraph 2 instead of the stipulation of the Treaty "sous la forme d'une unité autonome à l'intérieur de l'État tcheco-slovaque" which signifies that the Ruthenian Territory is a perfectly autonomous unity, the Czechish constitution contains that the autonomous Ruthenian Territory "forme une partie inséparable de cette totalité" clearly expressing that the Ruthenian Territory is an inseparable part of the Czecho-Slovak Republic as unity.

In paragraph 4 the competency of the Ruthenian Diet has, contrary to the Treaty of St. Germain been practically annihilated by giving the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic what amounts to a veto right, only allowing the publication of the laws enacted on the Ruthenian Diet if countersigned by the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The Treaty of St. Germain makes no mention of such a stipulation.

In paragraph 6 treating of the governorship it has been inserted that the governor shall be appointed on the recommendation of the Czecho-Slovak Government, another stipulation not known of in the Treaty of St. Germain.

While indulging in these unallowable modification on the one hand on the other hand they saw fit to overlook the second sentence of Article 13 of the Treaty regarding the right to vote of the Ruthenian representatives at the Czecho-Slovak Parliament, Article 13 of the Treaty of St. Germain notably establishes that "the Ruthenian representatives have no right to vote at the Czecho-Slovak Parliament in matters relegated to the Ruthenian Diet". This important clause was simply omitted when ratifying the Treaty and thus the whole competency of the Ruthenian Diet was rendered illusory. The Czecho-Slovak Republic will draw into its province questions regarding the Ruthenian autonomy and the Ruthenian members being in a minority the Czechs will carry the day. This is just the possibility which the above mentioned Article 13 of the Treaty intended to eliminate.

The manner of proceeding witnessed at the ratification of the Treaty of St. Germain furnishes sufficient explanation of the unrest among our people which will last as long as the signs seem to point to the intention of the Czecho-Slovak Government of frustrating the promised autonomy. Distrust must augment among the Ruthenians who see themselves imposed upon, the more so as till now they have received no protection from the League of Nations as regard their autonomy.

We must emphatically point out that in proceeding thus arbitrarily regarding the ratification of the Treaty of St. Germain whose clauses they modify at will the Czecho-Slovak Government has affronted the five guaranteeing Great Powers and the League of Nations, the latter having been, in virtue of the Treaty specially appointed to safeguard the inviolability of the orderings of the Treaty of St. Germain.

The late governor appointed by the Czecho-Slovak Government, M. Zsatkovics also adopted this point of view publishing in America after his resignation on the 15th August 1921 and in agreement with the Ruthenian National Council in America a resolution containing several points. We will discuss the significance of this resolution later on just quoting here its point 8 demanding "the setting aside of that ordinance of the Czecho-Slovak constitution putting its own interpretation on the spirit and significance of the Treaty of St. Germain. Instead of these the insertion of paragraphs 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the above Treaty is demanded".

Article 2 of the Czecho-Slovak constitution, quoted by Mss. Osusky and Benes contains the proud assertion that the Ruthenians sruth of the Carpathian united with Czecho-Slovakia voluntarily. We consider it necessary that the true history of this union should at last be published.

From Zsatkovics's Exposé (here annexed) it is to be established that on October 23, 1918 the South-Carpathian Ruthenians were received as member of the Central-European Union and thus acknowledged as a separate nation free, in accordance with the principle of self-determination enunciated by President Wilson's to choose their own future form of Government. M. Zsatkovics first discussed the

eventuality of a union between the Ruthenes and the Czechs with M. Massaryk at Philadelphia the 25th October, 1918. M. Massaryk promised that in case the Ruthenes joined Czecho-Slovakia they should receive a full autonomy and that the frontiers of the Ruthenian Territory should be established to the satisfaction of the Ruthenes. Then it was that on October 26, 1918 the Central-European Union published a solenne declaration of the "Oppressed Peoples of Central-Europe" signed by M. Massaryk on the part of the Czecho-Slovaks and as president of the Union and, further, by Gregory Zsatkovics.

According to Zsatkovics, therefore, this fundamental agreement with Massaryk related to a perfectly autonomous State in federation with the Czecho-Slovaks and between frontiers calculated to fully satisfy the Ruthenes. It was on this basis that, on November 12, 1918, the Ruthenian National Council of America proclaimed the union in Scranton, Pa.

Massaryk reminded Zsatkovics that this was only the resolution of the Ruthenian National Council (Nacionalna Rada) subject to alteration on the part of the Peace Conference. For this reason they decided on a plebiscite in America.

We do not wish on this occasion to examine the question of what legal right the Ruthenians of America, the vast majority of whom had obtained American citizenship, had what right they had to decide the fate of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians. Nor do we intend to go into the question of how $\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Ruthenes could be put to the vote in America if on the Territory of Ruthenia to the South of the Carpathians there lived according to Zsatkovics's Exposé a total of 567,867 Ruthenians. This is a mathematical riddle we are unable to solve.

According to Zsatkovics's account the result of the American plebiscite was favourable to the union with the Czechs. The result of the plebiscite together with the Scranton resolution of union carried November 12, 1918, was presented by Zsatkovics to the Peace Conference annexed to the so-called "Mémoire No. 6" prepared in unison with Mss. Kramář and Benes, Czecho-Slovak delegates to the Peace Conference.

This "Mémoire No. 6" also establishes

1. that the Sub Carpathian Ruthenia is a *State*;
2. that its frontiers are provisional and subject to modification by agreement between the Czecho-Slovak State and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia,
3. that the number of Ruthenes is 567,867;
4. that the Ruthenes form compact masses in counties Sáros, Szepes, Zemplén, Ung and Bereg, counties Máramaros and Ugocsa being in great part inhabited by Ruthenes;
5. that the union of this territory with the Czecho-Slovak Republic could only be possible *if the Ruthenes themselves accept and desire it.*

We will not continue a detailed account of the contents of the Exposé annexed we would only refer here to the negotiation taking place before the special committee, the so-called Council of Five of the Peace Conference. M. Zsatkovics, Kramář and Benes took part in these negotiations. We only wish to draw attention to the fact that the alterable conditions sine qua non of union was the demand that the Ruthenes should form an independent State within the Czecho-Slovak Republic and should be independent in all affairs of internal government and administration. In his address to the deputation of the Ruthenian National Council delivered at Prague, May 23, 1919 President Massaryk acknowledged the Ruthenian state-formation and its full autonomy (Narodni Listi, May 25, 1919). Finally the proclamation of August 12, 1919, countersigned by President Massaryk also witnesses to the acknowledgement of the autonomous Ruthenian State.

From the facts just repeated it clearly appears that both the Ruthenians of America and those living to the South of the Carpathians by means of their then existing organs (Nacionalna Rada-s) unconditionally adhered, in negotiation with the expositures of the Czechish Government (Massaryk, Benes, Kramář) to a full autonomous unity. The Peace Conference made its decision on this basis and joined the Ruthenian Territory to Czecho-Slovakia on this condition.

4. Let us now examine how is realised for the Ruthenian Territory the "autonomous unity within the frame of the Czecho-Slovak State with the broadest autonomy compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State" (September 10, 1919. Article 10 of the Treaty of St. Germain). That is, let us examine the practical value of the so-called constitutional guarantees quoted by M. Osusky and Benes.

Where is the Ruthenian Diet established in paragraph 3 of the Czechish constitution quoted above? Where is the legislative activity of the Diet of the Ruthenian Territory to the South of the Carpathians established in paragraph 4? Where the Ruthenian representatives at the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly stipulated in paragraph 5?

The account given of M. Osusky and Benes omitted to furnish it with an

answer to these questions, for the simple reason that a military administration and state of siege still prevail on the Autonomous Ruthenian Territory, there is no Diet and therefore no legislative authority (for ans) in the matters of Language, schools, church, and internal administration. The Ruthenian Territory is not even represented in the central Parliament at Prague.

Given the perfect absence of constitutional life it surely cannot be right to boast certain constitutional guarantees?

True, something has still been done in this field, for, as M. Osusky and Benes inform us the constitution of February 19, 1920 and the election law of the March of the same year, allows the Ruthenians 9 deputies in the Lower House of the Czecho-Slovak Parliament, and four members in the Senate as Upper House. We do not wish to inquire whether this is the just and equitable representation mentioned in the Treaty, we will confine ourselves to establishing the fact that this representation does not actually exist. Also we cannot omit to mention M. Zsatkovics's Exposé demanding an adequate representation in the Parliament of Prague, that is 16 deputies and 8 senators instead of the 9 deputies and 4 senators prescribed by the Czecho-Slovak constitution accepted without his (Zsatkovics's) consent or that of any other representative of the people.

The so-called constitutional guarantees provide that the Ruthenian Territory should have an appointed governor (Article 6). We must establish the fact that since March 16, 1921 there is no Governor; only a vice-governor in the person of a Czech, M. Ehrenfeld, M. Osusky's assertion made before the League of Nations September 16, 1921 that the Czecho-Slovak Government had already nominated a governor of Ruthenian nationality would be perfectly incomprehensible if it were not for M. Zsatkovics who has, till now, been the only Governor of Ruthenian nationality. But he is residing in America ever since last August, and not at Ungvár, the Ruthenian capital.

Why did Gregory Zsatkovics, chief instrument of the Ruthenian-Czecho-Slovak union, the favourite of the Czecho-Slovak Government and the only Ruthenian governor hand in his demission on March 16, 1921? The authentic reply to this interesting question is furnished by M. Zsatkovics's Exposé in which, on the grounds of "the history of the facts, details and motives" he notifies his demission to the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

We humbly beg everyone to read the portion of the Exposé relating to the term of M. Zsatkovics's governorship, from which they will learn what was done in the interest of preparing the *elections* and how they proceeded to take the *census*. M. Zsatkovics when recounting this part of his experience winds up with the words: "I am bound to say, it is a sad history". This sad history is, in its essentials that, in his activity as governor he was supported by empty promises only. He urged the importance of having the elections held speedily, this being a *sine qua non* of consolidation and received a promise that they should be held before the end of January at latest. He elaborated a constitution for Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia presenting copies of it to every competent factor but came to be convinced that no one gave it serious attention. Finally, on occasion of the census in Zemplén, he gained personal experience of the official terror employed in denationalising the Ruthenian Territory arbitrarily incorporated in the "Slovensko". He protests against this with energy, declaring that the census would not be just as regards the Ruthenes.

To illustrate the manner in which the Czecho-Slovak Government had the *list of electors* compiled it should be enough to mention that in December 1920 the Czecho-Slovak Ministry was itself obliged to destroy the list because of its deficiency and order it to be compiled anew. We do not wish to suppose this measure to have been taken in the interest of a further postponement of the elections, and are ready to acknowledge the proceeding of the Czecho-Slovak Government as correct. But why, we beg to inquire, was this proceeding, so important in its bearings on political life, entrusted to Czechish officials whose inefficiency, or perhaps corruption made such a radical remedy necessary? We are surprised that after this Mns Osusky and Benes thought good to mention the preparation of the list of electors before the League of Nations. But why, in explaining the postponement of the elections do these Gentlemen invoke the date of the signing of the Treaty of Trianon? The one can be in no connection with the other for, as we have demonstrated above the administration of the Ruthenian Territory commenced in the August of 1919.

As to the census, published officially, we believe the judgement passed by the Ruthenian Governor, M. Zsatkovics is sufficient. Still there are some questions here the examination of which will not be lacking in interest.

The official Czecho-Slovak statistics record the existence of 321,764 Ruthenians. In the "Mémoire No. 6" laid before the Peace Conference Mms Massaryk, Benes, Kramař and Zsatkovics establish, the as against the allegedly erroneous Hungarian

statistics (the Hungarian returns for 1910 register 464,000 Ruthenians, that is more by 150,000 than the above figure of Czecho-Slovak statistics) that the number of the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenes is 567,867. (To quote from "Mémoire No. 6, p. 2". According to the total number of parishes in Hungary in 1910 there were 537,972 Ruthenes, more by 108,000 [25 p. c.] than recorded in the statistics published by the Hungarian State. But the number of people speaking Ruthenian was, in 1910, 567,867. This is the true number of Ruthenes in Hungary.) We are unable to imagine how the number of Ruthenians can have so greatly decreased in such a short time under the Czecho-Slovak régime. Would it not be only right to inquire of the Czecho-Slovak Government, what has become of nearly 250,000 Ruthenes since the February of 1919?

It would also be interesting to hear an account of how 53,515 Russians (8.85 p. c. of the total population) have come to be living in the Ruthenian Territory. A more detailed account of the 19,299 inhabitants of Czecho-Slovak nationality, who, together with the Russians, must have settled on Ruthenian Territory since the Czecho-Slovak régime would also greatly interest us.

The above date of the official census show that the number of new settlers on this small Territory since the Czecho-Slovak dominion is inordinately large. The inhabitants of Russian and Czecho-Slovak nationality, a large percent of whom are in official positions can, of course, at the future elections do excellent service, perfectly frustrating with their votes the will of the Ruthenian population the more so as the right of suffrage is extended to women and members of family over 21 years of age, and the soldiery also votes. It is easy to imagine the extreme coercion exercised by such a large number of officials and soldiers on so small a territory. That our anxiety is not extreme nor groundless is proved by the fact of the Ruthenian Governor Zsatkovics, nominated by the Czecho-Slovak Government demanding that the right of suffrage, active and passive, should only be accorded to those who had lived for at least five years before the election on Ruthenian territory. (See Exposé, point 2 of Ruthenian resolution, August 15, 1921.)

We do not on this occasion wish to discuss the question — certainly a most interesting one — of the *present frontiers of the Ruthenian Territory* although we must confess to a lively desire to know, whether these present frontiers were established by the Peace Conference. Not only M. Zsatkovics protested with all the energy at his command (the Exposé furnishes abundant material in this respect) but the Central National Council of the Ruthenes (Centralna Nacionalna Rada) in their meeting of December 31, 1919 declared that: "2. the delegates of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, not heeding the desire of our people have fixed the line of demarcation between the Slovak and Ruthenian territories in such an unjust manner as to cause one third of our people to be transferred to Slovak dominion". (See Nauka No. 2, issue of January 14, 1920.)

M. Zsatkovics was unable to provoke a settlement of the frontier question during his governorship. Returning therefore to America he resumes his presidency of the Ruthenian Rada in America on the 15th August and there again demands the just settlement of this question. The Ruthenians of America lift up their voice in protest before the whole world in the name of their racial kindred who, under the tyranny of an unjust and anti-democratic censorship, are unable to proclaim their own demands.

5. Mr. Benes and Osusky moot the question of *how many officials of Ruthenian birth there were under the Hungarian rule*. For answer they establish, that Government officials there were none, county (autonomous) official only, one, among the officials of local administration one, village notaries two, assistance notaries four, judges two, juridical officials two, teachers none, neither male nor female and not even in the infant schools, teachers in middle-schools also none. These alleged facts serve as basis in proving the exceptional difficulties of the task the Czecho-Slovak Government undertook when, in the absence of a competent staff they, with extraordinary efforts, organised Ruthenian administration. They then immediately hasten to declare that they have appointed a Ruthenian Governor, to reside at Užhorod (Ungvár). We have already, in the above, had the honour to establish that the sole Ruthenian governor, M. Zsatkovics resigned this post March 16, 1921 and is at present residing in America. The post of governor has been vacant ever since, the vice-governor, M. Ehrenfeld, is a Czech. Where then is the governor of Ruthenian nationality?

Mr. Benes—Osusky do not name the source from whence they take the statistics regarding officials quoted above. Whatever their source we must declare them not to be true. We have the honour to support this assertion by our Appendix V. The list of names in this Appendix furnish information as to the number of Ruthenian officials on our territory before its transfer to Czechish dominion (the Ruthenian sounding names alone are proof enough). Here we wish only

indicate the (summarised) figures to make it clear what value can be attached to the statistics of Mms Benes—Osusky.

Taking the four counties of the Ruthenian territory there were officials of Ruthenian birth and origin: *in county Máramaros* officials of the civil administration 12, notaries, assistant notaries 22, officials and employees of juridical administration 14; *in county Bereg*: officials of civil administration 14, notaries, assistant notaries 6, officials and employees of juridical administration 9; *in county Ung* officials of civil administration 16, notaries 8, officials and employees of juridical administration 1; *in county Ugoesa* officials of the civil administration 9, notaries 14, officials and employees of juridical administration 5; making in all 125 officials of Ruthenian origin in the four counties.

We have not here reckoned the number of middle-school and elementary school teachers of whom we have already spoken in point 2 of this paper when discussing the affairs of public instruction. It was established at this point that in 1914—15 there were 513 Ruthenian teachers (male and female in the elementary schools of the Ruthenian territory, while the number of Ruthenian middle-school teachers was 53.

In our Appendix IV we have registered the number of Ruthenian teachers according to the types of schools, and for greater clearness' sake we have in Appendix VI, furnished a special list of the names of the middle-school teachers of Ruthenian nationality employed at the State schools and denominational schools of the Ruthenian Territory. A special list contains the names of the Ruthenian teachers of scripture and of the Ruthenian language. (Appendix ?)

After this we beg permission humbly to inquire if, as Mms Benes and Osusky state asseverate, in the time of the Hungarian rule there was not one teacher of Ruthenian nationality where were the teachers procured for the 511 schools of Ruthenian language for the foundation of which they take credit to themselves? Or have these been provided with Ukrainian and Russian teachers coming from Eastern Galicia and Russia and not knowing Ruthenian? Or are Czech teachers employed, who are similarly unacquainted with the Ruthenian language?

Doubtless the place of many elementary and middle-school teachers of Ruthenian birth has been occupied by strangers, the Ruthenians having fled before the persecution they were subjected to.

We must however emphasize that under the Hungarian Government there was no autonomous Ruthenian Territory and the four counties mentioned above were just as much Hungarian territory as the rest. The Hungarian Government was under no such obligation as is incurred by the Czecho-Slovak Government, under the Treaty of St. Germain, September 10, 1919. Article 12 of which binds them, with the force of international law to "select the officials for the Ruthenian Territory as far as possible from among the inhabitants of the said Territory".

As shown above, however, the Hungarian Government employed Ruthenians in a proportion exceeding the percentage of that nationality. It is difficult to understand why Mms Benes and Osusky talk of the extraordinary efforts made by the Czecho-Slovak government in attempting to place government and administration in the hands of the Ruthenians.

A comparison of present conditions on our Territory as regards the position of Ruthenians there with the conditions obtaining under a Hungarian rule would certainly not be favourable to the Czecho-Slovak Government.

Let us examine the part played by Ruthenians in the staff of higher functionaires.

Head of the administration: Vice-Governor Ehrenfeld (a Czech); Political chief: Blaha (a Czech); Central referee of the administration: Hajek (a Czech); Referee of judiciary matters: Krespinszky, judge of the First Court of Appeal (a Czech); head of the department of public worship and instruction: Pesek (a Czech); head of the State police: the Prefect Huber (a Czech); manager-general of forestry: Vodička (a Czech); manager-general of public works: Caslosky Vaclav (a Czech); director general of finances: Kugler (a Czech).

The heads of local administration (*župans*, *podžupans*) are for the most part Czech. The *župan* of Ungvár: Tupalek, of Máramaros: Verbnik, of Beregszász: Licht, are all Czechs. The head of the *župan's* commission at Taracköz is Dr. Drbál, a Czech. The *podžupan* at Ungvár, Hosovszky is an Ukrainian, at Munkács: Kössler, a Czech, at Beregszász: Murba, a Czech.

The chief magistrates of the districts are: Králik (at Ungvár, a Czech), Dr. Visloski (Perccsény, a Czech), Dr. Zetka (Nagyberezna, Czech), Klima (Munkács, Czech), Stebelsky (Szolyva, an Ukrainian), Jenčík (Vereczke, a Czech), Cirotjuk (Beregszász, Ukrainian), Blahut (Hosva, Czech), Pauluch (Mezőkászony, Ukrainian). In the *Zupanate* of Máramaros, where the largest number of Ruthenians are living, there is not a single Ruthenian among the district-magistrates (at Huszt: Illek, a Czech; at Dolha Kössler, a Czech; at Ökörmező Bleha a Czech; at Rahó

Blataj, a Czech; at Taraczköz Komariuszki an Ukrainian; at Técső Pristasevzski an Ukrainian) on the whole Ruthenian Territory one single Ruthenian district magistrate is to be found.

Financial administration affords the same picture. Not only the head officials are of Czechish nationality but among the totality of officials 48 ancient inhabitants are faced by 398 strangers.

For the sake of comparison we will, on the basis of the above mentioned statistics record that, under the Hungarian rule there were 16 chief magistrates and magistrates of Ruthenian origin on our territory while under the Czechish imperium there are one chief magistrate and four magistrates. Among the staff of notaries there were formerly 50 of Ruthenian origin on our territory while now, according to the statistics of Mms Benes and Osusky there are 6. But then how about the tremendous efforts to allow administration to pass into the hands of the Ruthenians?

After all this we have every reason to ask, is Benes-Osusky's statement regarding the small number of Ruthenians adapted to administrative work at the disposal of the Czecho-Slovak Government, true at all? Why we have seen in the above that only on the present Ruthenian Territory there were 125 trained, diplomed officials of the civil and juridical administration and notaries. There were besides 513 Ruthenian elementary school teachers and 53 middle-school teachers. Were we to reckon with these the Ruthenians in higher positions who were employed by the Hungarian Government in the ministries, at the courts of Appeal, the universities and other central bodies their higher attainments having lifted them beyond the local interests of the Ruthenian territory to the South of the Carpathians we should complete the sketch of the present position of the Ruthenian educated class. There certainly would have been an efficient and numerous staff of Ruthenians at the disposal of the Czecho-Slovak Government when organising Ruthenian administration and it would have been an easy task to fulfil the obligation stipulated in the Treaty of St. Germain. It certainly was unnecessary to employ Czecho-Slovaks and Ukrainians for this purpose. However, instead of turning to the educated Ruthenians living wherever it might be, who would naturally have been ready to dedicate their knowledge and talents to the building up of the Ruthenian autonomy, rather the Czecho-Slovak Government saw fit to rid themselves by divers means of persecution even of the officials actually serving on the Ruthenian Territory. The greater portion of the Ruthenian educated classes are now living as emigrants dispersed over the territory of prewar Hungary.

We must here remark that the organising of the government of the Ruthenian Territory is, of course, an obligation of the Czecho-Slovak Government, who undertook this duty voluntarily. In this regard no responsibility or accusation applies to the Hungarian imperium. Why was it necessary when organising the governorship and the *županates* to fill the leading positions almost exclusively with Czechs? Not because there were no trained Ruthenian officials but because in the interest of the centralist and nationalist Czechish policy it seemed expedient to put Czechs in all positions of authority. This is evident from the system followed by the Czecho-Slovak Government of placing a Czech official in a position to control the movements of the few Ruthenian functionaries they employ.

We request the permission to close our account by a few flagrant examples characterising the Czecho-Slovak official staff on whom the Czecho-Slovak Government itself has passed sentence.

M. Szlávik, *župan* of Munkács has been arrested for divers offences. On searching his house several compromising documents and homosexual photograph were found. This man had been one of the most confidential agents of the Czecho-Slovak Government. M. Brezsovszky *župan* of Máramaros, after amassing in an unscrupulous manner many millions, escaped to America with an Ukrainian delegation. It was subsequently ascertained that he was a spy in Ukrainian service. The police captain Swacha at Munkacs and Klima chief-magistrate of Munkács and afterwards of Nagybočskó were arrested for repeated embessment.

We are ready, if desired, to lay before the League of Nations numerous positive facts proving how illtrained and how corrupt the Czecho-Slovak officials are. It would, however, be the most expedient if the League of Nations were to convince themselves of the truth of our Statements and documents hereby presented regarding each point in the representations of Mms Benes and Osusky. We have no cause to fear the truth. Should the Czecho-Slovak Government cast doubt on the authenticity of our documents there would be nothing easier than for the League of Nations to send its competent and unbiassed organs to ascertain the existence of the alleged obstacles hindering the inauguration of the autonomy stipulated. We have full confidence in the objective judgement of the organ of the League of Nations only asking that not the agents of the Czecho-Slovak Government on the Ruthenian Territory should be questioned but the Ruthenian people itself. This our mind, not only follows from the right of supervision and control reserved to

the League of Nations under the Treaty of St. Germain but it is an obligation to be fulfilled in protection of our unhappy people. Peace will never be restored on the Ruthenian Territory while our people experiences that their complaints are not heard, their wishes receive no attention, in one word that they have no means of expressing their will as it is always the Czecho-Slovak Government who make declarations in their name. And this Government cannot be made responsible through the absence of parliamentary representation, through they have obligations towards the Ruthenian people with the force of international law.

We, the educated Ruthenians, originating from the people and therefore one with them in feeling, our voice in protest requesting the high Areopagus of the League of Nations to whom in perfect respect and full confidence we address our complaints, save our people from despair, and to restore their faith in the force of the Treaty concluded with the Principal Powers and in the special protection to be afforded them by the League of Nations.

In the name of the Ruthenian people

the Executive Committee of Emigrant Ruthenians.

(Signed:)

ANTHONY HODINKA

Professor of the University of Pozsony.

JOSEPH ILLÉS-ILLYASEVICB

Professor of University.

Exposé

addressed by the Governor Zsatkovics to the President and to the Government of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC,
THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTERS OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Gentlemen,

As, at the recommendation of the Government the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic appointed me governor of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, I consider it my duty to set forth briefly the facts details and the motives which have led me this day to hand in my demission to the President of the Republic which I hereby bring to your official notice.

It is not necessary for the object of this memorandum to give a detailed account of all that the Ruthenians living in America have done, during the world-war and after, in the interest of their brethren in Hungary. Let it suffice to say that the Ruthenian National Council in America, representing near upon 500,000 Ruthenians residing permanently or temporarily in America held a meeting on the 26th July, 1918 at Mokeexport, Pa, and there passed, unanimously, the following resolution:

1. The Sub-Carpathian Ruthenians shall receive full independence. Should this prove impossible:
2. The Sub-Carpathian Ruthenians shall unite with their brethren of Galicia and the Bukovina. Should this also prove impracticable:
3. They shall receive an autonomy. (The protocol was presented to the President, Mr. Woodrow Wilson in person on 21st October 1918. It is subjoined to Memorandum.)

At the advice of President Wilson saying that the first two wishes formulated were unpractical and would meet with no support on the part of the Allies, and at the instructions of the National Council of the Ruthenes of America I, as their fully empowered representative directed all my energy to the achievement of an autonomy.

The Ruthenes were, on 23rd October, received as members of the Central-European Union by which the nations represented in that Union, to wit the Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, South-Slavs, Ukraines, Lithuans, Roumanians, the un-enfranchised Greeks, the Italian irredentists, Armenians, Albanians and the Jews of Jerusalem acknowledged them to be a separate nation having as such, according to Mr. Wilson's well-known principle of self-determination, the right freely to determine the future form of their government.

The afore mentioned Union on 26th October, 1918 in the Hall of Independence, Philadelphia declared before the world at large the following:

We . . . in our own name and in that of our brethren at home hereby solemnly declare that . . . we lay at the disposal of our allies all our people and our resources . . . with the object of using them against our common enemies and that it should be brought to the knowledge of the whole world that we bear in our mind those essential and fundamental principles which shall be embodied in the constitution to be formed later on in the future independent States of our peoples . . . have accepted and signed the following as the fundamental principles of all free peoples:

1. that all governments draw their power from the agreement of those governed by them;
2. that it is an inalienable right of every people to build up their government on such principles and in such form as may seem most expedient to them in the interest of their welfare, consolidation and pro-perity;
3. that secret diplomacy shall be abolished.

The signatories of the present declaration as also the representatives of other independent people . . . hereby bind themselves in the name of their respective peoples that the principles herein set forth shall be enacted as a fundamental law by the governments to be hereafter formed by their respective peoples.

Signed: T. G. MASSARYK, on behalf of the Czecho-Slovaks, also as President of the Union.

GREGORY IGNATIUS ZSATKOVICS, on behalf the Ruthenes of Hungary (then follow the signatures of ten more representatives).

The principles mentioned above, the extracts from the "Declaration of Independence of the oppressed Peoples of Central Europe" though only published on the 26th were already fully discussed and accepted by the 25th October on which day a representative of the Ruthenes of America, and, through them, one for the Ruthenes of Hungary too, met in the Bellevue Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia and here, in the presence of five officials of the National Council of Ruthenes in America I discussed with the President T. G. Massaryk, the possibilities of a union of the Ruthenes and Czecho-Slovaks. To the question of what he would agree to in the event of a union between the Ruthenes and Czecho-Slovaks he replied:

"Should the Ruthenes decide to join the Czecho-Slovak Republic they would form a perfectly autonomous State".

And to the question of what frontiers he would agree to for the Sub-Carpathian Ruthene-land (then called Russinia) he gave reply:

"The frontiers shall be fixed in a way as shall satisfy the Ruthenes".

These were the preliminaries of the fundamental agreement:

"a perfectly autonomous State in federation with the Czecho-Slovaks, between frontiers to satisfy the Ruthenes".

Having these promises — published in all the Ruthenian papers of America — before them, the following unanimous resolution was carried by the National Council of Ruthenes in America November 12, 1918, at Scranton, Pa:

"The Ruthenes of Hungary, endowed with the broadest rights of independence shall, on a federative basis, join the democratic Republic of Czecho-Slovakia stipulating however, that all the originally Ruthenian counties of Hungary, as Szepes, Sáros, Zemplén, Abauj, Gömör, Borsod, Ung, Ugocsa, Bereg and Máramaros shall belong to our country". (Extract from Protocol of Novembre 12, 1918. annexed.)

On the evening of the following day, the 13th I myself presented the copy legally drawn up of this protocol to the President Massaryk at the Czecho-Slovak legation at Washington who, on reading it, expressed his pleasure at the satisfactory and rapid progress of the projected union, at the same time drawing my attention to the fact of this being the resolution of the National Council only, subject to alteration on the part of the Peace Conference at Paris. It was then that a plebiscite was first taken into consideration which — as I assured the President — would undoubtedly corroborate the resolution and instructions of the National Council.

It was on November 18, 1918 at the last meeting (held in New-York, Hotel Plaza) of the Central European Union at which he was present shortly before his return to Europe that the President, indirectly approached the question of the frontiers of the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia: "M. Zsatkovics, I think it will be necessary for our army to occupy part of your territory".

To this I answered: I consent to it, and feel sure, that my people will also agree.

By January 11, 1919 the whole of the Ruthenian territory extending to the river Ung was occupied by the Czecho-Slovak army.

The protocol of November 12, 1918, mentioned above, was, as I learnt later on, given by President Massaryk to a captain named Pisecki who presented it on February 13, 1919 to Dr. Simon Szabó, president of the Ruthenian National Council at Ungvár which had expressed a desire to form an autonomous Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia joined to Hungary which they called Russka Krajna, showing to other members of the council too in order to make them acquainted with the desires of the Ruthenes of America and at the same time to demonstrate what the Ruthenes would receive on attaching themselves to Czecho-Slovakia.

The result of the plebiscite among the Ruthenes of America, — which was the following:

the Union with Czecho-Slovakia received	67	p. c. of the votes
" " " Ukraine "	28	" " " "
" " " Russia " fewer than	1	" " " "
" " " Hungary "	1	" " " "
" " " Galicia " fewer than	1	" " " "
Total independence "	2	" " " "

— corroborated by an overwhelming majority the resolution and proceedings of the National Council in America. The result of the plebiscite, together with the protocol of November 12, 1918 were handed to a committee consisting of myself as president and I. G. Gárdos as treasurer, with a view to presenting them to the Peace Conference at Paris. Commissioner Pergler at the same time sent a cable of the result of the vote to Dr. Benes at Paris.

The committee reached Paris on February 13, 1919, where they met Dr. Anthony Beszkid, president and empowered agent of the Ruthenian National Council at Eperjes and immediately formed a common committee representing the totality of Ruthenes. This committee held council with the representatives of Czecho-Slovakia at the Peace Conference, Dr. Charles Kramář and Dr. Edward Benes making them acquainted besides the plebiscite and the afore mentioned protocol with the following further proofs of the desire of joining the Czecho-Slovak Republic, to wit:

copy of protocol of the Ruthenian National Council at Eperjes, drawn up Jan. 7, 1919,
 " " " " " " " " " " Szolyva, " " Dec. 18, 1918.

These documents were annexed to "Mémoire No. 6.", which having been submitted to the Ruthenians Committee for perusal and correction was accepted by the said committee as giving a true account of the facts on the basis of which the projected Czecho-Slovak-Ruthene union is formulated. This "Mémoire No. 6." contains the following facts, reciprocally established:

1. That the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (the Mémoire quoted calls it Russia) constitutes a separate State. The following quotations from p. 11 shall serve as proof:

quodam

... In this way four Rouman^{ian} villages only will be found within the Ruthene (Russin) State ... they have been accorded to Rumania as indemnity for the small territory of Akna-Szlatina, with its saltmines, which are indispensable to the Czecho-Slovak and Ruthenian State.

Or, from p. 12, lines 1 and 2: The Hungarians this left within the Ruthenian State would be of no account etc.

2. That the frontiers of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia are provisional and therefore subject to modification and amendment by special agreement between the Czecho-Slovak State and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia.

To quote from p. 12, lines 4—8: The Ruthene-Slovak frontier is established provisionably ... this frontier (Ruthene-Slovak) may be modified and amended, if so desired, by special agreement between the Czecho-Slovak State and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia.

3. That the effective number of Ruthenians amounts to 567,867.

To quote from p. 2: According to the total number of parishes in Hungary there were in 1910, 537,962 Ruthenians, being 108,000 (25 p. c.) more than represented in the census returns published by the Hungarian State. But the number of persons speaking Ruthenian was, in 1910, 567,867. This is the actual number of Ruthenes in Hungary.

4. That the Ruthenes form compact masses ... in counties Sáros, Szepes, Zemplén, Ung an Bereg. The counties of Máramaros and Ugocsa are in great part inhabited by Ruthenes. Quote p. 2.
5. That the union is only possible through the agreement of the two countries. To quote p. 9—10:

"But it should be well understood that the union of this territory with the Czecho-Slovak Republic would only be possible in the case of the Ruthenes themselves accepting or desiring it".

This Memoire, with the annexed documents and supplements was presented to the Conference by the Czecho-Slovak delegates.

What has gone before, together with the matter to follow leave no doubt in the question that the Ruthenes sought an union with the Czecho-Slovak State but on a *federative* basis and within justly and equitably defined frontiers calculated to satisfy the Ruthene people.

At the instance of Dr. Benes Colonel House, president of the American Peace Committee in the absence of President Wilson, granted an audience to the Ruthenian Committee in Paris, February 17, 1919, while on February 24, 1919 they were accorded the same favour by M. Tardieu, a member of the French delegation, at that time president of the all-powerful council of Ten. In the name of the Ruthenes I urged the cause of the Czecho-Slovak-Ruthenian federation before these two widely known diplomatists, furnishing them with the necessary information, the copies of documents, and the brief history of the Ruthenian action up to that date. In two letters, dated the 22nd and 25th February 1919 I acquainted Dr. Benes with the nature and result of these discussions. It will be of interest to mention here that both President Wilson and the State Department of the United States (Foreign Office) were already informed of the action, notably of the measures taken November 12, 1918 by the Ruthenian National Council in America, by means of letters dated November 15, 1918, the answers to which, that is to say President Wilson's notes of thanks for the dates of 19th and 27th November, 1918.

Receiving information on 3rd March, 1919, that the *proposed union* had, on the basis of the facts reported, received a favourable settlement in the special committee called council of Five the Ruthenian Committee placed in the hands of Dr. Benes and Dr. Kramar (3rd and 4th March) their further desires, known, from then onwards, as the "14 points". The Ruthenian Committee of America then left on the 4th March for Prague, leaving Dr. Beszkid in Paris.

On the 10th March (1919) the said Committee was already engaged in discussion with President Massaryk, submitting to his notice all the documents above mentioned, including a copy of the "14 points". The Committee, after this conference, went on immediately to Bratislava where they discussed matters with Dr. Srobár, then continuing their journey to Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia arriving at Ungvár March 15, 1919.

Before their arrival in Ungvár the Committee held conference with the Ruthenian National Council at Eperjes receiving a full approval of all their previous activity and being authorised to collaborate in the achievement of an union between the three National Councils of the Ruthenians namely those of Eperjes, Ungvár and Huszt, each of which desired an autonomy for Sub Carpathian Ruthenia, but desiring a federative union each with a different State, notably, the council of Eperjes with Czecho-Slovakia, that of Ungvár with Hungary, that of Huszt with Ukraine. Efforts to bring about a mutual understanding and harmonious cooperation between these three councils were crowned with an early success and though I myself was obliged to repair to Paris at the end of April in order to gain permission for the Czecho-Slovak troops to penetrate to the territories east of the Ung, then occupied by the Hungarian Bolsheviks, the union of the three councils was effected on the day of my return from Paris (May 6, 1919) at Ungvár, by amicable agreement.

At this conference of the 8th May the representatives of the three independent Ruthenian Councils united into one council bearing the name "Central National Council of the Ruthenes" and, among other things unanimously approved of the activity of the Ruthenes of America. Here follow some extracts quoted from the protocol of this meeting, regarding the facts or questions discussed in this memorandum.

Quoted from p. 5: Dr. Elias Hodzsega analyses our demands as regards the principles of our autonomy. According to a famous writer "only people of one race and homogeneous as to sentiment and mentality can unite on a federative basis. Our brethren of America comprehended this and it was on these grounds they requested of President Wilson (cheering) that we might unite with the Czecho-Slovaks. He moves the resolution that:

the Czecho-Slovak State and the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia having united in one State they form a country in which — with identical rights of citizen — military and financial affairs are commons. In all other matters the Ruthenian State enjoys an independent self-government, having a separate legislative body and separate executive organs. In the troops recruited on Ruthenian territories the language of service is the Ruthenian; they are commanded by Ruthenian officers. (Resolved unanimously.)

Quoted from p. 8. Augustus Volosin . . . referring to the importance of uniting all forces moves the resolution of uniting the councils of Huszt, Ungvár and Eperjes, into one common Ruthenian national council, serving the following aims:

1. to defend, in general, the interests of the Ruthenian people;
2. organise the economic and cultural activity of our Ruthenian State.

The resolution is passed unanimously and with enthusiasm.

At the meeting May 15, 1919 of the Central National Council of Ruthenes my nomination as organising minister of the Ruthenian State was proposed to President Massaryk, this resolution being handed me on the following day as seen in the protocol of February 16 from which I quote the following:

Quoted from p. 7: "Printed Protocol":

"The Chairman salutes Gregory Zsatkovics as provisional president of the Central National Council of Ruthenes and makes known to him the unanimous wish of the council, namely that he should undertake the arduous but most important task of building up the system of our self-government, by accepting to be our first minister.

Dr. Gregory Zsatkovics returns thanks for the confidence placed in him and declares himself ready to dedicate all his abilities to the good of his people. From family reasons and for moral considerations he is not able to settle in Europe definitively, but without prejudice to his rights as American citizen he would be willing to collaborate for a few months in the building up of the Ruthenian State should President Massaryk adopt their proposal".

At this same meeting the council approved the activity of the Ruthenians of America, especially the "14 points" handed to the representatives of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Quoted from p. 17:

"In the name of the Committee entrusted with the elaboration of the project of stipulations and demands of the Ruthenian State as regards its autonomy Dr. Elias Hodzsega submits that the committee has, in General, approved the fourteen points of the American council.

The Central Council approves this proposition of the committee and, according to the Memorandum of the American representatives, up the project of their stipulations and demands as follows:

1. The Ruthenes shall form an independent State within the Czecho-Slovak-Ruthenian Republic.

2. The frontiers of the Hungaro-Ruthenian State shall be established as the official delegates of the Hungaro-Ruthenian State and of the Czecho-Slovak Republic shall decide.

4. The Hungaro-Ruthenian State shall be independent in all matters of government and interior affairs.

12. The above mentioned principles, necessary to the existence and development of the Ruthenian State and the Czecho-Slovak Republic as also all other agreements and conventions between the Ruthenian State and the Czecho-Slovak Republic shall be inserted in a formal treaty to be drawn up by the legal representatives of the said States.

13. Until the conclusion of the definitive treaty a provisional, though actual, Ruthenian territory shall be established which provisional, though actual Ruthenian State shall extend to the territory whose boundaries shall be: towards Rumania the line to be defined by the Peace Conference, towards Hungary the line to be defined by the Peace Conference respectively on this line from the point of contact of this line with the western boundary of the Szikszó district to the river Hernád, from there the Hernád to its confluence with the Tarcza then further north to the spot where the Tarcza crosses the boundaries of Szepes and Sáros, from there the southern boundary of the district Héthárs and the western boundary of the district Lubló in Szepes as far as Poprád Remete.

This provisional but actual Ruthenian State shall be governed by a Hungaro-Ruthenian minister nominated by the president of the Czecho-Slovak Republic; the other State officials necessary for the government and administration of the provisional but actual Ruthenian State shall be appointed by the Ruthenian minister.

14. In all controversies, and contradictory interpretation of the definitive special treaty the Czecho-Slovak Republic and the Ruthenian State have the right to appeal from the highest court competent in this matter to the League of Nations.

The decision of the League shall be binding on both parties".

The activity of the Central National Council of the Ruthenes carried on during the revolutionary period, notably when separation from Hungary was proclaimed by all three councils mentioned previously, it naturally resulted — even without the approbation of October 26, 1918, or of that contained in "Mémoire No. 6" that the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia became in fact the actual State which it was proclaimed to be by the National Council of revolutionary Hungary.

This protocol was conveyed to Prague by a deputation composed of 112 officials and members of the Central National Council of the Ruthenes who delivered it solemnly the 23rd May, 1919 in the name of the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to President Masaryk and through him to the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The afternoon of the same day a committee of fifteen members were admitted to a conference with the President regarding the details of the settlement referring principally to practical questions in the organisation of the Sub-Carpathian Ruthene State. This protocol was forwarded to Dr. Benes too, to be presented at the Peace Conference as a final proof of the desire of the Ruthene people: namely, an union, on a federative basis, with the Czecho-Slovak State.

On occasion of receiving the afore mentioned delegation President Masaryk, who previously, in the month of January 1919 had, in his first message, given official notice to the Government and people of Czecho-Slovakia of the possibility of a Czecho-Slovak-Ruthene union, in his speech, fairly well reproduced in the May 25 issue of the *Narodni Listy*, openly said the following:

In his reply the President touched on the constitutional basis saying that he did not wish to, nor would he proceed autocratically. The fully empowered representatives of the Sub-Carpathian people must be invited, and measures must speedily be taken for the establishment of administration. The President knows that the State formation of the Russins or Ruthenes is a peculiar one and that they have attached themselves to our State as a separate State stipulating for an autonomy. The extent of this autonomy must naturally be officially regulated, reserving the mutuality of certain affairs.

In his reply-speech in the course of the general reception he mentioned the importance of the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia from the point of view of our State. He mentioned his having conducted negotiations on this matter at the commencement of the war, in Switzerland, and that now numerous emigrants in America had resolved with perfect decision on the union with the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The Ruthenes of America, with M. Zsatkovics at their head, presented all their demands to President Wilson and to him (Masaryk) the Allies in Paris thus gaining knowledge of the desires of the Ruthenes and granting them the right to join the Czech State as an autonomous member of the same.

On the 25th May the delegation returning to the Sub-Carpathian land I remained in Prague as legally empowered representative to commence the discussion of the projected organisation of the Ruthenian State. The first step in this matter was taken when I presented to the President the "Fundamental principles of organisation". The outbreak of hostilities between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Hungarian Bolsheviks interrupted the discussion which was resumed on the 10th July, and followed up on the 13th, 17th and 22nd.

On the 22nd July the President handed me the copy of the resolutions by the Peace Conference regarding the autonomy of the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, and, further, Dr. Benes's telegram to the President informing him that the Peace Conference had the intention of establishing the boundaries between Czecho-Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia themselves. In consequence of the above-mentioned facts this caused us both astonishment. Until the receipt of this telegram we had carried on our discussion in the belief that the question of boundaries would be settled between ourselves. Looking through the resolutions of the Peace Conference I was arrested by § 2 in which the competency of the

Sub-Carpathian legislature was fixed and in which the term "local" occurred, rendered as local, in the Czecho-Slovak constitution where it is now inserted (§ 3, section 4). This term caused me to reflect whether it would not give rise to misunderstandings, some people not, perhaps, considering it equivalent to "interior" (in matters of interior government), whereas in the juridical relations of autonomous States of the United States it bears this significance. However, the President assuring me that § 1 secured the broadest autonomy to the Ruthenes I accepted the full text as proposed.

But in the matter of the frontiers, as I immediately informed the President, I considered it necessary to repair to Paris without loss of time to satisfy myself that the Ruthenian question had been presented loyally and truly, all facts and all available statistics being placed at the disposal of the Peace Conference, the more so because, as mentioned in "Mémoire No. 6" the Hungarian statistics were not reliable.

At President Masaryk's orders a reserved place was procured for me by his private secretary Jaroslav Cisar on the Oriental Express by which I left Prague the afternoon of the same day. Arrived in Paris on the morning of the 24th I immediately entered into discussion with Dr. Benes, Minister of Foreign Affairs who furnished me with a brief account of the unexpected decision arrived at by the Peace Conference, explaining that the Peace Conference had taken sides beforehand and for reasons of their own desired to draw the frontiers of the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia as narrow as possible. He then expressed his fear that, whatever steps should be taken and whatever efforts made the frontiers would not be rendered more favourable to the Ruthenes and, finally, he openly acknowledged that the river Ung was contemplated, by the Peace Conference as the Russo-Slovak frontier.

It is easily to be understood that I firmly protested against this solution of the question. The chief cause of our union — as I maintained — was the consideration that the Ruthenes should not be divided into several groups, and I wound up by declaring that the attitude adopted by the Peace Conference was not only unjust but incomprehensible. It was impossible to see, what interest the Peace Conference could have in the matter of where the frontier should be drawn and I could not withhold my conviction that in case we came to an agreement as to the frontiers, that agreement would be accepted by the Conference. I recommended the adoption of the frontier-line defined in § 11 of the protocol of the Central National Council of the Ruthenes, May 16, 1919. Dr. Benes glanced at the map and seeing that the district of Lubó in county Szepes, and further the whole territory north and east of the Tarcza and Hernád were within these frontiers, that is, portions of counties Szepes and Sáros and the whole of Zemplén he immediately declared himself convinced that the Slovaks would never consent to this apportionment of the territory. I represented that I was not negotiating with Slovaks but with the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and that on the basis of agreements already completed and submitted to the Peace Conference. In this manner we could arrive at no decision. In the course of further argument however we came to agree that the best way of avoiding the difficulty lay in requesting the Conference to establish provisional frontiers only leaving the decision as to what further territories shall be joined to Ruthenia to a mutual, amicable agreement between Czecho-Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. Dr. Benes agreed to this and promised that it should be so. To my question what guarantee I should have that the Peace Conference would adopt this agreement he answered: "I promise you that the decision of the Conference will be in the sense of our agreement, and should it be contrary I will not sign the Treaty", and on this, as I well remember, we shook hands as token of our understanding.

Having, with Dr. Benes' assistance, secured a reserved place on the Oriental Express, I left Paris the same evening to return to Prague. Before starting a letter from Dr. Benes was handed me in which — as he said —, he sent the President a detailed account of the reasons by which the Conference was actuated, and of the agreement we had arrived at.

Arriving in Prague on the 26th I had Dr. Benes' letter conveyed to the President the same day myself writing him as follows: "I should not be able to explain to my people the justice of it, were the frontiers (river Ung) defined as proposed. After a grave consideration of the matter I have drawn up a draft of a provisional treaty, here enclosed . . . Being sincerely convinced that this is the minimum of what the Ruthenes may be expected to accept I feel sure you will accept this draft without modification. This letter is dated July 26, 1919.

In this provisional connection I made the following proposition for the solution of the question of frontiers:

§ 1: That the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia should, from October 1, 1919, until the perfection of the formal agreement mentioned and described in § 5 embrace the following territories:

a) the whole territory east of the Ung awarded, or to be awarded by the Peace Conference from Hungary to the Czecho-Slovak Republic,

b) the territory west of the Ung, comprising those portions of counties Szepes, Sáros, Zemplén and Ung which are specially, and in detail represented on the map of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, west of the Ung (Drawn after Tomasovszky's Ethnographical map of 1906, published by the University of St. Petersburg on the grounds of the statistical returns of 1900).

§ 3: The territory marked and detailed on the map Annex B. remains a debatable territory on which debatable territory a plebiscite cannot be held before May 8, 1920. Between May 1, 1920 and August 1, 1920 a committee of two members — of whom one representing Czecho-Slovakia and the other Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia — shall effect a conscription of the total population of this territory. The administration of the debatable territory shall be conducted in Szepes, Sáros, Abauj and Zemplén by Czecho-Slovakia, in Ung by Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. In the portion of the debatable territory administered by Czecho-Slovakia the Ruthenes shall enjoy full liberty of speech press and meeting.

§ 5: In the tracing of the definitive frontiers not only the ethnographical facts ascertained through the above mentioned census, but the economic, geographical and administrative requirements of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia shall be considered.

On the 29th July I was summoned to a conference with the President at which the Minister of the Interior M. Svehla was present also. The president opposed the form of convention on the grounds that a convention might only be contracted by two independent States whereas the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia had as yet no constitutional representatives. At the end of a discussion lasting three hours we arrived at a verbal decision which — so we resolved among ourselves — should be put into writing, President Massaryk saying to me: "We twoo will see to that".

I must mention here that during the conference President Massaryk handed me the cablegram of the Ruthenian National Council of America to which there was annexed the copy of his answer, in his own hand. The cablegram requested information as to the truth of a report saying I had been shot at by the Czecho-Slovak soldiers, and that I was in the service of the Hungarian Bolshevists. The contents of this cablegram together with the circumstance that it seemed desirable to secure the acquiescence of the Ruthenian National Council to the above agreement convinced me of the expediency of visiting America and contradicting in person the false reports spread by my Czecho-Slovak-Ruthenian enemies as well as to secure their approval of the agreement differing in some points from the original demands of the Ruthenians.

Thinking that matters would now advance more rapidly I first informed Dr. Benes in a letter dated August 1 that at a conference held on the 29th July at which the President and the Minister of the Interior had assisted, an agreement had been attained as a solution of the Ruthenian question in which, among others "we had come to an agreement in the question of frontiers in the sense notified to you at the conference of the 24th". A few days later, with his intervention I took the necessary steps to be able to start from Le Havre the 16th August.

I took it for granted that within a week or ten days at latest the detailed agreement would be drawn up and signed. Having prepared the essential part of the agreement I was expecting the usual invitation and not hearing any more for a week, on the 6th August I wrote a reminder. Still not receiveing either invitation or documents on the morning of the 12th (August) I went myself to the office of the President's private secretary, Jarosláv Cisar and explaining that I was obliged to leave for Paris that very afternoon desired to have an audience of the President. I received the message that the President was engaged. However, having been prepared for this I handed in a copy of the so-called "Proclamation" of August 13, 1919, which contained the contents of the agreement entered into at the conference of July 29, together with a letter to the President, saying, as I delivered these, that I would await the answer. In my letter I had written among other things:

"It will much hamper my activity in America that I have no documentary proof of the agreement — which I hope the National Council in America will sanction — entered upon at the conference of July 29. If, however, the Council credits my verbal account of this agreement I may still, indirectly, attain my object.

The other four members of the autonomous Ruthenian directorium in whom we have agreed are: Major Eugen Puza, Huszt, county Máramaros; Dr. Julius Bracsajkó, Huszt; Professor Augustus Volosin, Ungvár; Dr. Wladimir Turkinyák, Eperjes, county Sáros.

I have great need of Tomasovszky's map which I left at your Excellency so that I must beg that in case I should not obtain an audience this afternoon before starting the said map should be conveyed to me through M. Cisar.

The communication to the Central National Council at Ungvár is enclosed. Should your Excellency approve of it in principle and especially should consider it fit for publication please have the kindness and have it conveyed to its destination".

The letter and the communication were delivered to the President by the secretary who shortly returned with the answer that the President would look through the papers immediately and requested me to wait a little. I had waited an hour on a little less when the secretary going in again to the President returned to me with the communication addressed to the Central National Council at Ungvár saying: "the President lets you know that this is in order". I answered: "That is all right then. I will myself convey it to the Council and must have the President's signature as proof that, as you say, all is in order and that it corresponds to the verbal agreement of July 29." "The President is very busy, answered the secretary, it was he, who said it is all in order and as I am authorised in all such cases to verify the truth of the facts it will be all right." And taking the communication wrote with his own hand:

Seen by the President of the C.-S. Republic,
12. VIII. 1919.

JAROSLAV CISAR,
personal secretary.

At the same time M. Cisar informed me that Tomasovszky's map, I had asked to be returned, was no longer in the President's possession having been given by him to a committee. I must mention that I treated of these affairs as president of the autonomous Ruthenian directorium according to the agreement of July 29th corroborated by my appointment published by the Prime Minister M. Tušar, August of No. 306—19 R. T.

That same afternoon I handed the communication myself to M. Basil Takács, secretary of the Central National Council of Ruthenes then staying at Prague having a copy of it, destined for the Ruthenians of America, signed by him and one other witness, Professor Spula. This communication, known to-day as "Proclamation of August 12, 1919, had the following text:

To the President and members of

THE CENTRAL NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RUTHENES

AT UNGVÁR.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to inform you that after several interviews with President Massaryk and a conference with M. Svehla, Minister of the Interior, the Czecho-Slovak government has nominated me president of the autonomous Ruthenian directorium. The directorium is to have four members besides the president whose nomination will shortly follow.

The authority of the members of the directorium shall be exercised — in harmony with general Hennoque — on that portion of our State to which the Czecho-Slovak authorities do not extend their activity and shall last until the Peace Conference definitely decides some questions relating to our State. After the settlement of these questions the president of the Czecho-Slovak Republic will appoint the first governor of the autonomous Ruthenian State, when the frontier between the Slovaks and Ruthenes will also be established.

Will belong to our State definitively:

the district of Lubló in county Szepes, the northern portion of counties Sáros and Zemplén; the northern and eastern portion of county Ung, the counties Bereg, Ugocsa and Máramaros entirely. The other territories demanded by us shall remain neutral until a census is effected. The census shall be conducted by a mixed commissions composed of Czecho-Slovak and Ruthenian members.

The neutral territory of county Ung shall be administered by our organs.

The Ruthenian State shall be independent in all affairs of language, instruction, church and interior affairs.

It shall have its own legislative body, a National assembly at Ungvár, further representatives in the National assembly of Prague.

I must now repair to America on official business and also to insure the material and moral cooperation between you and the Ruthenes of America.

The frontier between ourselves and Roumania has not yet been settled by the Peace Conference.

Au revoir! I am, with the profoundest respect your friend

ZSÁTKOVICS.

Prague, August 12, 1919.

Seen by the President of the C.-S. Republic,
12. VIII. 1919.

JAROSLAV CISAR,
personal secretary.

During my stay in America the Proclamation of August 12, 1919 was published verbatim by the Ruthenian papers of America as proof of my nomination as president of the Directorium. A report was elaborated of all the facts to be found within it, which I presented to the congress of Ruthenians held at Homestead Pa, September 15 and 16, 1919. at which representatives of all the Ruthenian organisations of the United States were present. At this congress I declared openly that "the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia would have an autonomy taking the word in its broadest sense", "that the frontiers were to be established in the manner prescribed in the proclamation" so that in this delicate question "Ruthenes and Czecho-Slovaks would receive what they were rightfully entitled to". (Extract of the printed report of the president of the Directorium.)

Hearing this report from the lips of their delegate to the Peace Conference and the president of the Directorium conducting the affairs of their kindred at home the congress approved the written project and expressed their joy in an ovation lasting over ten minutes. (Protocol of Ruthenian Congress Homestead Pa, September 15 and 16, 1919.)

During my successful sojourn in America I received from the "Central-European Union" the famous "Bell of Central-Europe of the year 1918" which they had tolled on October 26, 1918 when President Massaryk proclaimed the independence of the oppressed nations of Central-Europe.

On returning to Prague I presented a copy of the protocol of the Ruthenian congress mentioned above together with a copy of my report and several copies of American newspapers, notably the weekes paper of the Ruthenians in America reproducing my nomination as president of the Directorium and the "Proclamation of August 12, 1919." The day of presentation, to be explicit, was October 17, 1919.

Considering the enthusiasm with which the Ruthenians of America had promoted the union I was not only disheartened but truly in despair when I heard from Major Puza, left in Prague as my substitute that *the Czechish Government had fulfilled none of their agreements and promises*. The members of the Directorium had not been appointed either, though he also had received numberless promises and assurances of a speedy settlement of the question. Nothing had been done in the matter of the frontiers either. The Major also reported that a Dr. Brejha had been made head of the civil administration by Government, whose object it seemed to be to *break up the Ruthenians into as many fragments as possible*. Although after the conference of July 29 this man had left a card on me, he instructed the censor to have my appointment as president of the Directorium deleted from the papers of our country, and forbade the publication of the "Proclamation of August 12, 1919" having the whole text omitted by the censor.

I protested in person and, after the conference of October 15 with President Massaryk in writing too, but the President answered that he had been waiting for my return, now matters would advance more rapidly and — as he said — "everything would be all right". On October 16 I had yet another discussion with President Massaryk and the Minister Svehla. The result of this discussion was that as soon as Dr. Brejha, whose return from Ungvár was expected every moment, should arrive, M. Svehla, Dr. Brejha and myself should meet and together elaborate "the fundamental principles of the organisation and administration of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia" in detail. M. Svehla promised me himself he would send for me immediately that Dr. Brejha reported himself to him.

I was not, however, sent for before the 21st October although Dr. Brejha had then been in Prague four days. On that day at 5 p. m. the Minister M. Svehla handed to me in the presence of Dr. Brejha not the project we were to have discussed together but "General principles of the organisation and administration of the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia", drawn up by order of the Cabinet No. 21,333—19. M. T.

At the same time I learnt that Dr. Brejha was about to return to Ungvár the same evening so there was no time to lose. After looking through the document No. 21,333—19. M. T. I decidedly refused to give my consent to it for it was neither politic, comprehensive, nor just, nor was it in harmony with the previous stipulations and agreements. M. Svehla and myself made some attempts to arrive at a compromise but when at 8 o'clock in the evening Dr. Brejha declared that in his opinion all compromise would be vain and that he must leave the discussion in order not to miss his train the conference broke up. In a few minutes Dr. Brejha had left the apartment and M. Svehla and I decided that I should put my observations in writing and at the same time enter into discussion with Dr. Benes, Minister for Foreign Affairs who was perfectly acquainted with the intentions of the Peace conference in this respect.

After preparing my written observations in full detail I discussed the matter again with the two ministers M. Benes and Svehla handing each of them a copy of my remarks and tending a third copy to the President.

On the 30th October I was invited to a conference with President Masaryk to which, as I learnt on my arrival the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Benes had also been bidden. Though the President was ill in bed he received us with the copy of my work and a pencil in his hand. The protests or, to be more exact, the modifications entitled: "Modifications, amendments and supplements to the project of principles of administration presented by Dr. Brejha" were examined point for point by the President who gave us his opinion on each for good or for bad till we finally arrived at an understanding. I agreed to the corrections made on my amendments, the President to those in his work. Dr. Benes was instructed by the President to inform M. Svehla of the result of our discussion while I promised to have the agreement we had arrived at typed.

I presented the agreement when finished to Dr. Benes myself, and, at this instructions, to M. Svehla also to whom I mentioned that this copy of the "general principles" had been sanctioned by the President and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Benes also. When informed of this M. Svehla also gave his approval promising that the document should be submitted for approval to the Cabinet-council on November 6. Through the illness of M. Svehla the question — as I learnt — was not submitted to the Cabinet-council of November 6. Fearing that the matter would suffer further delay I requested the President in a letter dated November 8 to see to the settlement of the question. The President invited me to a conference on the 10th (November) and making some trifling alterations in my copy of the "General Principles" said that he would speak to M. Svehla immediately after the conference. He also recommended me to talk to M. Svehla myself when his audience was over. I took the advice, speaking to M. Svehla after the audience. Quite at the beginning of our talk M. Svehla remarked that as far as he knew the President and I had come to a perfect understanding, at which I showed him the "General principles" with the trifling alterations made by the President. Having looked through it and compered it with his own copy he promised to present it for sanction to the Cabinet-council to be held next day, together with the nomination of the members of the Directorium which he also approved. I must remark here that he also consented to the appointment of Dr. Emilius Torouszky in the place of Dr. Turkinyák and also to the appointment of a fifth member, that of my brother T. A. Zsatkovics who had accompanied me from America. It should also be borne in mind that the "General principles of organisation and administration of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia" consisted not of the parts brought to the knowledge of the public on occasion of my appointment November 18, only but actually consisted of the following parts:

1. General principles, intended for the public;
2. Regulation of Autonomous Ruthenian Directorium (secret);
3. Annexed. A list subjoined of the officials the appointment and discharge of whom was subject to the veto of the Directorium.

After making the above promise M. Svehla requested me to come to the Prime Minster's office wehere the cabinet councils were held cat 6 p. m. next day I complied. At about half past six M. Svehla came into the room where I was waiting and declared that the "General principles" had been accepted without modification with the exception, inasmuch as the clause that the *Directorium had a right to the*

expenditure necessary for the exact fulfilment of their task *had not been approved*. Concerning this exception he remarked that the cabinet council had accepted this also in principle but the Prime Minister had proposed a different wording of the said clause. I immediately gave my consent to this immaterial modification at inquiring at the same time whether the members of the Directorium had been nominated in virtue of the agreement. The answer was that this had also been passed without opposition; but, that it would be a good idea to give General Hennoque, the military Dictator, power to nominate some supernumary members. On hearing my somewhat vehement opposition however — for I declared myself unable to agree to this and to argue endlessly about the continued modifications and that chiefly in a matter as important as this, I could certainly not agree to such an important power being given to General Hennoque it being absolutely necessary that a mutual and full understanding should exist between the president and members of the Directorium — M. Svehla no longer contested the point.

I then informed him that at the desire of the President we must start without delay to Ungvár and that I had already made my preparations to leave Prague on the 14th. The Minister who was at that time entrusted with the affairs of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia promised in parting to convey to me before I left Prague the approved copy of the "General principles" as, also my new nomination as president of the Directorium which latter was made necessary as he explained, by the fact that the copy of the document No. 306—19 R. I. signed by M. Tusar as Prime Minister was not to be found among the papers of the Cabinet-council. As regards the nomination of the members of the Directorium he said that it would be with the dictator, General Hennoque, before my arrival in Ungvár. I received nothing before my journey except my new nomination as president of the Directorium. I immediately spoke to Dr. Sapara, head of M. Svehla's cabinet and demanded an audience explaining the importance of the interview I solicited, but received for answer that the Minister was not able to see me and on my arrival at Ungvár I should find everything as promised. I started for Ungvár therefore with the hope that things would happen as according to our agreement. Arrived at Ungvár and installed in my office by General Hennoque I found to my greatest astonishment that:

1. In the Principles published the word "tribunals" was omitted;
2. the nomination of the Directors had not been received by the Dictator,
3. the secret order of the "Principles" according to which the Directorium had a veto-right in the nomination and discharging of the officials by the military dictator had been similarly kept back,
4. the clause concerning the right of the Directorium to incur the expenses necessary for the fulfilment of its duties was not modified but totally omitted.

I protested by writing and by telegram in Prague whence I received answer that the mistakes would be rectified without loss of time. When on October 6 Dr. Brejha mentioned in course of conversation that he had received a telegram containing the nomination of the members of the Directorium and that two of the projected members namely T. A. Zsatkovics and Major Puza had been omitted Dr. Julius Hodsega being nominated in their stead and further that information was required as to the whereabouts of Cyrill Prokop, formerly interned in Poland, I at once repaired to Prague to protest in person.

At the conference of December 9 in which President Masaryk, M. Tusar Prime minister, and M. Svehla, minister of the interior took part I laid the whole matter before them and after a lengthy discussion we agreed by common consent that the nomination of Dr. Hodsega instead of Zsatkovics should hold good, it being contrary to the Czecho-Slovak laws that two brothers should be members of the same commission but that Major Puza should be nominated without delay. It was further decided that secret regulation of the Directorium, corrected, on a certain occasion by the President himself should be sent off to the military dictator immediately. This secret regulation contains among others, the following.

The Directorium has veto-right regarding the appointment and discharge of officials who had been nominated by the administrator or by the military dictator.

The President wrote at the bottom of the paper in his own hand: "December 9, Tusar, Svehla, Zsatkovics, R."

As regards the omission of the word "tribunals" M. Svehla informed me that it had happened at the desire of the minister of Justice.

Having obtained a decided agreement that the affairs of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia should be taken from the province of the Minister of the Interior and

transferred to the Prime Minister's department which transfer was actually effected January 1, 1920, I returned to Ungvár. But my former experience was repeated; neither the secret Regulation nor Major Puza's nomination arrived. Consequently I again repaired to Prague December 19 1920, accompanied by Dr. Brascasjko and Dr. Toronszky members of the Directorium and the un-appointed Major Puza. On December 26 we presented to the President and on the 27th to the council of ministers the protest of the Central National Council of the Ruthenes and the Directorium. On the 27th we had a conference with the ministers MM. Benes, Svehla and Hodzsa and agreed that for the detailed discussion of the points three different committees should be nominated: one for the territorial, one for the constitutional and one for the administrative matters.

The territorial committee did actually hold a sitting at which Dr. Hrusovszky represented the Slovaks, but no result was arrived at, for Dr. Hrusovszky declared that their club, the Slovak Parliamentary Club, had decided to yield voluntarily only the territory between the Ung and the Cziróka, that is a portion of Ung and a very small northeasterly portion of Zemplén, to Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. This declaration was, later, confirmed by the act Cs. I. 2780 praes. of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The Directorium most decidedly refusing this proposition the territorial committee broke up.

The constitutional committee had a sitting the afternoon of the same day but after a few minutes discussion was prorogued until the report of the administrative committee should be at their disposal. This latter, however, held no sitting at all, and in this way the *whole proceeding was a failure*.

I therefore, on the basis of the agreements compassed up till then, compiled and handed in our formal demands to the President who invited me to a conference on February 10, at which Dr. Pallier ministerial councillor, head of the Ruthenian section of the minister-presidency assisted.

My demands were discussed in detail and I received the promise of a formal reply from government. I did, in fact, receive an answer signed Pallier which however did not touch on question of frontiers or of autonomy, being devoted to a brief treatment of the affairs of administration.

In answer to this document, commonly known as the "Pallier Memoir", I handed in on February 14 a lengthy note containing all our demands in detail and abundantly motivated demanding a formal reply from government to this and our other propositions handed in January 26, by the 17th February, declaring that absence of an answer by that date would be understood to signify a refusal to our proposition.

On the 17th February an answer was handed to me which was neither satisfactory as to its contents nor regular as to its form and which I sent back that same day for approval, the approval however was not forthcoming. I consequently handed in my demission to the Prime Minister the 19th February in a document which reads as follows.

No. 109—20. Prague, February 19, 1920.

Sir,

I have the honour to notify you of my resignation of my post of president to the autonomous Ruthenian Directorium, my political convictions regarding the affairs of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia not being in unison with the policy of the Czecho-Slovak Government.

I also informed the President of my demission the same day. The members of the Directorium, by their demission dated the 2nd March 1920, declared themselves of one accord with me. In a letter dated March 9 I urged the acceptance of my demission without delay. The funds at my disposal at a bank were withdrawn without any formal or witten warning. Matters remained in this state for some time, government tried to avoid a declaration as to having accepted my demission and it was finally through the personal intervention of the President that some arrangement was concluded, notably that *the question of frontiers should be left to the decision of the Czecho-Slovak and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenian National assemblies and that in the question of the autonomy the Czecho-Slovak Government engaged not to take a single measure contrary to the decisions of the Peace Conference*.

The post of Governor was then offered me which, at the desire of the most prominent Ruthenes (letter dated March 18, 1920), I accepted. The official decision of the cabinet council was published April 26, and contained among others the necessary measures for the creation of a governing council. I entered my office under very trying circumstances, the detailing of which — though interesting as history — would not here be in their place.

My first action as governor and member of the Czecho-Slovak government was to publish a manifesto, prepared with the knowledge of Government, and

should be formed on which the Ministers of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, Justice and of Unification should appoint a member each. Both projects of a constitution should be laid before this committee as also all documents regarding the proceedings of the union between Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia and the Czecho-Slovak Ruthenia. This body should be commissioned to lay an opinion before the Czecho-Slovak government as to what autonomy, what rights and privileges should belong to Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia on the basis of the documents furnished for their perusal.

I visited Prague while engaged in writing this Memorandum, my last stay there lasting from December 29, 1920 to January 4, 1921. After having been received by the President together with the other members of the government on the occasion of the New-Year receptions I had another conference with the Prime Minister January 3. After expressing my regret that the promises had again amounted to nothing I made special mention of the approaching census and demanded that, according to the agreements herein described, I should receive written assurance that on the neutral territories Ruthenian officials should be attached to the Czecho-Slovak commissions conducting the census.

The Prime Minister acknowledged the equity of my demand and promised to communicate without loss of time with Dr. Micsura, Minister Plenipotentiary of Slovensko in order to settle this question.

The 25th January I dispatched a letter under No. 77. Cs. R. to Dr. Micsura relating the above and proving the justice of my demand requested that the Ruthenes of Slovensko should be allowed liberty of speech and meeting, especially the Ruthenian League in order to be able to explain to the people the nature and importance of the census; and that Ruthenians should be appointed besides the Czecho-Slovak officials conducting the census. To this communication I have as yet received no reply.

It should be remarked that, in the hope that this Government at least would fulfil their promises, I had declared to the population of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia that some of our demands would be realised. This however, unfortunately, did not come to pass through reasons not as yet ascertainable.

At Tátralomnicz where I was spending a short holiday I was informed of the manner in which the census threatened to be carried out in counties Szepes, Sáros, Zemplén and Ung and my attention was drawn to the policy of terrorism inaugurated by a Czecho-Slovak administrative functionary, by name M. Szlávik, župan of county Zemplén. Contrary to all promises and agreements he, in his own name and by means of the officials under him, published a circular in which among others he stated:

"In Slovensko there are no Ruthenes, neither male or female. Let us have a care for this is not a Ruthenian but a Hungarian movement . . . etc. etc."

Besides this circular publicly propagated this functionary sent secret instructions and orders to the officials of his county; e. g.:

1851—1921. To all officials of Zemplén. Report goes, that part of Zemplén is to be awarded to Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. These rumours cause alarm among the larger half of the county's Slovak population. I therefore make known to you the contents of the ordinance No. 1727—1921, January 19, 1921 of the Minister Plenipotentiary of Slovensko, according to which the Peace Conference having definitively fixed the frontiers between Slovensko and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia the following communities belong besides the rest to the former. (Here a series of villages administered at present by Ruthenia are enumerated.)

I require you to instruct the inhabitants of your district to this effect adding that all contrary reports are groundless and false.

Signed: DR. SZLÁVIK, župan.

This circular, when laid before me at Tátralomnicz made me almost doubt my own eyes. Cutting short my holiday I went to Zemplén by motor to see matters for myself. After a stay of four days I had seen not only the circular but such results of the Župan's activity as constrained me to dispatch the following telegram to the President, the Prime Minister and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Slovensko:

"The circular order of the župan Szlávik stating that whoever calls himself Ruthene is guilty of propaganda for the Hungarians has produced an official terror of which have gained personal knowledge while passing through Zemplén. I am obliged to protest in the name of the Ruthenes and to declare that owing to this proclamation of

M. Szlávik the result of the census in Zemplén will not and cannot be equitable as regards the Ruthenes. I therefore demand energetic measures to insure the consolidation of the Ruthenian element in Czecho-Slovakia.

Signed: Dr. ZsATKOVICS, governor."

This and the denationalisation provedly carried on on the entire neutral territory was what fell to the share of the Ruthenes instead of an honourable understanding of their just demand that a mixed commission of Czecho-Slovaks and Ruthenes should conduct the census in all fairness.

While writing this Memorandum I am expecting the reply of the Czecho-Slovak Government regarding the fulfilment of the following promises:

1. the organisation of the governing council, repeatedly urged since June 28, 1920;
2. the speedy publishing of the elections;
3. the suppression of the state of siege promised as early as last January;
4. the suffrage-bill for Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia drawn up by myself;
5. the project of a constitution for Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia;
6. the account of the found placed at my disposal presented by me to the Prime Minister January 3, 1921, showing that it is not I who am in debt but the Czecho-Slovak Government who owe me a large sum etc.

Well, this is our history, and I am bound to say it is a sad one.

Allow me finally to lay before you the decision of the Peace Conference:

"Czecho-Slovakia binds herself to organise the Ruthenian territory south of the Carpathians between the frontiers fixed by the Allied and Associated Powers as an autonomous unit of the Czecho-Slovak State furnishing it with the broadest autonomy compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State."

In virtue of this article, therefore, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia should be furnished with all the rights not prejudicial to the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State. According to international law, custom and usage the affairs incompatible with the unity of a State are those which would prevent it from freely inaugurating alliances with other independent States. All agreements and conventions between two independent States may, for instance be considered as such. Taken in this sense such matters as Foreign affairs, railway, telegraph, telephone, post, money, tarif, army, etc. may be considered as affairs warranting the unity and individuality of a State. It would however be going far indeed to state that the affairs of internal administration of an autonomous unit were incompatible with the unity and individuality of a Republic especially considering the United States all the 48 autonomous unities of which, as is well known, enjoy full right of self-government in all affairs of internal administration. Keeping in mind the history of the Union of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia the proofs furnished by international law and the precedent afforded by the United States as regards public-law there can be no doubt that the word "local" employed in 2 § of this decision of the Peace Conference is to be understood as internal, the expression "local matters" being thus identical with "matters of the interior".

Paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of the decisions of the Peace Conference are as follows:

2. The territory of the Ruthenians South of the Carpathians shall have a National Assembly of its own. The National Assembly shall exercise the right of legislature in all questions of language, school, religions all affairs of internal administration and all other matters to be fixed by the laws of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The Governor to be appointed by the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic shall be responsible to the Ruthenian National Assembly.

3. Czecho-Slovakia engages as far as possible, to appoint inhabitants of that territory to the official posts in the Ruthenian territory.

4. Czecho-Slovakia guarantees the Ruthenian territory an equitable representation in the Parliament of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. But these representatives in the Czecho-Slovak Parliament have no voice in the questions of legislature belonging to the competence of the Ruthenian National Assembly.

(Extract from the general Principles published by the Czecho-Slovak Government November 18, 1919.)

The word "local" can only and must be interpreted as "internal".

According to Article 5. Sub Carpathian Ruthenia has a right to an equitable representation, notably to have 16 deputies, and 8 senators instead of the 9 deputies and 4 senators as ordained by the present Czecho-Slovak constitution drawn up without my opinion or that of any other of our representatives being asked.

There are many other minor matters I might enumerate but will omit for brevity's sake.

As one of those who are to a great extent responsible for the Czecho-Slovak Ruthenian Union allow me to propose not only in the name of probity and honour but in the interest of the future welfare and consolidation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic to *grant Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia full autonomy within just and suitable frontiers, and that with the least possible delay.*

Ungvár, March 16, 1921.

GREGORY IGNATIUS ZSÁTKOVICS m. p.
governor of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia.

APPENDIX II.

THE LIST OF NAMES

OF TEACHERS OF RUTHENIAN LANGUAGE AND RUTHENIAN TEACHERS OF SCRIPTURE EMPLOYED UNDER THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT, IN THE MIDDLE-SCHOOLS AND TRAINING COLLEGES FOR TEACHERS MAINTAINED BY THE STATE AND BY THE DENOMINATIONS.

1. *At the gymnasium of Ungvár, since 1870:*

Nicholas Homicsko
Emanuel Roskovics
Peter Gebé
Eugen Homicsko
Eumenius Szabó
Alexander Jaczkovics

2. *At the gymnasium of Munkács, since 1875:*

Michael Hrabár
Alexander Fankovics
Peter Demjanovics
Joseph Orosz
Stephen Hrenyó

3. *At the Reformed (Calvinist) gymnasium at Máramarossziget, since 1870:*

Michael Suba
Simon Szabó
Eugen Bányai
Andrew Medveczky

4. *At the Piarist's gymnasium at Máramarossziget later R. Cath. gymnasium:*

The same.

5. *At the State training-college for teachers, Máramarossziget:*

Eugen Bányai
John Meskó
Emilius Egreczky } scripture and singing masters.

6. *At the State high-school for girls, Máramarossziget:*

Stephen Berecz.

7. *At the Royal Catholic gymnasium at Eperjes, since 1870:*

Anthony Ruby
Emanuel Roskovics
Julius Choma
Anthony Bereghy.

THE RUTHENIAN HIGHLAND ACTION.

(This data had been taken from the „Reports of the Royal Hungarian Government“ which had been presented annually to the Parliament.)

A) Purchase of land and pasture land.

a) *Purchase of land*, bestowed by the State on the small farmers of the following Ruthenian villages:

I. purchased from Count Schönborn, in 1906, for the villages: Deskófalva, Hátmeg, Tökés, Felső-patak, Bozos, Oláhcsertész, Ardánháza, Nyires-újfalu, Medencze, Kissarkad, Sátánfalva, N.-Russova and Beregleányfalva, for 13 villages in all	3082 y.*	1514 sq. y.*	price	471,056 crowns
II. from Count Schönborn, in 1906, for Újtövisfalva and Szolyva	100	—	„	13,500 „
III. from the Treasury, in 1906, for Drugetháza	427	593	„	25,779 „
IV. from the Treasury, in 1906, for Hajasd	560	364	„	33,000 „
V. from the Treasury, in 1907, for Turjavágás	1014	—	„	68,000 „
VI. from Count Schönborn, in 1907, for Kereczke	31	—	„	3400 „
VII. from Count Schönborn, in 1907, for Nagylucska, Újdávidháza and Várkulcsa	2073	243	„	3,701,300 „
VIII. from the Treasury, in 1907, for Hajasd	24	—	„	18,700 „
IX. from Count Schönborn, in 1908, for Repede	143	320	„	19,475 „
X. from the Treasury, in 1910, for Turjavágás	1008	1512	„	77,262 „
In all for 23 villages	8464 y.	1346 sq. y.	price	4,431,471 crowns

b) *Purchase of pasture land*

(State contribution given once for all to the purchase money paid by the villages).

In 1909 to the village of Nagylucska	35,000 crowns
„ 1909 „ „ „ „ Újdávidháza	10,000 „
„ 1909 „ „ „ „ Várkulcsa	20,000 „
In all	65,000 crowns

c) *Purchase of pasture land*

(Subventions granted by the State from 1909 to 1918 yearly as a contribution to the annual amortizations paid by the villages.)

For the villages of Magyarkomját	
Nagycsongora	
Ölyvös	
Felsősarad	
Szóllósvégardó	
Nagyhalász . . . in all	649,065 crowns

y. = yokes; sq. y. = square yards. (1 yoke = about 1¼ acres.)

Results: purchase of land for 23 villages to the price of 4,431,471 crowns	
subventions for . . . 3	65,000
" " " " 6	649,065
in all for 32 villages	5,145,536 crowns

B) Distribution of live-stock; breeding of live-stock.

1889 homed cattle of Simmenthal breed, were distributed, to the value of 3,200,019 crowns. Contributed by the State	37,450 crowns
4863 bulls, Simmenthal and Montafon breed, were distributed, to the value of 2,349,655 crowns. Contributed by the State	542,770 "
Contribution by the State to the purchase of stallions; 27 stallions, Lipizza breed, had been given in natura by the State. (By these were covered 19,270 marcs, corresponding thus to an increase of about 8000 horses).	653,353 "
3796 boars were distributed to the value of 402,656 crowns. Contributed by State	11,938 "
2288 Yorkshire sons were distributed. Contribution by the State	141,868 "
1821 brooding sheep distributed. Contribution by the State	9,702 "
563 " rams " " " " " "	3,645 "
1400 " poultry " " " " " "	5,128 "
Distributed craw-fishes and spawns in the value of	17,386 "
Prices given for cattle	15,362 "
16647 brood animals in the value of	1,443,602 crowns

Live-stock of the Ruthenian territory south of the Carpathian, in 1917.

	Horses	Horned cattle	Sheep	Pigs
Country Bereg	4,536	64,197	9,966	35,446
" Ung	3,085	29,802	9,248	7,409
" Máramaros	7,552	84,244	89,252	24,090
Altogether	15,173	178,243	108,466	66,945

(Notice. The decrease of the live-stock, in comparison to the times before 1914, was caused by the war. The Ruthenian territory had more to suffer than the central parts of Hungary, as the territory of Máramaros was, almost to the end of the war, entirely army provisional territory, and the northern parts of Bereg and Ung in 1914 and 1915 were the same.)

C) Agricultural Instruction of the Ruthenian Population from 1898 to 1918.

a) *Repetition School for agricultural instruction at Szolyva.*

(Conducted by Gabriel Krofcsik, Ruthenian teacher). Attended by 120 scholars yearly, altogether, from 1898 to 1914, by 1920 Ruthenian youths, who were here taught the fundamental principles of agriculture in theory and in practice also on the 6 yokes of ploughfield and 2 yokes of garden at the disposal of the school.

b) *Repetition School for agricultural instruction at Alsóvereczke.*

Trained the Ruthenian youths chiefly in dairy-work and cheese-making. Founded in 1903 to accomodate twelve youths who studied here for two years, passed an examination and received a certificate. This number was raised in 1908 to eighteen and in 1912 to twenty-four. The expenses were borne entirely by the State. About a hundred youths were trained here altogether and were provided by the school with places as skilled dairy-men, which skill they can no longer put to value, the station having ceased at the time of the Russian invasion.

c) About 50 different courses of agriculture and lectures on the same subject were organised (the first of these at Alsóvereczke, in the year 1903). To enable them to give advice in farming matters and in general to superintend the agricultural development of the population 60 priests, 85 precentors and teachers and 17 Ruthenian farmers were instructed at this courses at State expense, the latter being given model farms. This courses for the rest had been attended by about 10,000 Ruthenian farmers.

Besides this the Highland Commission (entrusted with the conduct of the Ruthenian Action) managed between the years 1898 at 1918 the employment of about 99,522 Ruthenian agricultural labourers from the counties Ung, Bereg, Máramaros and Ugocsa on the State properties (domaines at Mezöhegyes, Kisbér, Bábolna) as also on private estates, who besides their board received there wages to the value of 9½ million crowns.

State Expenditure:

Dairy school at Alsóvereczke	507,618	crowns
Agricultural courses	15,267	"
17 model farms established	52,666	"
Distribution of farming instruments	6,572	"
Subventions for the distribution of agricultural machines	23,736	"
Apicultural subvention to 138 ruthenian small-farmers	6,772	"
	<hr/>	
	Total	612,631 crowns

D) Home-Industry from 1898 to 1918.

From 1898 to 1912 in all 296 different courses for home-industry were organised. (Courses for wood-carving, basket-work, hoop and broom-making, linen weaving and carpet works etc.) At this courses 5489 industrials were instructed in this branches of home-industry. The number of workers engaged in this industries was in 1906 1318; in 1908 3358; in 1910 3861 and in 1911 3909.

State Expenditure:

State subsidies to courses in home-industry (1903—1912)	207,534	crowns
" " " industrial establishments, workshops etc.	125,666	"
" " " basket-work industry	123,798	"
" " " artificial flower industry	37,600	"
" " " looms	84,049	"
" " " stocking-industry	25,500	"
" " " embroidery-works	7,500	"
For willow plantations	69,500	"
Up-keep of willowtree plantations	40,580	"
Institutions for increasing the reources of the population	123,849	"
	<hr/>	
	Altogether	845,576 crowns

E) Orchard Culture.

Fruit and orchard cultivation is of great importance on the Ruthenian territory and fruit harvest represents a considerable part of the revenues of the population. The State therefor had a care to secure them this economical source. About 400,000 saplings were distributed and 142,956 wild-trees were grafted. The expenses of this action amounted to 220,000 crowns.

F) Summary.

Of the 1,099,887 hectares forming the present Ruthenian territory south of the Carpathians 624,636 hectares remained forest land. There remains therefore only 475,254 hectares available for agriculture and nearly two-thirds of this land is pasture-land. The climatic conditions contributed also the Ruthenians to be reduced to cattle-breeding as chief-source of their revenues. This was the case as early as two hundred years ago, when the land was in the possession of Hungarian Seigneurs. In 1682 for instance in the domain of Munkács (county Bereg) embracing 124 Ruthenian villages there were in the property of the Ruthenian peasants: 707 horses, 8191 horned-cattle, 12,488 sheep and 6233 pigs. After the suppression of Prince Rákóczi's fight for liberty (1711) the domain of Munkács fell into the hands of a German Seigneur. The live-stock then decreased to such an extent that in 1711 we find only 213 horses, 2615 horned-cattle, 904 sheep and 502 pigs. Matters were similarly altered in the other estates inhabited by Ruthenians which were also awarded partly to German Seigneurs partly to the Treasury governed from Vienna.

The economic retrogression of the Ruthenian people commences therefore at this date and lasts till 1867, when Hungary in virtue of the Dualism then inaugurated, was able to exercise some independence in the development of her economic existence. Accordingly, in 1898, an action was organised in the favour of the Ruthenian population which lasted till 1918. Till 1912 the expenses of this action were assigned and payed directly by the central government of agriculture. From 1913 a new arrangement was introduced giving a special budget to the Highland Commission at Munkács, which administrated the economic and subsidiary action. This budget amounted from 1913 to 1918 to about 9 millions.

The summary of State expenditure in favour of the economic condition of the Ruthenian population makes from 1898 to 1918 as follows:

1. Purchases of land and pasture land (see <i>A</i>)	5,145,536	crowns
2. Breeding of cattle and distribution of brood animals (see <i>B</i>)	1,443,602	"
3. Agricultural instruction (see <i>C</i>)	612,631	"
4. On home-industry (see <i>D</i>)	845,576	"
5. Orchard culture (see <i>E</i>)	220,000	"
6. Distribution of seed (partly free of charge, partly at preferential price)	702,732	"
7. On the improvement of pasture land	281,064	"
8. Assistance in building roads and dikes	350,214	"
9. Expended on providing villages with drinking-water	237,022	"
10. Famine action and indemnity for war-damages	20,702,249	"
11. Church and school subsidies	37,000	"
12. Legal assistance gratis to the needy	12,000	"
13. Annual budget of the Highland Commission	9,000,000	"
	<hr/>	
	Total	39,589,626 crowns

APPENDIX IV.

Public education on the Ruthenian territory under the Hungarian rule.

I.
Primary schools.

County	State school	Ruthenian denominational schools	Schools Altogether	Of State teachers was Ruthenian	Ruthenian preceptors and teachers	Scholars	Of these Ruthenian
Ung	44	77	121	35	76	10,253	6,990
Bereg	76	112	188	45	118	17,537	12,013
Ugocea	14	39	53	8	45	5,072	3,105
Máramaros	125	111	236	70	116	20,055	10,026
Altogether	259	339	598	158	355	52,917	32,134

Altogether 513 Ruthenian teachers, male and female

II.
Other schools.

County	Training college for teachers male and female		Gymnasía	Modern (real) schools	Burgher schools		Girls high-schools and higher elem. schools	Roman Catholic elementary schools	Infant schools	Total of schools in county
	Of the State	Denomina-tional			State	Denomi-national				
Ung	—	1	1	1	1	2	1	15	8	30
Bereg	1	—	2	—	2	—	—	14	54	73
Ugocea	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	7	11	19
Máramaros	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	20	25	47
Altogether	1	1	3	1	6	2	1	56	98	169

Grand total of schools: 598 + 169 = 767

Making a total of 767 schools of all kind on the Ruthenian territory.

Notice. This data had been taken from the "Reports on the Activity of the Royal Hungarian Government in the year 1914". Following this statistics there had been at this time on the territory of this four counties (Máramaros, Bereg, Ung, Ugocea):

Primary Schools.

Country	Total of schools	In the number of this had been						
		State schools	Burgher schools	Denominational				Private schools
				Rom. cath.	Greek cath.	Protestants	Israelites	
Bereg	279	111	5	14	101	47	—	1
Ung	241	79	3	33	99	25	2	—
Ugocea	99	23	1	7	52	16	—	—
Máramaros	319	144	—	20	147	5	2	1
Altogether	938	357	9	74	399	93	4	2

L I S T

OF RUTHENIAN OFFICIALS ON RUTHENIAN TERRITORY UNDER THE HUNGARIAN RULE.

I. County Máramaros.

a) *Governmental and municipal administration:*

Anthony Juhászovits head district magistrate
Emil Zombory " " "
Stephen Tivadar district magistrate
Stephen Puza " "
5 Béla Risko " "
Alexandre Kofanovics municipal accountant
Dr. Ladislav Ūveges head physician of municipality.
Eugen Lyachovics tax controller
Julius Lupis " "
10 Lewis Grigássy excise officer
Emilius Hudáky " "
12 Victor Vaszócsik " "
Altogether: 12.

b) *Notaries:*

Orest Ilniczky	Eugen Puza
Gabriel Simon	Edmund Csernyestyán
Emilius Stefan	15 Augustus Homicskó
Basil Ilykovics	Béla Szemán
5 Ireneus Ilykovics	Andrew Gribovsky
Victor Medveczky	Béla Szemán jun.
John Rakovszky	Andrew Viszanik
Augustus Lyahovics	20 Ivan Risko
George Grigássy	Nicholas Podovcsák
10 Stephen Rományi	Denis Chudán
George Hápka	<i>Altogether: 22.</i>
Desider Csernyestyán	

c) *Judges and judiciary officials:*

Dr. Andrew Illés-Ilyasevits prosecutor to the crown
Ladislav Ivancsik circuit judge
Nicholas Lyachovics " "
Alexander Pászkan " "
Emilius Puza clerk to circuit court
Victor Mesko " " " "
Paul Puza " " " "
Ladislav Filipcsuk " " " "
Coloman Puza " " " "
Altogether: 9.

Taken together: a) 12

b) 22

c) 9

Altogether: 43 Ruthenian officials.

II. County Bereg.

a) Governmental and municipal administration:

Peter Cserszky head district magistrate
 John Baksay assessor to chamber of Wards
 Stephen Baksay " " " " "
 Ernest Kabáczy notary " " " "
 5 Constantine Ujhelyi municipal archivist
 Dr. Eugen Petrovay municipal councillor
 John Csopey " "
 Lewis Gáspár " "
 Francis Zuránszky engineering assistant
 10 John Széplak tax controller
 Nicholas Bercsényi councillor on local treasury board
 Nicholas Baulovics excise officer
 Georg Bulecza controller
 Ladislav Baksay "
Altogether: 14.

b) *Notaries:* Gabriel Papp Andrew Szluk
 Joseph Hunya Ernest Szilágyi
 Joseph Mérges
 Miron Jenkovszky *Altogether: 6.*

c) Judges and officials of judiciary administration:

Lewis Kilb circuit judge
 Constantine Kabáczy " "
 Sigismund Ruszinko " "
 Igor Fengya " "
 Lewis Vizokay clerk to circuit court
 Béla Mathey " " " "
 Lewis Petrovay " " " "
 Joseph Legeza " " " "
 Aladár Pankovics " " " "
Altogether: 9.

Taken together: a) 14

b) 6

c) 9

Altogether: 29 Officials of Ruthenian origin

III. County Ung.

a) Governmental and municipal administration:

Paul Legeza prefect of county
 Dr. Nicholas Blazsovszky head district magistrate
 Ferdinand Sznistyák " " "
 Elemér Sztripszky district magistrate
 5 Stephen Jaczkovics " "
 Béla Rojkovics employé of municipal chancellery
 Denis Sztankaminecz municipal clerk
 Michael Baulovics tax controller
 Lewis Sinkovics excise officer
 10 Michael Keselyák " "
 John Demkó " "
 Aladár Sztripszky employé of local treasury board
 Stephen Takács secretary on " " "
 Alexander Pásztor employé of forest-management
 15 Ladislav Teghze " " "
 Rudolf Mankovics " " "
Altogether: 16.

b) *Notaries*: Emil Puskán
 John Petreczky
 Zoltán Ádámkovics
 Stephen Gerzánics
 Joseph Kustán

John Orosz
 Michael Firczák
 Michael Horváth

Altogether: 8.

c) *Judges and officials of judiciary administration*:
Altogether: 1. Michael Dolinay circuit judge.

Taken together: a) 16
 b) 8
 c) 1

Altogether: 25 officials of Ruthenian origin.

IV. County Ugocea.

a) *Governmental and municipal administration*:

Coloman Volenszky prefect of county
 Béla Csépes municipal notary in chief
 George Koflanovics district magistrate
 Alexander Koflanovics municipal accountant in chief
 Francis Troknya councillor on local treasury board
 George Vaszkun official
 Stephen Rohács excise officer
 Anthony Paulinyi " "
 Cornelius Csopey head forest keeper

Altogether: 9.

b) *Notaires*: Stephen Keresztesy
 Julius Papp
 Charles Osadinszky
 John Pákh
 Francis Pákh
 Stephen Orosz
 Andrew Csucska
 Stephen Ujhelyi

Anthony Csedrik
 Michael Fehér
 Joseph Kristóforý
 Anthony Kiss
 Augustus Polszky
 Michael Andruk

Altogether: 14.

c) *Judges and officials of judiciary administration*:

Ernest Gerevich circuit judge
 John Csopey " "
 Andrew Zombory officer of circuit court
 Michael Kaminszky public notary
 John Zseltvay deputy " "

Altogether: 5.

Taken together: a) 9
 b) 14
 c) 5

Altogether: 28 of Ruthenian origin.

In the four counties altogether:

officials of governmental and municipal
 administration 51
 notaries 50
 officials of judiciary administration . . . 24

Altogether: 125 officials of Ruthenian origin.

LIST OF RUTHENIAN

TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN STATE AND DENOMINATIONAL MIDDLE-SCHOOLS AND TRAINING COLLEGES FOR TEACHERS.

I. In the Royal Catholic gymnasium of Ungvár since 1870.

John Mondok	Joseph Zékány
Cyrill Szabó	Gustavus Jaszencsák
Peter Kimák	Julius Horoscák
Stephen Romzsa	Anthony Nátolya
Peter Azary	Michael Romanecz (director)
Nicholas Homicskó	Theodore Gulovics
Michael Petrik	Joseph Román
John Medvigy	

II. The Royal Catholic gymnasium of Munkács of which only the tower classes existed till 1893. Was then completed.

Alexander Fankovics director
 Cornelius Simsa
 Nicholas Valkovszky
 Andrew Demjanovics
 Ladislav Terebessy, now director at Užhorod
 Michael Kabáczy
 Joseph Orosz
 Stephen Emódi

III. State gymnasium at Beregszász.

John Nyisztor
 Lewis Iváskó
 Nicholas Ruszinkó

IV. Royal Catholic gymnasium at Eperjes.

Nicholas Kamenechky
 Valerius Hulyák
 Alexander Szedlák
 Stephen Szemán

V. Greek Catholic denominational training college for teachers.

Michael Lichvarcsik director	Ladislav Kaminszky
Andrew Rápay	Michael Tordics
Julius Drohobeczky	Julius Melles
John Wladimir	Emilius Zseltvay
Joseph Malinics	Stephen Budinszky
Joseph Nitsman	Augustus Volosin
Basil Hrabár	Géza Kaminszky

Ruthenian training college for lady teachers.

Victor Zseltvay	Emma Holovács
Julius Hadzsega	Julia Jaszencsák
Emma Vaszocsik	Olga Csopey
Irene Guthy	Gisella Sima
Olga Volosin	

Altogether: 53 Ruthenian teachers.

